Ancient and Medieval Libraries



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- Library
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  - Classical period to Middle Antiquity (800 BC-330 AD)
  - Late Antiquity and Middle Ages (330 AD-1400 AD)
- List of Destroyed Libraries
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[last updated 5/6/02]

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Libraries at Ephesus and Environs

Library of Celsus

Callmer 167-171.

Götze 232ff. Quite good; taken into account by the final excavation report (FE V/1; Wilberg below).

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V. M. Strocka, "Zur Datierung der Celsusbibliothek" in *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archaeology* 1973 (1978) 893ff.

H. Vetters. Several years of annual reports on the Ephesos excavations and restoration in the 1970s ("Vorläufiger Grabungsbericht"). In JÖAI. The original excavation reports will be found in ÖJh 7 and 8 (194, 1905), by R. Heberdey; and on the front, W. Wilberg, "Die Fassade der Bibiliothek in Ephesus," ÖJh 11 (1908) 118ff.

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Library at Nysa

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Library at Thamugadi (Timgad, Algeria)

*R. Cagnat, et al. *Timgad, une cite africaine sous l'Empire Romain*. Paris, 1905. The final excavation report; predates however the discovery of the inscription identifying the library (which is here mostly referred to as the *Salle demi-circulaire*. Though often repeated, it is not true that Cagnat did not consider seriously the possiblity that the building was a library: the plan identifies the building as "edifice demi-circulaire (bibliotheque?)."

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*Homer F. Pfeiffer, "The Roman Library at Timgad," *Mem. Americ. Acad. Rom*e 9 (1931) 157-65. This later summary takes into account conclusions reached after Cagnat's excavation report, most esp. the evidence from Ephesos and that of the inscription that identifies the building. Reasonably full data and analysis.

*Makowiecka 1978 has a couple of important corrections to Pfeiffer: see pp. 86ff.

*Callmer 1944 pp. 181f.

*Götze 1937, pp. 240f.

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P. Romanelli, *Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa Romana*, Enciclopedia Classica sez. III: Arch. e storia dell'arte classica vol. X: Archeologia t. VII. Torino 1970. P. 203 [from Vössing]

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*Konrad Vössing, "Die öffentlichen Bibliotheken in Africa," *Atti X convegno Africa Romana* (1994) 169-183.

Other public libraries

C. A. Hanson, “Were there libraries in Roman Spain?” *Libraries and Culture* 24 (1989) 298-316.

A.D. F. el. Fakharani, ﷺThe library of Philadelphia (?) or the so-called temple on the Citadel Hill in Amman.ﷺ WZRostock 1975 XXIV : 533-554. ﷺ Das Gebﷺude, das bisher als Tempel bezeichnet wurde, zeigt Einzelheiten, wie sie bei Bibliotheken in der Zeit des Marcus Aurelius in Nachbarlﷺndern ﷺblich waren. Die Reste einer Statue gehﷺren wahrscheinlich zu einer Minerva. Das Gebﷺude kann durch eine Inschrift in die Zeit 169-180 n. Chr. datiert werden. Die Konstruktion der unteren Lagen kann bis in die Zeit des Augustus zurﷺckreichen.

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Cicero

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L. Richardson, ﷺThe libraries of Pompeii.ﷺ Archaeology 1977 XXX : 394-402. ﷺ It is likely that a room in the Casa del Menandro, which had large pieces of furniture against its walls, was used as a private library. The so-called Sacellum Larum Publicorum on the east side of the forum at Pompeii was probably a public library.

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CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT LIBRARIES.

THE bibliographical contribution here presented is the first section of an attempt towards a "library bibliography." It is hoped that it may prove useful in connection with the work of the various library schools and bibliographical courses.

The present section ends with the establishment of Christianity in the ancient world, consequently no works dealing with Christian institutions are included.

There are given, as nearly as possible, all classical references to libraries and all the writings of any importance which have appeared in print. Of the latter nearly 300 titles are listed, about one-half being of works in the compiler's possession. Although every effort has been made to verify the accuracy of the remaining half of the bibliography, a margin of error is unavoidably present because of the impossibility of seeing all the books included, and this applies also to a few references to later Greek and Roman authors whose works are not accessible.

The compiler will be grateful for any additions or corrections which may be communicated to him.

SYNOPSIS.

I. General.
II. Oriental.
III. Greek.
  a. Alexandria.
  b. Pergamon.
IV. Roman.
  a. Herculaneum.
V. Library management and bibliography.

I.

GENERAL.

Lost work: Varro, *de bibliothecis lib. III.*

Patricius, Franciscus. [De bibliothecis.]
in his De institutione reipublicae. Paris, 1534. f°.
in Maderus, *cit. infra*. i, 35–36.

Cassanaeus, Bartholomaeus. [De bibliothecis.]
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Middendorpius, Iac. Academiarum celebrium universi terrarum orbis. Cöln, 1594. 8°.

— *Same*. Cöln, 1602. 8°. lib. 2, p. 231 f. Lib. of Jerusalem. lib. 3, p. 612 f. Roman libs.

Lipsius, Justus. De bibliothecis syntagma. Antwerp, 1602. 4°.

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On the relation of these works and the following see *Nation* (May 20, 1897) 64: 377–378.

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V.

LIBRARY MANAGEMENT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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—— Περὶ συναγωγῆς βιβλίων.

Callimachus Πίνακες (in 120 books).

Herennius Philo of Byblos Περὶ κτήσεως καὶ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων βιβλία β′.

Telephus of Pergamon Βιβλιακῆς ἐμπειρίας βιβλία γ′. 'in quibus docet, qui libri sint comparatu digni.'

Lib. buildings: Vitruvius i, 2.7; vi, 7.1.

Statues in libs.: Suetonius *Tib.* 70; Pliny vii, 210, xxxv, 9; Pliny *ep.* iv, 28; Dio Chrysostom *or.* xxxvii, p. 104 R.; Isidor. *or.* vi, 5.1.

Catalogues: Strabo, xvi, 2.24; Philodemus περὶ φιλοσ.; Dionysius Halic. π. τ. ἀρχ. ῥητ. p. 332 M.; Quintillian *inst.* x, 1.57; Athenæus viii, 336 e.

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Ebla: The World's Oldest Library

Hans H. Wellisch

Almost all present descriptions of ancient libraries consider the library of Ashurbanipal, dating from the seventh century B.C. and discovered in the 1850s, as the oldest organized collection of records. Chiefly based on the tablets found in this library and on those unearthed by many later excavations in southern Mesopotamia it was known that such archives were at least some 2,000 years older, beginning with the collections of the Sumerians, who quite probably were the inventors of writing sometime in the late fourth millennium or early third millennium B.C. But the evidence for the existence of such archives was largely indirect. It could only be assumed that both the original Sumerian tablets (dating from the first quarter of the third millennium B.C. to about 2300 B.C.) and copies made more than a thousand years later by Akkadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian scribes before and until the time of Ashurbanipal must have been kept in some orderly manner so as to make them retrievable, but the methods of such archival storage were largely a matter of speculation.[1]

Our knowledge of ancient libraries has now suddenly been extended back in time to the middle of the third millennium B.C. through the excavations by a team of Italian archeologists at Tell Mardikh in northern Syria—the site of the ancient city-state of Ebla—which began in 1964 and are still continuing. These excavations were initially, like so many other archeological expeditions in the Middle East, of interest only to professional archeologists. They became a sensational event second in importance, perhaps, only to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls when the excavators in 1974 discovered a number of clay tablets in cuneiform script,

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followed the next year by the discovery of a vast archive of thousands of clay tablets dating from about 2600 to 2300 B.C. There were several reasons for the world-wide interest aroused by this find. First, the number of tablets and fragments discovered in a few days was very large and a substantial part of the documents was perfectly preserved and intact. Second, the tablets were written in what was soon recognized as a hitherto unknown Semitic language with apparent close affinities to Hebrew. Third, many names of persons and places in the Bible also seemed to appear in the texts found at Ebla. And fourth, the archives or library constituted an orderly collection of records at least 500 years older than any other that had been found anywhere before.

The following account, which is based mainly on the first comprehensive scientific report[2] and on several articles by the director of the expedition, Paolo Matthiae,[3] publications of his former colleague, the paleographer Giovanni Pettinato,[4] and the description and critical evaluation of the events by Chaim Bermant and Michael Weitzman,[5] will focus only on those aspects of the Ebla finds that are of particular interest for the history of libraries. First, however, the archeological facts must be briefly summarized to set the scene.

Ebla and Its Excavation

The city of Ebla is mentioned in various Sumerian and Akkadian inscriptions, but when the Italian archeologists set out to excavate a large tell (mound) in northern Syria near the main road from Damascus to Aleppo, some 50 miles south of that city, they did not know that Tell Mardikh covered the remains of this ancient city. For ten years, from 1964 until 1974, the excavations on this large site covering some 56 hectares (about 140 acres) did not yield objects of outstanding importance other than the usual large quantities of pottery, a few statuettes (one of which made it possible to identify the place as the ancient Ebla), ornaments, and weapons, and the remnants of a temple, a palace, and fortifications dating to the middle of the third millennium B.C. It was only in 1974, when the remains of the royal palace were slowly emerging from the dig, that the first collection of 42 clay tablets written in cuneiform script was found. When the excavations continued the following summer, a large courtroom with an elevated dais (which may have served as an audience hall) was discovered, and in two of the smaller rooms adjacent to that hall, some 17,000 clay tablets were found, several thousand of them intact or almost so.[6]

The tablets had survived the destruction of Ebla by the Akkadians sometime around 2250 B.C. because they apparently were not deemed to be of any importance or were simply overlooked. The very fact that Ebla was set to the torch (probably by Naram-Sin [2291-2255 B.C.], the grandson of Sargon the Great) seems to have preserved a large part of the clay tablets, not all of which had been baked or fired prior to their deposition in the archives but which were made almost indestructible by the conflagration that followed the capture of the palace. The evidence so far discovered does not make it entirely clear whether Ebla at the peak of its power was a large city-state (one of many such city-states in the area) or the capital of an empire possibly stretching east to Upper Mesopotamia, or perhaps itself only a large outpost on the western perimeter of an Akkadian state. After its destruction by the Akkadians, it rose again and existed until about 1600 B.C., when it was finally destroyed by the Hittites, not to be permanently settled again, and forgotten for three and a half millennia.

Archives or Library?

It has often been pointed out that all ancient collections of written records until the foundation of the Alexandrian library in the third century B.C. were essentially archives intended solely or chiefly for the use of kings, their ministers, and their bureaucracy, and not libraries in the sense that those collections were brought together for the benefit of scholars who wished to study the documents. This may also be true to a large extent for the royal archives of Ebla, which in the days of its greatest prosperity seems to have had a population of some 250,000 people, ruled by a bureaucracy of 11,700 (according to one tablet); these government officials, like their successors through the ages, preferred to have everything in writing and duly filed away in archives. Yet a sizable part of the tablets contains literary and lexicographic texts, and internal evidence (discussed in more detail below) seems to indicate that the collection also served at least partially as a true library.

Arrangement of the Tablets

The organization of the tablets in the archives of Ebla had already reached a fairly high level of sophistication, and it stands to reason that it was based on techniques and experience gained in yet earlier archives, of which we have no tangible evidence so far.

The storage of the tablets adjacent to an audience hall indicates that they were intended as documentation for the business of state conducted there. The smaller of the two storage rooms, situated north of the audience hall, contained more than a thousand tablets, all of which dealt with economic affairs. Its ceiling had collapsed in the destruction, and many tablets were broken as they fell from the shelves on which they were stored. Those shelves were built into the walls and were 80 cm deep; at height intervals of 50 cm they were apparently divided by wooden slats that were supported in the four corners by wooden poles, of which only the rectangular postholes in the ground remain. Nothing can be said about the internal arrangement of the tablets on the shelves since they were all found strewn about on the floor of the room. However, the more than 15,000 tablets found in the larger room, situated on the south side of the great hall and measuring 5.10 x 3.55 m, were originally all neatly stacked around the walls on three levels: the nethermost group of tablets rested immediately on the floor while two others were stacked on wooden shelves supported by wooden poles. Here, as in the smaller room, both shelves and poles were consumed by the flames. When the wooden shelves gave way, the tablets stacked upon them fell down on the layer of tablets on the floor in almost exactly the same order in which they had been stored, very much like a deck of cards. In the event, some of the lower-level tablets were broken, but their internal order was for the most part preserved.

The tablets are of varying size: those found in the first season (1974) were mostly rather small, round ones measuring from 2.6 to 6.0 cm in diameter, and some square or slightly oblong tablets of 20 to 21 cm length and width. Most of the tablets found in 1975 are square, measuring about 18 x 18 cm; some are rectangular, reaching sizes of about 20 x 35 and 20 x 40 cm. They are inscribed in up to 30 columns of nearly 50 lines on each face—that is, almost 3,000 lines on both sides—and even the smaller tablets hold as much as 1,000 lines. The shape of the tablets seems to have had a definite connection with the subject matter recorded on them: round tablets contain only economic and administrative texts, whereas the square tablets contain texts of all kinds. Moreover, the round tablets were always stored on the floor, while square and oblong tablets were invariably stacked on the middle and upper shelves. It is obvious that this arrangement must have served some definite archival ordering purpose. One must, however, remember that this was the arrangement found in just one room, which seems to have served as both archives and library,

and that future discoveries in other rooms may reveal different ordering principles.

The arrangement of the tablets on the shelves also followed a strict principle with a practical purpose. Each tablet was positioned with its recto toward the inside of the room and leaning at a slight angle toward the wall in such a manner that the first line of a text was just visible over the edge of the tablet in front of it, thus making it possible for the archivist to find a particular tablet without first having to move any of the rather heavy and fragile tablets in the stack. To make such movement easier if a particular tablet had to be retrieved, small wedges made from discarded fragments were put between adjacent tablets. In addition to showing the first line of the text, a concise description of its contents was also written on the edge of each tablet, not unlike our modern spine titles.

Script and Language

The tablets are written in cuneiform script, the writing system that developed from the logographs originally invented by the Sumerians sometime in the late fourth millennium B.C., and which remained in use throughout the Middle East and beyond for more than 3,000 years. The cuneiform signs written by the scribes of Ebla show a mature and well-developed style that may have been based on several hundred years of scribal traditions. The writing system itself is a hybrid: it consists partially of characters that stand for Sumerian words (i.e., logographs) and partially of characters that express syllables in the local vernacular. This turned out to be a Semitic language, but scholars differ on whether it is more closely related to Akkadian, Ugaritic, or (as was initially thought) Old Phoenician and Hebrew; it now seems doubtful whether it influenced the latter two languages, in which written records appear only about a thousand years later. The language was at first called Palaeo-Canaanite by its decipherer, Prof. Pettinato, but is now known as Eblaite, the most ancient member of the Northwest Semitic language family. A small part of the tablets (perhaps those written in the latest period just before the destruction of the archives) may contain only Eblaite syllables without any admixture of Sumerian signs, but this is also still uncertain.

Both Sumerian logographs and the cuneiform signs for Eblaite syllables were, however, *pronounced* in the language of Ebla. The writing system thus is also the first known instance of the use of a script invented for one language but adapted for the writing of

another, quite different, language. In other words, this is the earliest known use of transcription (the rendering of the sound of a language in a foreign writing system) coupled with the use of logographs, that is, signs that stand for concepts and that can be pronounced in various ways in different languages, conveying the same ideas.[7]

This is also the earliest instance of a paedography, that is, a writing system designed for teaching purposes and more particularly one for the indication of pronunciation (such as that used in practically all English dictionaries).

The decipherment of Sumerian logographs (which make up about 80 percent of the texts) is exceedingly difficult, often ambiguous, and frequently no more than inspired guesswork, because there are large numbers of homographs, many of which have multiple pronunciations. Also, the script lacks signs for prepositions and conjunctions, as well as word dividers or spaces between words. Add to this the difficulty of its signs being used for a completely different language, partly in their original sense and partly to write the words of that language syllabically, and it will be evident that any decipherment may be open to different interpretations.[8] The initial transcriptions and translations of the Ebla texts by Pettinato have therefore later been amended and reinterpreted both by himself and even more by others who vigorously disputed his findings,[9] especially concerning names of persons and places, on which the alleged connection between the Ebla texts and the Bible hinges. Nevertheless, it is now on the whole fairly well known what subjects the tablets deal with.

Subjects

Only about a thousand of the more than 17,000 documents found so far have been studied, and fewer than three dozen of them have been fully deciphered and published.[10] It is estimated that the full decipherment of all the tablets will take many years or even decades, and many of the questions posed by the discovery must await an answer until such time. From the material so far studied, it is evident that the majority of the tablets deal with administrative, legal, and commercial matters, as would be expected of an archive kept by a large bureaucracy. These are daybooks, ledgers, and inventories, recording the far-flung trade of Ebla, mainly in textiles, metals, ceramic wares, and wood. Others contain lists of the kings of Ebla, the first of whom is named Igrish-Khalam (possibly the founder of the royal archives and a con-

temporary of known Sumerian kings at Lagash and Uruk around 2400 B.C.), royal ordinances, edicts, statutes, official correspondence, and treaties and trade agreements with other cities and states. There are also many gazetteers that altogether list several thousand place names. Especially important among these is a list of 289 cities and states, an exact copy of which was discovered earlier at Abū Salābikh (a site in central Iraq, possibly the ancient Akkadian city of Eresh), dating from about 2600 B.C. The place names in that earlier list could not be fully identified at first, but the Ebla tablets (which may be copies of still older lists, from which the Abū Salābikh tablets were also derived) seem to indicate that these were places in the area of what is now Syria, Jordan, and Israel.[11] Except for one account of a campaign against Mari, a city in Akkad, there are almost no texts on military matters, which are otherwise so prominent in inscriptions from that era. The Eblaites seem to have been peaceful merchants, busy bureaucrats, and literary scholars. Their keen interest in literature and particularly in linguistics is documented in hundreds of tablets containing literary texts and dictionaries. Most of the literature represents Sumerian culture, which at that time and for more than 1,500 years thereafter played a role not unlike that of Latin and Greek in medieval and Renaissance Europe. The texts consist of hymns, incantations, epics, mythological themes, and proverbs, of which only a small part—and even that only in fragments—was known until now. Here, for the first time, many of the texts were found complete and often in several copies.

Perhaps the most important part of the texts is a collection of thirty-two bilingual dictionaries, most of which seem to be copies of three basic word lists that together comprise about 3,000 words of Eblaite. Some of the dictionaries are arranged by similarity of form of the cuneiform signs, while others are arranged by similarity of sound (as pronounced in Eblaite); even more important, there are syllabaries listing Sumerian words (generally consisting of one or at most two syllables) together with their pronunciation in Eblaite (see table 1). The varying pronunciation of Sumerian logographs was hitherto one of the greatest obstacles to a correct interpretation of Sumerian texts. The Ebla syllabaries now make it possible to solve many riddles of that as yet largely unknown language, because the syllabaries were written at a time when Sumerian was still a living language, whereas all texts found so far that give a clue to the pronunciation (and therefore to the meaning) of Sumerian texts were from periods when Sumerian had already been a dead language for more than a thousand years.

TABLE 1
Examples from Sumerian-Eblaite Syllabaries

Sumerian logograph	*Eblaite syllables*	*Semitic root*	*Meaning*
NAM-MI	ù-nu-šum	[ʾnš]	womanhood, femininity
ZÌ	nu-pù-uš-tu-um	[nfš]	soul, breath of life
KÚ	akà-lum	[ʾkl]	to eat
NAM-EN	ma-li-ku-um	[mlk]	king

All dictionaries and syllabaries were shelved in one place, along the northern wall of the room, not mixed up with tablets on any other subject; there was thus some kind of shelf classification. The internal arrangement of the syllabaries also shows that the scholars of Ebla employed a systematic ordering principle. In one list, the Sumerian syllables are arranged in fifty groups according to their sounds: first all logographs pronounced *NÌ* are listed together, then all those pronounced *KA* are together, and so on. This system, known as the acrophonic principle, was employed at Ebla some 700 years before it was used in Babylonian dictionaries (which followed the same order), and it is an important step toward true alphabetization, a principle that evolved about a thousand years later, probably also in the same area.[12]

Several syllabaries were found in as many as eighteen copies, which points to their probable use as textbooks in a school for scribes. Some show clearly that they were exercises written by pupils who had to copy the examples written by their teachers, who also made correction marks in the margins. Moreover, the Ebla collection also seems to have served as a reference library for an academy. This may be concluded from a note at the end of two lexical texts that were compiled "when the young scribes came forth from Mari,"[13] an Akkadian city with which Ebla maintained close trade and cultural contacts. It would therefore seem that the Ebla library was also open to visiting scholars who compared texts and compiled their dictionaries cooperatively, perhaps under the guidance of a general editor. Thus, the scientific conference to which scholars travel from afar seems to have quite ancient roots, and one might perhaps consider those compilations as the earliest conference proceedings.

In addition to bilingual dictionaries and syllabaries, the Ebla tablets also contain a large number of monolingual grammars of

the Eblaite language, especially showing the conjugation of verbs (which, as in all Semitic languages, are the basic building blocks of the language and the source for most nouns and adjectives).

Classification

The tablets also contain large numbers of lists of items, and these, too, exist in numerous identical copies. The making of lists was a typical feature of Sumerian culture, and some fifty texts found at Ebla are actually identical with known Sumerian texts written at the same time or copied later in Akkad, Babylonia, and Assyria. The texts so far deciphered contain lists of gods, kings, stones, objects of metal and wood, animals, fishes, birds, and professions, the latter arranged by rank. From a librarian's point of view, these lists are interesting because the items are often listed in order of precedence or importance, and may be considered as rudimentary classification tables, albeit as yet without a notation (a device invented only in the late Renaissance).

The Significance of Ebla

The excavation of Ebla and the discovery of its archives have so far resulted not only in highly important archeological discoveries, but, unfortunately, also in many controversies. As already mentioned, paleographers of cuneiform script dispute some of the original interpretations of the texts. The chief archeologist did not agree with his compatriot, the epigrapher, on the exact dating of the finds, and the latter has now disassociated himself from the whole enterprise (or, according to another version, was "ousted"), after having doubts about his own earlier identification of Eblaite names with those found in Genesis[14] (see table 2). These similarities between names in the Ebla texts and in the Bible had been prematurely considered as corroboration for the veracity of events as told in Genesis, both by biblical scholars[15] and by Christian fundamentalists.[16] The connection between the Ebla texts and the Bible is, however, now seriously doubted on scientific (mainly linguistic) grounds,[17] but it is also furiously denounced by the Syrian authorities as a sinister "Zionist plot" intended to diminish the alleged importance of an ancient "Arab empire." It seems that they may attempt to prevent or at least to delay the publication of the tablets bearing the disputed texts.[18] Some or all of these often quite acrimonious disputes will probably rage for some time until they can be settled by a better understanding and full decipher-

ment of a larger number of tablets, one that is open to judgment by independent scholars.

TABLE 2
Names of Persons and Places in Eblaite Texts and in the Bible

Eblaite	*Hebrew*	*English form*
ab-ra-mu	ʾabraham	Abraham
da-u-dum	dawid	David
iš-ma-il	yišmaʿeʾl	Ishmael
iš-ra-il	yiśraʾel	Israel
mi-ka-ia	mikah	Micah
mi-ka-il	mikaʾel	Michael
si-da-mu	seḏom	Sodom
e-ma-ra	ʿamorah	Gomorrha
ad-ma	ʾadmah	Admah
si-ba-i-um	seḇoyyim	Zeboiim
be-la	belaʿ	Bela

The table shows some of the most striking resemblances between Eblaite and biblical names of persons and places, as originally deciphered by Pettinato and subsequently accepted by Dahood and Freedman. Pettinato also stated initially that the names of the "Five cities of the plain" (the last 5 names in the table) appeared in an Eblaite text in exactly the same order as listed in Genesis 14:2. Later, he conceded that (a) those names did *not* appear in one text, but in different and perhaps unrelated ones; and (b) the identification of the third and fourth names was not sure, and he had doubts even about the first two ones. Freedman duly reported this and later discussed the implications for biblical research.[19]

In addition, future excavations at the large site of Tell Mardikh as well as at other yet-undiscovered sites may possibly bring to light even more documents. Quite literally, the surface has barely been scratched, and the finds at Ebla are perhaps only a fraction of what is still buried in the countless mounds that dot the landscape of the Levant. The onomastic lists found contain the names of many places whose exact location is not known. It stands to reason that their archives must have held the counterpart copies of the many treaties with other city-states found at Ebla. Perhaps some of these will also be discovered more or less intact.

While this is still a matter for conjecture, we are on safer ground as far as libraries and the invention of writing are concerned. One can already state that the tablets of Ebla constitute the oldest archives and library hitherto found, because not only have thousands of documents from the middle of the third millennium B.C.

been unearthed, but there is also tangible evidence of their arrangement and perhaps even classification (features that were absent from earlier Sumerian excavations). Such sophisticated techniques of arrangement of the texts as well as their composition point to the great antiquity of archival and library practices, which may indeed be far older than was assumed to be the case before the discovery of Ebla. Given the rather slow development of technical innovations in that age, the invention of writing may also be much older, irrespective of whether it is attributed to the Sumerians or the Egyptians, for both of whom the earliest instances of written records so far found are dated to the beginning of the third millennium B.C. Probably much more than five or six hundred years elapsed between the first attempts to record human thought for posterity, the inscription of signs on more or less permanent materials (the earliest of which almost certainly disappeared without leaving a trace), their collection in repositories, and, finally, the invention of archival storage and retrieval methods. It is perhaps not unreasonable to assume a period of perhaps a thousand years for these successive developments, which would mean that the invention of writing might date back to the middle or even the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C., although it is unlikely that records from that time will ever be found or that, if found, they could be reliably dated.

Thus Ebla provides us with new insights into the origin of library practices that were in use 4,500 years ago: the transcription of texts in foreign languages and scripts, classification, cataloging, the provision of incipits and spine titles for easy retrieval, an orderly arrangement on shelves by size, form, and content, as well as the function of a library as a focal point for education and scholarly studies.

Notes

1. P. R. S. Moorey, *Kish Excavations, 1923–1933* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), who deals with tablets found not only at Kish but also at Ur, Uruk, Jamdat Nasr, and other Sumerian sites, notes the "rarity of any good archival context for archaic tablets found at Uruk" and mentions that the "archaic texts from Ur were scattered in rubbish heaps" (p. 157). For a concise introduction to Sumerian tablets, their chronology, and decipherment, see S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Culture and Society* (Menlo Park, Calif.: Cummings, 1975) and also his *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

2. Paolo Matthiae, *Ebla: Un impero ritrovato* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1977). → Paolo Matthiae, "Ebla in the Late Early Syrian Period: The Royal Palace and the State Archives," *Biblical Archeologist* 39 (1976): 94–113; idem,

"La biblioteca reale di Ebla (2400-2250 a.C.)," *Rendiconti della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 48 (1976): 19-45; idem, "Tell Mardikh: The Archives and Palace," *Archaeology* 30 (1977): 244-2→ idem, "Tell Mardikh: Ancient Ebla," *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978): 540-543, which contains new evidence for the dating of Ebla.

4. Giovanni Pettinato, "Testi cuneiformi del 3. millennio in paleo-cananeo rinvenuti nella campagna 1974 a Tell Mardikh = Ebla," *Orientalia* 44 (1975): 361-374; idem, "I testi cuneiformi della biblioteca reale di Tell Mardikh: Notizia preliminare sulla scuola di Ebla," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 48 (1976): 47-57; idem, "The Royal Archives of Tell-Mardikh-Ebla," *Biblical Archeologist* 39 (1976): 44-52.

5. Chaim Bermant and Michael Weitzman, *Ebla: An Archaeological Enigma* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979).

6. The number of tablets found, though indeed large, has been much exaggerated in the popular press. What has been discovered so far consists of 1,800 complete tablets, 4,700 large and small fragments, and about 10,000 tiny fragments, containing only one or two signs. The complete archives seem to have held about 4,000 documents. S→ R. Biggs, "The Ebla Tablets: An Interim Perspective," *Biblical Archeologist* 43 (1980): 76-87.

7. In modern terms: the name *Khrushchev*, written in Roman script, is a transcription of that name—originally written in Cyrillic—intended to convey an approximation of the Russian pronunciation; the numeral *3* is a logograph, written (and pronounced) *three* in English, *trois* in French, *drei* in German, and *tri* in Russian, and so are Chinese characters, pronounced entirely differently in various parts of China and in Japan but having exactly the same meaning.

8. See Bermant and Weitzman, *Ebla*, chap. 4, "Cuneiform without Tears"; and Biggs, "Ebla Tablets," p. 77-78.

9. A. Archi, "The Epigraphic Evidence from Ebla and the Old Testament," *Biblica* 60 (1979): 556-566. See also "New Ebla Epigrapher Attacks Conclusion of Ousted Ebla Scholar," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 6 (3) (1980): 55-56.

10. Giovanni Pettinato, *Catalogo dei testi cuneiformi di Tell Mardikh-Ebla* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1979). Biggs, "Ebla Tablets," p. 87, gives a list of "Published Texts from Ebla" comprising thirty items that either have been published in transliteration or have been shown in legible photographs.

11. Giovanni Pettinato, "L'atlante geografico del vicino oriente antico attestato ad Ebla e ad Abū Salābikh," *Orientalia* 47 (1978): 50-73.

12. The inscriptions found at Ras Shamra, the ancient Ugarit, only a short distance from Ebla, are the oldest extant record of single letters in alphabetical order (although the script is still cuneiform). Almost the same order is still used in the Hebrew alphabet and has to a large extent been preserved first in the Greek and then in the Roman alphabet.

13. Bermant and Weitzman, *Ebla*, p. 158.

14. Letter from Mitchell Dahood in *Biblical Archeologist* 41 (1978): 143.

15. Mitchell Dahood, "Ebla, Ugarit and the Old Testament," *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplement 29 (1978): 81-1→ David N. Freedman, "The Real Story of the Ebla Tablets: Ebla and the Cities of the Plain," *Biblical Archeologist* 41 (1978): 143-164.

16. Clifford Wilson, *Ebla Tablets: Secrets of a Forgotten City* (San Diego: Master Books, 1977).

17. ". . . in my opinion, the Ebla tablets will have no *special* relevance for understanding of the Old Testament," Biggs, "Ebla Tablets," p. 85 (emphasis in the original). See also P. C. Maloney, "Assessing Ebla," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 4 (1) (1978): 4-11.

18. H. Shanks, "Syria Tries to Influence Ebla Scholarship," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 5 (2) (1979): 36-47, contains the full text of a "Declaration" apparently forced upon Matthiae by the Syrians, in which he repudiates any connection between Ebla and the Bible (p. 38). This is followed by a reprint of an interview with Matthiae from the Syrian journal *Flash*, in which he denounces the "Zionist plot" (ibid., pp. 48-50).

19. David N. Freedman, "The Tell Mardikh Excavation, the Ebla Tablets, and Their Significance for Biblical Studies," *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin* 13 (1979): 9.



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The Sumerian Catalogs

Andrew Dalby

Sumerian civilization was apparently the first to have written records and a written literature. Large libraries of clay tablets in Sumerian survive from slightly later than Sumerian times. Tablets from the Sumerian period itself are fewer, but among them are several identified as catalogs of literary works. The fourteen catalogs, reexamined here, have been published by various scholars in original script, in transcription, and in English or German translations. In some cases their purpose is evident: they include location guides to tablets, subject catalogs of hymns, and an index of the contents of a collection of anthologies. Variations in the method of citing *incipits* and in the order of entries (which is not usually random) allow further investigation of the aims of the compilers of these catalogs.

The civilization of Sumer was the first, so far as we know, in which literary works were committed to writing. The Sumerian language, in spite of several attempts, has not yet been shown to be related to any other known language. After having been the vehicle of a long-lasting civilization in Iraq, it gradually fell out of use in the first millennium B.C., supplanted by Akkadian, a Semitic language related to the Arabic that is now Iraq's everyday language.

The Sumerians wrote their language with characters formed by combining wedge-shaped ("cuneiform") impressions on soft clay that was then hardened. In earliest writings the characters were pictures, each representing an idea; later they came to stand for words, parts of words, groups of sounds, and sometimes single sounds. Later still the same script, with all its inconsistencies and imperfections, was adapted for writing Akkadian and other ancient Near Eastern languages.

Sumerian literary texts on their durable clay tablets have been rediscovered in great numbers by archaeologists during the last two centuries. Scholars publish them both in "autograph" (hand-drawn facsimile of the cuneiform script) and in transcription. In the tablets discussed here, each character represents a syllable or a single vowel, but, because of the

complex developments fossilized in the script, many syllables could be represented by any of several characters (which perhaps at an earlier stage stood for different ideas or words with similar sounds). To distinguish these "homophones," as enumerated in standard lists,[1] conventional marks are added to the transcription: thus, the six characters used for the sound *e* are transcribed *e*, *é*, *è*, e_4, e_5, e_6.

The earliest literary works inscribed on these clay tablets were principally hymns praising gods or kings or lamenting disasters. They are considered literary now, but the reason for which they were consigned to writing was practical, as was the reason for keeping archives of administrative and business records, which the Sumerians were also the first to do.[2] It had become essential to recite these hymns in religious ceremonials, and therefore it was convenient to record their texts to assist the memory. The decline of Sumerian as an official language, while it retained its liturgical importance, no doubt further encouraged the recording of texts in the Old Babylonian period, which followed the fall of the third dynasty at Ur in 1931 B.C.

Whole libraries from the Sumerian period itself do not survive.[3] The best-known libraries of the succeeding civilizations are those of Nineveh,[4] Assur,[5] Nippur,[6] and Boghazköy.[7] The scholars of Nineveh, to whom Sumerian was a classical and difficult language, compiled many bilingual editions in which Sumerian was accompanied by an Akkadian translation. Most of our practical knowledge of Sumerian literature comes from these tablets and from the earlier monolingual texts dating chiefly from the Old Babylonian period, when Sumerian, though not the official language, was still commonly understood. Relatively few surviving literary tablets date from the third millennium, the Sumerian period.[8]

Already, at this early date, owners of libraries of literary tablets had found it necessary to catalog their collections; in fact, literary catalogs survive from all these periods.[9] In appearance (see photograph) they are precisely like the literary tablets themselves, though relatively small in size; and because of the way in which tablets are listed in them (see figure 1, and further details below), they were difficult for early researchers to understand. Some tried to read them as obscure poems. In publishing catalog F, however, in 1942, S. N. Kramer recognized that both it and the previously published catalog G were in fact catalogs of literary tablets.

My intention here is to reexamine the earliest catalogs, those of Sumerian and Old Babylonian date, and to try to account for their existence and their form. I should be unable to approach them in this way had they not previously been published and elucidated by the scholars named in the next section, to whose work I am greatly indebted.



Catalog M, An Index of Nine Anthologies of Hymns, No. 23771, British Museum, London, England.
By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum

Honoured and noble warrior
Where are the sheep
Where are the wild oxen
And with you I did not
In our city
In former days
Lord of the observance of heavenly laws
Residence of my God
Gibil, Gibil [the fire-god]
On the 30th day, the day when sleeps
God An, great ruler [the sky-god]
A righteous woman, who heavenly laws and commandments
The King whom you bore

Figure 1. Incipits of Sumerian hymns
Entries 1–12 from catalog E, in the Hilprecht Collection, University of Jena, East Germany.

Fourteen catalogs will be discussed, referred to henceforth by letters A through P.

A. Yale, YBC 3654. Text, transcription, translation, and discussion: W. W. Hallo, "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963): 167–176. The catalog has 42 entries: lines 1–32 are followed by a space and the words "Total: 32 royal hymns"; lines 33–42 are followed by a space and "Total: 10 hymns which are out of use (?). Found (or recovered?) by Ni'urum."

B. Jena, HS 1360. Text, transcription, translation, and discussion: S. N. Kramer and I. Bernhardt, *Sumerische literarische Texte aus Nippur* 1 (1961), no. 55. Four entries. The first two list tablets belonging to two series, each followed by "In a well (?)". The third states that its series was "Not found (or recovered)." The fourth names a series but says nothing of its location or contents.

C. London, U 17900 H. Text: C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer, *Ur Excavations: Texts*, 6/1 (London, 1963), no. 123. Transcription and discussion: Kramer, "New Literary Catalogue from Ur," *Revue d'Assyriologie* 55/4 (1961): 169–176. 55 entries covering 67 works (cf. below, p. 484): lines 1–25 in one column, followed by "25"; lines 26–55 in one column, followed by "42, total 67."

D. Baghdad, U 16876 B. Text: H. H. Figulla and W. J. Martin, *Ur Excavations: Texts*, 5 (London, 1953), no. 86. Discussion: F. R. Kraus in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 50/11–12 (1955): 518. Transcription and further discussion: I. Bernhardt and S. N. Kramer in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesells. u. Sprachw. Reihe*

6/3-4 (1956/7): 394, note 4. 23 entries (lines 1 and 13 refer to the same work). Lines 1-11 are followed by: "In the lower tablet-holder"; lines 13-24 are followed by: "In the upper tablet-holder."[10]

E. Jena, HS 1504. Text, transcription, translation, and discussion: I. Bernhardt and S. N. Kramer, "Götter-Hymnen und Kult-Gesänge der Sumerer auf zwei Keilschrift-'Katalogen' in der Hilprecht-Sammlung," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesells. u. Sprachw. Reihe* 6/3-4 (1956/7): 389-395 and plates 1-3. 33 entries.

F. Philadelphia, CBS 29.15.155. Text, transcription, and discussion: S. N. Kramer, "The Oldest Literary Catalogue," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 88 (1942): 10-19. Further discussion: Bernhardt and Kramer (see under E above), p. 393, note 2. 62 entries: there are ruled lines after nos. 10, 20, 30, 40, and 49.

G. Paris (Louvre), A05393. Text: H. de Genouillac, *Textes cunéiformes* 15 (Paris, 1930), plate 67. Transcription and discussion: Kramer (see under F above), pp. 17-19. Further discussion: Bernhardt and Kramer (see under E above), p. 393, note 3. 67 entries: lines 1-23, 24-47, 48-54, and 55-68 are set out in four columns, followed by *4 na-rú-a* (meaning uncertain: see below, p. 481).[11]

H. Berlin, VAT 6481. Text: H. Zimmern, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler* 10 (Leipzig, 1913), no. 216. Summary and discussion: Bernhardt and Kramer (see under E above), p. 394, note 5. 20 entries are still recognizable as such (the tablet is very fragmentary); all are hymns, arranged in nine classes according to musical form and according to the god addressed. Each of these details is specified at the end of each class.

J. Manchester (John Rylands), box 24: E5 and 25. Text, transcription, and discussion: C. Wilcke in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 24/1 (1973): 14-15 and plate 3. 26 entries.

K. London. Text: C. J. Gadd and S. N. Kramer: *Ur Excavations: Texts*, 6/2 (London, 1966), no. 196. Discussion: Kramer in *Studia Orientalia* 46 (1975): 157-158, note 1. 21 surviving entries, followed by a ruled line.

L. Philadelphia, CBS 14077. Text: E. Chiera [and S. N. Kramer], *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1934), no. 41. Discussion: W. W. Hallo, "Another Sumerian Literary Catalogue?" *Studia Orientalia* 46 (1975): 77-80. 27 surviving entries.

M. London, BM 23771. Text, transcription, translation, and discussion: S. N. Kramer, "Two British Museum *iršemma* 'Catalogues,'" *Studia Orientalia* 46 (1975): 141-166. 85 lines listing 83 hymns from nine tablets. Lines 1-2, 4-12, 14-26, 28-37, 39-47, 49-63, 65-70, 72-77, and 79-85, each followed by a total and "Contents of 1 tablet." The last entry is followed by "*Iršemma* (congregational laments) of the gods."

N. London, BM 23701. Text, transcription, translation, and discussion: S. N. Kramer (see under M above), pp. 142, 152–156. 74 lines listing 83 hymns; lines 1–67 followed by "Total is 76 *iršemma* of Inanna"; lines 68–74 followed by "7 *iršemma* of Ninsubur." Title: "*Iršemma* of Inanna and Ninsubur."

P. Jena, HS 1477. Text, transcription, translation, and discussion: Bernhardt and Kramer (see under E above), pp. 391–394 and plates 1–2. About 54 entries arranged in five classes according to musical form, apparently subdivided according to the god addressed. Each of these details is specified at the end of each class or subdivision. Lines 1–24 (classification lost) followed by a rule; lines 26–42 followed by "Hymns of the *gala*" and a rule; lines 44–47 followed by "Hymns of the pastorate of Inanna" and a rule; lines 49–60 followed by "*Tigi*" and a rule; lines 62–81 followed by "*Adab*" and a rule.[12]

Of these catalogs, two (A and B) are to be dated to the third dynasty of Ur, about 2000 B.C. One (P) is thought to belong to the Kassite period, after 1700 B.C. The remaining eleven (C through N) belong to the Old Babylonian period, which falls between these two.

At this early stage of the history of bibliography the "title" had not been invented. A book came to be identified by the first words of the text (the incipit). Incidentally many, though not all, of the works listed in these catalogs do themselves survive—more or less fragmentarily—on clay tablets and have themselves been published after their recovery from the archaeological sites of Iraq; often enough, therefore, the first words of a known Sumerian literary text can be identified with the listings in these catalogs.

The practice of listing by incipit began, it seems clear, as a way to identify a physical tablet rather than the abstraction of a literary work, and therefore each successive tablet in a series could likewise be identified by the words it happened to begin with. Thus, within the multi-tablet sets that are recorded in catalog B, each individual tablet is recorded by its incipit. Wellisch (see note 3) remarks that tablets at Ebla were shelved slightly leaning so that the top line—the incipit—of each tablet was visible above the top edge of the next.

In A, however, one of the earliest two catalogs, if not the earliest of all, it seems that works were listed not mechanically, by incipit, but by selected words (keywords) from the first two lines of text. It was an early experiment, perhaps, which was found to be too complicated.

A number of catalogs carry some clue as to the circumstances in which they were compiled, among them the two earliest. But A and B are difficult to interpret. Were the tablets "recovered" for use, having been lost or abandoned? Or were they merely "found" to be present at a

stock check? What was the "well" in which were two of the four tablet-series listed in B?

The well must have been accessible; otherwise it would have been neither possible nor necessary to list the individual tablets of the series that had been put in it. A well, possibly, was a nickname for the type of doorless, windowless archive room, approached apparently by ladder from above, in which tablets were stored at Lagash during the Ur III period.[13] If this was the well, then one might conjecture that the owner of the works listed in B had the fourth of them to hand, had lost the third, and kept the first two in the less accessible archive room, making it necessary to list their contents for reference.

D is quite specifically a library catalog, listing the contents of two tablet-baskets or boxes. G apparently likewise lists tablets in four containers or locations of some sort: the word *na-rú-a* is unknown, but clearly refers to the four unequal groups (which seem to have nothing to do with the subject of the tablets) into which the list is divided. D and G, like B, therefore serve the purpose of location guides. M is a list of hymns contained in a collection of nine anthology tablets and was presumably intended to assist the user in locating individual hymns as needed; this must be the earliest example of analytical cataloging.

C includes a count of tablets (as do A, M, and N). The owners of all these collections, however, considered other questions more important than the mere number of tablets they possessed; otherwise the titles need not have been listed.

Several catalogs are confined to a single genre of Sumerian literature, that of hymns. This is quite specifically the case with A, H, M, N, and P and is presumed to be so with E, in which all identifiable works listed are hymns (if one allows into that classification E17, a lament, and E21, a religious love song).[14] J is even more specialized: all identifiable works listed in it are magical incantations.

This is the sum of the direct evidence supplied by the catalog tablets concerning the purposes for which they were made. There is some indirect evidence.

A difficulty with the incipit as title is that some incipits are rather common: *u$_4$-ri-a* (in former days) for legends, *lugal* (king) for hymns, and *dumu-é-dub-ba-u$_4$-ul-la-àm* (pupil of the writing-school) for moralizing works. It is instructive to observe how different catalogs deal with this problem.

F is inconsistent: F7, F20, and F21 are three works identified simply as *u$_4$-ri-a*; whether duplicates or different works, therefore, we cannot tell. F6 and F47 are similarly identified simply as *éš-nun-e*.[15] F1, F2, F26, and F39 begin with *lugal*, and the titles are continued at some length to

distinguish them. F50, F51, F52, F55, F57, F59 (and possibly other neighboring entries) list works we know to have begun *dumu-é-dub-ba-u$_4$-ul-la-àm*, but these words are omitted in the catalog and the next words are cited instead.

J, a specialized catalog, lists many incantations beginning with *én-é-nu-ru*; these words are uniformly omitted and the following words cited in their place. According to Wilcke, it is possible that these words are to be restored in the damaged line at the top of this catalog.

G resembles F: G14 and G15 are *u$_4$-ri-a* titles, not distinguished. G36 and G37, however, beginning *éš-nun-e*, are continued to distinguish them. Likewise G17 (= F26), G18, G24 (= F39), G64, and G67 are different *lugal* titles given at length. G lists no *dumu-é-dub-ba* titles.

E6 is a single *u$_4$-ri-a* title and D24 a single *dumu-é-dub-ba*; for the purpose of these catalogs no further distinction was necessary.

C28, C29, and C30 are three titles beginning *u$_4$-ri-a* and continued to distinguish them. Elsewhere, C introduces a different method. C33 reads *3 dumu-é-dub-ba* and C43 *11 lugal*: three and eleven works, respectively, beginning with or containing these words are thus briefly recorded. Besides the eleven *lugal* works at C43, the incipits of C4, C5, C25, C39, and C41 also contain this word.

The fact that, in general, incipits were lengthened to distinguish them is a further indication that the contents of the tablets, not the mere quantity of them, were what interested the compilers of these lists. Why this was not the case with the *u$_4$-ri-a* incipits in F and G, one can scarcely even conjecture. The same scribe and the same collection are involved in both. Was the scribe simply not very interested in stories of "former days"?

It seems most likely, then, that the ambiguous entries dealt with in the preceding paragraphs were for different works that shared the same incipit, and not for duplicate copies. Apart from this uncertain point, there is very little duplication within any of these catalogs. D1 and D13 (the first work listed in each of the tablet-holders inventoried in D) duplicate one another: their title has not been identified with a known work, but it also occurs as F26 and G17, so might simply be a popular work of which two copies had turned up in D by chance. There is considerable duplication in M, which is explained by the analytical aim of the compiler of M. He was listing the contents of a set of anthologies; some important or popular hymns were not unnaturally included in more than one of them.

We now come to the question of the order of entries in the catalogs. Most of the specialized catalogs of hymns are subdivided according to the type of hymn and according to the god addressed: this applies to A, H, N, and P. It is interesting, but not surprising, to find this subject

classification; the tablets might well have assisted priests to find texts needed for a particular ceremony. A differs from the other three in that its entries are not classified according to musical form. The oldest of the tablets, it also differs from all the rest (as noted above) in listing titles by keywords rather than simply by incipits. E is a list of hymns without any evident subject arrangement.

The order of entries in B and D depends on their stated purpose as location guides, which has already been discussed. The order of entries in M, the analytical catalog, evidently depends on the order of texts within the collections analyzed.

This leaves, among the better-preserved catalogs of general contents, C, F, G, J, and L: in these no purpose has been stated or implied in the arrangement of the entries. Can any purpose be inferred?

Hallo, in *Studia Orientalia* 46 (1975): 80, finds a subject arrangement in L: "'obverse?' individual lament, congregational laments; 'reverse?' disputation, royal hymn, divine hymns."

In J few of the titles have been identified, and it is impossible as yet to say whether there might be a logical arrangement of entries.

Let us now consider the special relation between F and G. These, the first two Sumerian catalogs to be identified as such (by Kramer in 1942), coincide in their contents and arrangement much more than could be explained by chance. G5–G17 and G21–G25 coincide with F5–F10, F17–F21, F25–F28, F38–F39, and F48 *in the same order*; G26–G40, G42, and G49–G54 all duplicate entries in F, though in a more random order. Now, in F, a rudimentary subject arrangement can be made out. Taking only the works that have been certainly identified, 1–2 are royal hymns; 4–6 and 9 divine hymns; 10 and 12–14 are Gilgamesh epics; 15–18, 24–25, and 28–29 are philosophical, concerning human works; 32–34 and 36 are laments; 39 contains the epic of Lugalbanda and Enmerkar; 45 a choral hymn; and 49 a collection of hymns; while 50–53, 55, 57, and 59 are educational works (none of which recurs in G). 8 and 41, admittedly, are myths, closely related, and one cannot explain their separation in the listing: but this and the fact that for no evident reason there are two groups of hymns are the only points against an argument that the tablets listed in F were arranged according to subjects before the list was made.

The rearrangement of the titles in G (which Kramer considers to be by the same scribe) breaks down the subject sequence to a considerable extent, and the resulting order appears to have no underlying logic. Thus one may conjecture that G is an inventory of the same collection of tablets some time later. Use and disorderly replacement of the tablets had disarranged the sequence; the collection of educational works had been discarded and in its place a collection of hymns (G41, 45, 60,

63–64, and 68), epics (G18 and 44), and proverbs (G46), among other unidentified works, had been added—in no particular order—but nearly all toward the end of the existing collection.

C is not arranged in any simple subject sequence, although there are groups of related works in it: a number of the collocations in F recur in C, though the precise order is not often the same. But a close examination of the titles listed in C suggests there is a superficial logic to be found in the recurrence of cuneiform signs from one entry to the next (or sometimes the next but one). On the basis of the complete transliteration by Kramer in *Revue d'Assyriologie* 55 (1961): 171–172, these recurrent signs are listed here between the numbers of the lines in which they occur. (Thus the first entry here means that the phrase *lugal-me* occurs in both C4 and C5; the second entry means that *me* is common to C5 and C6; etc.)

4 *lugal-me* 5 *me* 6 *me-ta-àm* 7 *me* 8. 9 *lú* 10 *lú* 12 *a* 13 *ḫuš* 14 *an-ki* 15 *ki* . . . *da* 17 *da* 19 (18 *e* 19 *e* 20) 19 *u₄* 21 *nir* 22 *nam* 23 *nam-nun-e* 24 *nam* 25. 28 *u₄-ri-a* 29 *u₄-ri-a* 30 *u₄* 31 *da* 32 *u₄* 35 *u₄-ul* 37 *ki-ta* 38 *ki-ta* 45 *u₄* . . . *ki* 46 *u₄* 48 *u₄* 49. 39 *lugal* 41 *lugal* 43. 50 *en-lil* 51. 53 *ra* 54.

There are some gaps here: but it is striking to note how these gaps are bridged by subject links between titles, as confirmed by collocations found in F, which as far as we can tell at present is arranged in subject groupings. In the following list, known subject links between neighboring titles in catalog C are listed as s, while collocations shared by catalogs F and C are listed as c. These shared collocations, between pairs of titles whose subjects are not certainly known, may be conjectured also to represent subject links. Thus 13 c 14 s 16 means that entries 14 and 16 in catalog C are for works on similar subjects, while entries 13 and 14 are for works which also occur side by side in catalog F.

4 cs 5. 6 c 7. 11 c 9 cs 10 cs 12. 13 c 14 s 16 s 17. 15 s 16. 17 s 18 c 19 c 20 cs 22. 26 s 27. 32 s 33. 37 c 39. 41 s 42. 44 sc 45 sc 46. 49 s 50. 54 s 55.

The subject links are as follows: 4 and 5 are royal hymns; 9, 10, and 12 are Gilgamesh epics, 9 and 10 being two versions of *Gilgamesh and the Nether World*; 14, 16, and 17 are concerned with the Ekur temple; 15 and 16 concern the god Enlil; 17, 18, 20, and 22 are about agriculture; 26 and 27 are myths about the nether world; 32 and 33 are didactic works. 41 and 42 are myths about Ninurta; 44 and 45 are lamentations over the destruction of Ur (46 also a lament); 49 and 50 are, respectively, Sumerian and Akkadian editions of an astrological work; and 54 and 55 are both laments.

In C, therefore, resemblances either of title or of subject (not often both) link successive members of the series 4–8, 9–25, 26–27, 28–51 (except 34, 36, and 40), and 53–54. Generally speaking, the remaining

gaps separate works whose subjects are not certainly known, so it is not impossible that there might have been links between some of them. The links that have been demonstrated seem, in any case, too ubiquitous to be attributed to chance. There can be little doubt that catalog C was constructed in this fashion to help the person responsible for the collection to memorize its contents: a sign or group of signs in each title in turn, or an aspect of the subject represented, would recall the next title. The status of this catalog as nothing more than an adjunct to the librarian's memory explains the apparently unhelpful listings *3 dumu-é-dub-ba* and *11 lugal*: the keywords once given, the rest of the titles would come to mind.

Let us summarize what these catalogs have to tell us about experiments and developments in bibliography in Sumerian and Old Babylonian times.

A, the oldest catalog, appears to date from a period when the incipit was not fully established as the way to identify a tablet; keywords were used. The system no doubt proved unnecessarily complicated.[16] In all the other catalogs considered here, a book's title is almost invariably its incipit. Title cataloging did not develop any further until long after this period.

On the other hand, at the beginning of this period, as at the end, scribes were aware that, as need dictated, tablets could be listed by subject (A, H, L, N, P), by location (B, D), in a mnemonic sequence (C), or randomly; that the contents of several tablets could be listed together (M); that tablets themselves could be arranged by subjects (F), though it would prove difficult to keep them in order (G); that a decision might be made to house some more accessibly than others (B); and that tablets might be added, lost, or discarded (B, F, G). Collections were not yet large enough, however, to make any really strict or consistent filing order necessary. There is as yet no hint in these catalogs of any systematic arrangement by script characters—that is, of any precursor of alphabetical order.

Notes

1. For example, E. Thureau-Dangin: *Les homophones sumériens* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929). The most recent grammar of Sumerian is Marie-Louise Thomsen: *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1984).

2. Of the quarter of a million surviving Sumerian tablets, the vast majority are accounts, inventories, contracts, and other nonliterary documents. Two books by S. N. Kramer are good introductions to Sumerian civilization and culture: *From the Tablets of Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colo.: Falcon's Wing Press, 1956) and *The Sumerians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

3. At Ebla, however, in what is now Syria, a library of 17,000 tablets has

been excavated and dated to about 2250 B.C., contemporary with the later Sumerian period. Its remarkably good state of preservation has allowed direct observation of library storage and arrangement in a civilization linked in many ways to that of Sumer. See Giovanni Pettinato, "The Royal Archives of Tell-Mardikh-Ebla," *Biblical Archaeologist* 39/2 (1976): 44–54; Paolo Matthiae, "Ebla in the Late Early Syrian Period: The Royal Palace and the State Archives," *Biblical Archaeologist* 39/3 (1976): 94–113; P. Matthiae, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (London: Hodder Stoughton, 1980); Hans W. Wellisch, "Ebla: The World's Oldest Library," *Journal of Library History* 16/3 (1981): 488–500.

4. B. Meissner, "Wie hat Assurbanipal seine Bibliothek zusammengebracht?" in *Aufsätze, Fritz Milkau gewidmet* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1921). On later Mesopotamian librarianship generally, see M. Weitemeyer, "Archive and Library Technique in Early Mesopotamia," *Libri* 6/4 (1956): 217–238. Note especially his description of the format of cuneiform tablets, with examples of colophons, on pp. 226–230.

5. E. Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I.," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16/2 (1953): 197–215, includes a list of surviving tablets from the library.

6. J. P. Peters, "The Nippur Library," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 26/1 (1905): 145–164. The majority of the Nippur texts are in Sumerian; they include 2,000 literary texts, the largest such collection from any site. Many of them have been published by S. N. Kramer.

7. E. Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Hattuša," *Archiv Orientalni* 17/2 (1949) (= *Symbolae ad studia orientis pertinentes F. Hrozny dedicatae*): 7–23, includes a list of Hittite catalogs.

8. On the history of Sumerian literature, see W. W. Hallo, "Toward a History of Sumerian Literature," *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 181–203; W. W. Hallo, "The Expansion of Cuneiform Literature," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 46–47/1 (1980) (= *Jubilee volume*): 307–322.

9. For a list of later catalogs of Sumerian texts, see W. W. Hallo, "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83/2 (1963): 169, and "Another Sumerian Literary Catalogue?" *Studia Orientalia* 46 (1975): 78.

10. Figulla's line numbering, adopted here, counts these location notes as lines 12 and 25. Kraus counted Figulla's lines 15–25 as Rückseite (Reverse) 1–11.

11. Kramer's first line numbering, adopted here, counts 68 by including a deleted entry as line 19. In the discussion by Bernhardt and Kramer, the numbering of lines 20–68 is reduced by one. Genouillac's line numbering was two below that of Bernhardt and Kramer throughout.

12. Kramer's line numbering, adopted here, includes lines devoted to classification and to the names of gods. The *gala* were temple eunuchs; *tigi* hymns were those sung to the accompaniment of a musical instrument known as *balag*; *adab* were divine hymns that included prayers for a king. Inanna and Ninsubur were two of the gods of the Sumerian pantheon.

13. L. Heuzey in E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1884–1912), pp. 435ff.

14. Here and elsewhere in this paper a notation such as E17 means "the title listed in catalog E, line 17."

15. *É-nun-e* is a name of the god Enlil. One work known to have begun with this word is a hymn to the temple of Ninhursag at Kesh.

16. Compare the development in modern library cataloging of book titles, from entry under person or place named in the title (as in older English catalogs) or entry under first noun (as in German catalogs) to entry under first significant word. Since Sumerian has no prefixed article, the problem of nonsignificant incipits as common as "A" and "The" did not arise.

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The Scribal Tablet-House in Ancient Mesopotamia

CHRISTOPHER J. LUCAS

THE PIVOTAL ROLE of the scribe in the development of Mesopotamian culture can scarcely be exaggerated. His was the cohesive force that helped preserve and enrich one of mankind's very earliest civilizations throughout its long historical career, that impressed upon it its unique form and character, and that maintained and revitalized its vast body of traditions, customs, and ideals over the span of almost three millennia, doing so in spite of repeated social, political, and intellectual changes. With the deployment of the first practical system of writing—an innovation which obviously lent societal mores a permanence and continuity heretofore lacking—the scribe emerged early as a central figure in the workings of Mesopotamia. Thus armed with a means of fixing thought on clay, it was inevitable perhaps that the tablet-writer should come to occupy a strategic position in his several roles as temple functionary, court secretary, royal counselor, civil bureaucrat, commercial correspondent, poet, and scholar. The role and importance of the *tupšarru*, it has been rightly observed, might be likened to those of the clergy in medieval Europe; his lore, *tupšarrūtu*, to that extensive body of knowledge, skills, and *savoir-faire* covered by the Islamic term *adab*. (1) Any holistic appreciation for the Mesopotamian cradle of civilization, arguably, will accord pre-eminence to the scribe and his craft in ancient Near Eastern society.

Traditional Assyriological scholarship, it must be said, has been duly cognizant of the practical and literary achievements of the Mesopotamian scribe, and has explored in some detail the scribal contribution to the historical evolution of both form and content in the extant—albeit fragmentary—corpus of Sumero-Akkadian and Babylonian literature. Less well developed, however, (with a few notable exceptions) has been concern and appreciation for the pedagogic means whereby scribes were prepared for their vocation, the institutions in which their training and subsequent scholarly endeavor were conducted, the character of those documents employed as objects of study, and, generally, the nature, content, and organization of formal school curricula. This is to say that while the appli-

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cation of scribal craft has been analyzed and celebrated at length, the setting within which scribes mastered their lore has received rather less systematic attention than it deserves.

I.

The historical priority of organized instruction in the *wadi arifidan* or "twin rivers basin" of the Tigris and Euphrates seems virtually incontestable. Whereas the existence of formal learning institutions is highly probable but as yet unconfirmed for Egypt of the Middle Kingdom (c. 1900 B.C.), for example, or in the still more remote yet literate Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro cultures of the Indus Valley (c. 2500 B.C.), culture-sites in lower Iraq attest to what might justifiably be termed the "first" schools in recorded history. (2) Surviving texts together with other archaeological remains point to the existence of schools in Mesopotamia at least by Old Babylonian times (c. 2000 B.C.) and most likely several centuries before. There can be little doubt that by the time of Hammurabi in the mid-eighteenth century, at any rate, scribal institutions of learning were flourishing all along the axis of the *al-Jarīrah* or "island" formed by the twin rivers, from modern Baghdad southeastward down toward the Shatt 'el-Arab.

Some of the factors responsible for the early emergence of schools in Mesopotamia are not difficult to divine. The documented prevalence of large-scale cereal agriculture in many areas (supplemented extensively by horticulture and animal husbandry) must have necessitated a developed "storage economy," complete with ways for recording wages and rations, registering land titles and rentals, crop payments, the transfer of other staples and materials, and similar transactions. At the center of this complex economic circulation system stood the temple, which served also as the pivot of the larger social and political order. These autarchic "landed sanctuaries" or cultic preserves would have been supported by extensive land holdings and serfs, organized ostensibly to provide an adequately maintained abode for the divine presence. Insofar as the temple likewise functioned as the prime regulator of trade and commerce, not to mention its sponsorship of public works, it would have been the first institution to stand in need of a literate class of administrators. Writing fragments uncovered from the archaic temple of E-Anna in Uruk, to cite a case in point, reveal the presence of such a literate class well before the midpoint of the third millennium, and further open up the possibility of organized instruction conducted under temple auspices. (3) Overall, it can be assumed that the invention of cuneiform sometime around the end of the fourth millennium was at once the necessary and sufficient condition for the emergence of a literate bureaucracy; and the scribal class, in turn, represented a logical response to the need for efficient record-keeping within ever-increasingly elaborate systems of administrative control.

Still another factor supportive of the growth of a scribal class and hence

of schools was the rise of the royal court as a major center of power. Mesopotamian courts, no less than temples, required the service of literate bureaucrats for conducting affairs of state, and, correlatively, schools of some sort in which to train scribes for their work. From the many economic, administrative, political, and literary tablets recovered so far, it is obvious that the number of scribes who practiced their craft in the service of temple and court from Sumerian times onward must have run into the thousands. (4) The earliest Sumerian word for scribe is *umbisag*; the later, more common term was *dubsar* (Akkadian: *tupšarru*, or "tablet-writer"). There were "junior" and "high" scribes, liturgical and cultic functionaries, administrative factotums, and court retainers who served as ranking officials in the upper echelon of the royal bureaucracy. Others were employed as private secretaries or commercial copyists, but only in later periods. A partial list of occupational titles, each position carefully designated in both Sumerian and Akkadian, indicates an elaborate system of differentiation by rank and specialization. (5) Included are the notary or seal inscriber (*musar* = *mušarru*), the land surveyor or registrar (*ašàgu* = *sašukku*), the military recorder (*kilu úbgarra* = *tupšarr ummani*), the writer and stele engraver (*kabsar* = *kapsarru*), the "district" scribe (*arua*), the copyist (*geštula* = *sukkuku*), the court advisor (*umunak* = *tupšarr assuru*), the secretary (Old Babylonian: *zagga* = *zazakku*), the common scribe for laborer groups (*erinna* = *tupšarr sabē*), and several classes of lesser clerks (imma).

Precious little is known of the social position and influence of tablet-writers as a class. Fragmentary evidence dating from Ur III (c. 2113-2006 B.C.), however, indicates that the *dubsars* considered themselves members of an intellectual elite (*dumu gir*), and perhaps justifiably so. Undoubtedly the high scarcity value of literacy translated into special standing, as suggested by the scribal boast that they alone were fit to dispense counsel (*nadiga* = *masartu*) to kings and other members of the reigning aristocracy. Generally speaking, if the literati were not themselves members of the ruling class, at least they enjoyed the patronage and respect of the rich and powerful. (6)

Letters addressed to kings or to their scribes illustrate forcefully the importance of the court scribe or royal secretary. (7) Virtually all correspondence addressed to or emanating from the monarch—edicts, directives, battle orders, royal inscriptions, diplomatic communications, and so forth—passed through the hands of the copyist. In his capacity as official correspondent, the scribe therefore exercised enormous control over the flow of information to and from the palace, the vital link between a ruler and the world outside his court. Nor did the secretary's role as arbiter go unacknowledged. Oftentimes those who addressed messages to the royal person appended a separate request that the scribal mediator take special pains to convey the exact message intended or to speak favorably on the author's behalf in submitting the tablet before the throne.

Occasionally duplicate copies of official missives were dispatched to the royal secretary; sometimes negotiations were conducted exclusively between scribes of different courts. Also common were elaborate invocations of divine blessings upon the scribal recipient rather than upon the person to whom the letter was officially addressed.

Precisely when the school as a discrete institution developed of course is problematic. In light of the high degree of institutional articulation characteristic of the Sumero-Akkadian states, however, it is probable that some systematic provision for the transmission of literacy skills must have been made attendant upon large-scale employment of scribes within the social economy. Again, the considerable number of tablets tentatively identified as school "textbooks" excavated at Shuruppak hint at the operation of schools at least by the mid-point of the third millennium. Whatever the truth of the matter, a few centuries thereafter the issue is no longer in doubt. The appearance of schools in large numbers around 2000 B.C. came at a particularly critical juncture, at a time when the political center of gravity was shifting northward from Ur to Isin and Larsa, then to Babylon, ultimately the seat of a vast new imperium. As the second millennium opened, domination by Amoritic Babylonians was well advanced throughout the region formerly divided up among the separate city-states of ancient Sumer and Akkad. The advent of Babylonian hegemony brought with it major changes: an enormous expansion of the political horizons of Mesopotamia, a concomitant influx of foreign influence, and, most significantly, a shift from the Sumerian language to an Akkadian dialect as the vernacular medium of communication. In consequence, Old Babylonian supremacy clearly spelled the possibility of a cultural rupture with the past. Behind Babylon loomed a full thousand years of history, extending from the Early Dynastic age of the pre-Sargonic city-states (c. 2800 B.C.) down through the brilliant if short-lived "Neo-Sumerian" renaissance of the Third Dynasty of Ur in the period immediately preceding. To the schools of the succeeding Isin-Larsa and Babylon I Dynasty fell the monumental task of mediating and shaping this Sumero-Akkadian cultural legacy, re-casting it in a form adopted to a substantially altered social milieu. (8)

The fruits of a many-sided cultural florescence which had blossomed forth at the time of the leadership of Isin and Larza was an array of Sumerian literary works, an increasing number of lexical and grammatical compilations for the teaching of Sumerian (furnished with interlinear Akkadian translations), and the beginnings of a separate body of Akkadian literature. The challenge confronting scribal scholars of the Babylon I period was not simply to assemble the Sumerian texts of the past and thus maintain, as it were, the "stream of the tradition," but beyond this to extend that literature in the Akkadian tongue—now employed more and more for literary purposes, as distinct from the more utilitarian uses to which it had been put under the kings of the Dynasty of Akkad. Con-

sidering the singular durability of Mesopotamian culture, it may not be too much to credit the literati of the Babylonian *scriptoria* for having succeeded in their historic mission and so contributing to the remarkable cultural continuity Mesopotamia was to evidence thereafter—continuing as it did well into Achaemenian and Seleucid times. (9)

At the risk of some oversimplification, it may be observed that two distinct strains evolved within the literary tradition. One was comprised by the sort of informal, non-canonical literature in which the artistic aspirations of the poet, the ideologies of the political writer, and the novel theories of the scholar materialized. The other, deriving from the first, was a more or less fixed assemblage of texts which became the mainstay of the educational system. (10) Upon this latter collection of documents depends most of the data presently available concerning the work of those scribes who were neither temple nor court officiants, but who served rather as professional pedagogues in the Mesopotamian school. What is plain is that virtually nowhere else from antiquity do writing tablets preserve in so complete a fashion or with quite so much vivid detail the particulars of those archetypal institutions of learning within which the task of cultural preservation and transmission was carried out.

II.

The Sumerian word for "school" was *edubba* or *é-dub-ba-a*, and was rendered in the Akkadian language as *bīt-tuppi*, literally, "tablet-house." (11) Apart from so-called *Lesestücke* or "school compositions," (to be considered momentarily) which were themselves likely employed in classroom instruction, direct textual references to the Babylonian *edubba* are to be found chiefly in letters of correspondence dating to the opening of the second millennium, and in a few royal hymns of the same period in which kings sometimes mention their formal education. Literacy was still a noteworthy accomplishment, furnishing the subject of much royal boasting. Thus the speaker in one such hymnal narrative recounts, "Since I was a child (I was in) the *edubba*, and on the tablets of Sumer and Akkad I learned the scribal art; of the young, no one could write a tablet like me; in the place of wisdom (where) the scribal art (is learned) people . . . (fragment missing); I am perfectly able to subtract and add, (skilled in) counting and accounting; the fair Nanibgal, Nisaba, has lavishly provided me with wisdom and intelligence; I am an 'open' scribe . . . am I." (12)

A second reference to the school appears subsequently (lines 311-315) in the same royal hymn: "May the scribe stand ready for my prayer in the Ekur (i.e., the Temple of Enlil, in Nippur) . . . may he take it in his hand (i.e., record it); may the singer (or narrator) stand ready for it and perform it; in the *edubba* it will never be changed; in the place of learning it will never cease." (13) The first passage is instructive, both for its identification of the "tablet-house" as a "place of wisdom" where scribes were trained, and for its indirect references to the teaching of writing and

mathematics. The second excerpt likewise characterizes the *edubba* as a "place of learning," and implies that one of the duties of a palace scribe was to attend at liturgical observances, recording for posterity the monarch's obeisance before the temple god. The latter text further suggests that royal petitions were preserved in a fixed canonical form within the scribal school and were studied by successive generations of scholars. Quite probably the tablet-house also was a place where hymns and other important literary documents were composed originally, or having been handed down in an oral tradition, were first committed to written form. (14)

At least two Old Babylonian letters make reference to a formal educational institution. "Instruct him (my son) to go to school," writes a parent to his son's teacher, "watch over his hand (writing) and help him." (15) The second alludes to schooling in the context of a brief message passed between a teacher and student: "I entered the tablet-house and read (the composition beginning with) 'gá-nu,' correcting the tablet of 'gá-nu' which you left." (16)

Scattered allusions to the *bīt tuppi* are found from later periods as well. One such reference dates to the post-Old Babylonian era when the god Nabu had replaced the goddess Nisaba as a scribal patron, though it does not necessarily indicate that the scribal school was still functioning: "The son of Bêl (Nabu) (goes) from the *bīt tuppi* to (the place) where he lives as master." (17) Another textual source, somewhat more "literary" or "poetic" in character, appears on a cuneiform tablet fragment from Boghazköy: "You shall mix urine from a donkey with clay from (the) *bīt tuppi*." (18) There are similarly oblique references to schools and instruction in a Hittite source and again in a text dating to the Kassite period (c. 1600–1200 B.C.). In neither case, however, do the passages in question demonstrate the actual existence of the tablet-house in these later centuries. (19) Generally speaking, the *edubba* or *bīt tuppi* as an institutional type was distinctive of the Old Babylonian period, and seems to have been supplanted in later periods by private or tutorial instruction. (20)

Extant school literature supplies no physical description of the Babylonian tablet-house, only brief allusions to the streets outside, where a pupil is cautioned not to loiter; to a gate through which students passed to and fro; and to a courtyard within which oral interrogations or examinations were sometimes held. The only specific reference to a building as such is contained within a somewhat enigmatic Sumerian riddle of indeterminate vintage. "A house with a foundation like heaven," it reads, "a house which like a . . . vessel has been covered with linen; a house which like a goose stands on a (firm) base; one with eyes not opened has entered it; one with open eyes has come out of it. Its solution: a school." (21) The metaphorical sense of opened eyes in the latter portion seems clear enough. The school's purpose is to convert one who is ignorant and illiter-

ate into a person of wisdom and learning. Otherwise the text is obscure and offers nothing suggestive of the school's actual appearance. The analogy with a linen-covered vessel might mean a fly screen. Or possibly it could refer to an awning or tent-like apparatus overhead to shield the school's occupants from the glaring sun, after the fashion of roof shades still found in use on some dwellings throughout the Middle East. Obviously, in the absence of further evidence even so tentative an interpretation must remain purely conjectural. So too as regards the school's foundation and its standings on a firm base—without the means for judging whether the meaning intended is literal or metaphorical, the text is unhelpful. For more detailed information about the school edifice and its furnishings, physical artifacts have proven far more revealing. Fortunately, archaeological sites plausibly identified as schools, complete with classroom apparatus, are fairly numerous.

Common to practically every find are the scattered, frequently-broken remnants of baked clay tablets inscribed with word lists for study and practice writing. A specimen typically will bear on one side a short model sentence (or in some cases a longer literary passage) prepared by a teacher. A more or less crude facsimile will appear on the obverse side, strongly suggestive of some young schoolboy's struggle to master the intricacies of cuneiform writing. (22) The calligraphy varies greatly, from the accomplished hand of an experienced writer to copywork recording a novice's first faltering application of wedged stylus to clay. Besides simple word lists and elementary syllabic exercises, school tablets recovered to date bear geographical place-name lists, syllabaries, mathematical tablets, lists of personal names, magical formulae and religious incantations, collections of wisdom sayings or proverbs, compendia of technical terminology pertaining to various trades and professional specialties, maps, model business contracts, extracts from literary works—in short, a fair representation of all the diverse subjects taught in school.

While the archaeological record preserves considerable data concerning tablet-house curricula, it fails to clarify as a general rule whether the school was an adjunct to the palace, ancillary to the temple, or was conducted primarily under private auspices. At Larsa (modern Sankara), for example, numerous school tablets found within the precincts of the royal house of King Nūradad (1865–1850 B.C.) suggested a palace institution. Likewise at Uruk (Warka), tablet concentrations fell within the remains of the royal palace of Sinkasid. On the other hand, at Šaduppûm (Tell Abu Harmal), lexical and literary texts were all recovered from within the temple of Nisaba and her spouse Haja, Sumerian patron-deities of the scribal art. At Kish (Al Uhaimir), tablets revealing the former existence of an *edubba* were excavated only upon the site of the scribes' domestic quarters. Much the same pattern was repeated at Nippur (Nuffar) where school texts were unearthed from scribal dwellings atop a hill on the far side of a former canal running south of the Temple of Enlil. There dig-

gings produced an abundance of abandoned practice tablets, reference works, and literary texts. Finally, at Ur (Mukayyar), excavators found a house ("No. 1 Broad Street") belonging to a certain Igmil-Sîn which contained nearly 2,000 small lentil-shaped school texts, as well as a profusion of religious works, literary compositions, and syllabaries. Given its lack of immediate proximity to the temple or palace, the *edubba* of Igmil-Sîn may have been a purely private undertaking. (23)

Other major finds include school texts from Kisurra and Tell Ed-Dēr, from Telloh, Adab, and a number of other locations. (24) Interestingly, although it is known that many women in Old Babylonian times were literate and participated actively in community business life, (as shown, for example, by signed contracts bearing women's names and by subscripts on other commercial documents) the existence of female scribes is attested to only by tablet fragments from Sippar. (25) No definite evidence has ever been uncovered to indicate that girls attended schools of their own or that co-educational instruction was offered in a tablet-house. Nonetheless, the fact that women could read and write, a few even finding employment as scribes, strongly suggests that provision of some sort must have been made for the instruction of females. Presumably it would have been possible for parents of middle and upper-class background to find tutors for their children of either sex; and the custom may have been unexceptional among royalty.

Archaeological discoveries at Mari supply the most conclusive data concerning arrangements within the ancient Babylonian classroom. (26) On the grounds of the great palace investigors uncovered two adjoining rooms of modest proportions which almost certainly served as places of organized instruction. Occupying the middle of both enclosures were ranges of low brick benches, of varying lengths, capable of accommodating one, two, or four occupants. Other benches of diminutive size ran along the walls. No teacher's lectern or raised dias was found, but strewn about the premises were scores of practice tables, some of which were covered with minute script. Also, at Mari and elsewhere, archaeologists have found *in situ* shallow water troughs which presumably held the wet clay from which writing cakes or tablets could be kneaded. Oval pottery trays with flat bottoms and rims associated with classrooms could have served the same purpose, or perhaps were used to hold writing utensils.

III.

Model lessons and compositions recounting aspects of school life supply a much more detailed if not always coherent indication of how the *edubba* was staffed, the nature of the instruction offered, and the content of the curriculum. Collectively, members of the tablet-house, young and old, masters and pupils, referred to themselves as "school sons" (*demu edubba*), but addressed one another privately as "colleagues" (*gimeaas* = *kinātu*). The headmaster or "school father" was the *adda edubba*, re-

spectfully termed "master" or *ummia* (Akkadian: *ummianu*). The *ummia* figures prominently in school literature as a personnage of some importance. He is usually mentioned with a reverence becoming his exalted status. "Master, god who (shapes?) humanity," runs one typical panegyric, "my god you (verily) are. Like a puppy you have formed 'humanity' (*namlulu*) in me." (27) Elsewhere a school graduate's eulogy of his teacher is unsparing in its praise: "He guided my hand on the clay, showed me how to behave properly, opened my mouth with words, uttered good counsel, focused (my) eyes on the rules that guide the man of achievement." (28) If a master deigned to visit a student's home, he was accorded the seat of honor. (29) The school ummia was an "authority," one possessed of great wisdom and knowledge. More learned than lesser men, the master was hailed as a *dubsar gagazu (= tupšarr mūdû)*, a "scribe rich in scholarship."

Assisting the tablet-house "father" was a *šešgal* or "elder brother." The *šešgal* served apparently as a kind of tutor-assistant for the younger students. His duties were to write down lines on a new clay tablet which the "junior" scribe (*dubsar tur*) learned by rote and copied out below or on the tablet's reverse side. The "standing lines" (*mugubba*) of the day's lesson might be retained for later review; more often the practice tablet (*imsar šubba*) was discarded at the end of the day after having been "checked" (*igi karkar = baru*) for accuracy by the "elder brother." Sometimes the student's portion was simply cut off and thrown away while the tablet's top half was preserved for further use. The *šešgal*, besides reviewing the boys' written exercises, was charged with hearing oral recitations (*kakesèke = têlu*; literally, "to make equal in the mouth"). Another staff member mentioned frequently is the "over-seer" or "clerk" (*ugula*), possibly an administrative functionary rather than a teacher. The *ugula* was the "supervisor of the tablet-house" and was responsible for enforcing the "statutes and rules" (*gišhura ágá = usurtu u tèrtu*) of the school. The title of *ugula* may have been synonymous with that of "proctor" (*lu gišshurra*). Alternatively, the latter appelation may have designated a separate supervisory role. Also cited in school literature are the *dubsar eme kiengira* or "scribe of Sumerian" and the *dubsar ni šid* or "mathematics teacher." The latter title appears to have been interchangeable with the *dubsar zaga* ("scribe of mensuration") and the *dubsar ašaga* or "scribe of the field." There were in addition several other kinds of lesser functionaries, including the teacher of drawing, the *lu usannake* or "man of the whip" who served as disciplinarian, an attendance monitor, and a gatekeeper.

Years of wearisome toil were demanded before a student could hope to master the complexities of scribal craft (*namdubsar = tupšarrutu*). Schooling began in early youth and continued into adulthood. The school regimen made for a demanding preparatory period, one punctuated with examinations and reviews. "I will write the second (exercise)," promises

one novice in an account preserved on a fragment with an Assyrian translation. (30) "Now," directs the examiner, "write your name in lapidary form (i.e., as it would appear incised in stone)." The student prepares to comply. "If you can, you will write (for yourself)," cautions the master. His charge apparently succeeds, for the teacher pronounces the words, "You are a scribe," and he proceeds, as it appears, to warn the boy not to be overly impressed with his accomplishment. Elsewhere, a bilingual text labeled "Examination Text A" dating to the period 1720-1625 B.C. reveals how testing was conducted in the tablet-house. The source is especially revealing for its wealth of detail on the specifics of the Babylonian curriculum. (31) The scene is the courtyard of the *edubba* where an *unmia* proposes to examine informally a young scribe before the assembly of masters. The school-father queries the candidate: "From your childhood to your adult age you have been reposing in the tablet-house. Do you know the scribal art that you have learned?" The candidate responds confidently, "What would I not know? Ask me, and I will give you the answer." The school master is skeptical. He predicts (correctly as it turns out) that the young man will not be able to answer all the questions. There follows a barrage of difficult and intricate problems.

The scribe is required during the course of the interrogation to translate back and forth between Akkadian and Sumerian. He is examined over different types of calligraphy and occult script. There are questions about the various classes of priests and other types of professions. Part of the examination concerns the preparation of official documents and seals. Other questions review catagories of songs and problems of choral direction. At one point, the master asks the candidate to explicate technical details of the "tongues" (*eme* = *lišānu*) of the several classes of priestly officials, of silversmiths, jewelers, shepherds, and master shippers. The master poses mathematical problems relating to the allocation of rations and the division of fields. Finally, there is a query about the use and techniques employed in playing musical instruments. At this point the junior scribe abandons his effort and accuses the examiner of not having taught him sufficiently. The tablet-house father responds with a stern reprimand:

> What have you done, what good came of your sitting here? You are already a ripe man and close to being aged! Like an old ass you are not teachable any more. Like withered grain you have passed the season. How long will you play around? But, it is still not too late! If you study night and day and work all the time modestly and without arrogance, if you listen to your colleagues and teachers, you still can become a scribe! Then you can share the scribal craft which is good fortune for its owner, a good angel leading you, a bright eye, possessed by you, and it is what the palace needs. (32)

A conflation of three variant sources with Examination Text A yields a seventeen-line composition dubbed "In Praise Of The Scribal Art" which extends the same theme. (33) "The scribal art is the mother of orators,

the father of masters," the narrator proclaims. "The scribal art is delightful, it never satiates you." Apparently addressing himself to the student, the speaker continues, "The scribal art is not (easily) learned, (but) he who has learned it need no longer be anxious about it." The tablet-house father offers counsel: "Strive to (master) the scribal art and it will enrich you. Be industrious in the scribal art and it will provide you with wealth and abundance. Do not be careless concerning the scribal art, do not neglect it." The passage following elaborates: "The scribal art is a 'house of richness,' the secret of Amanki. Work ceaselessly with the scribal art and it will reveal its secret to you . . . The scribal art is a good lot, richness and abundance." The narrator emphasizes the difficulties of learning to become a full-fledged scribe. "If you neglect it (the scribal art)," he warns the student, "they will make malicious remarks about you. Since you were a child it causes you grief . . . (but) work hard for it (and it will bring you) its beautiful prosperity." Reference is made to the many tasks a scribe performs, including the settling of accounts, surveying fields, using technical language, and writing in Sumerian. Even when he has attained to the status of a master scribe, the speaker concludes, a conscientious *dub-sar* will always be willing to work hard (literally, "call for the corvée basket") in the service of his craft. So didactic a composition would have been considered well-adapted for classroom instruction; and it requires no stretch of the imagination to surmise that it was authored expressly for some such purpose.

School instruction began at an early age with young neophytes set to memorizing and recording elementary syllabic exercises in a vowell sequence "u-a-i," such as *tu-ta-ti, nu-na-ni, bu-ba-bi, zu-za-zi*, and so on. (34) This was followed by the study of a sign list of some 900 entries which gave single signs along with their phonetic pronunciation. Then came lexical lists containing hundreds, ultimately thousands of words and phrases grouped according to meaning or subject matter. (35) Students labored at great length over long lists or animals, plants, birds, fishes, insects, stones and minerals, geographical and place-names; after which there came short sentences to be copied out, the common formulae of canonical texts, honorific titles, collections of the most common expressions used in legal and administrative documents, and other compendia. For example, one student records, "I have written (a tablet) from the different names of Inanna up to (the names of) the animals living in the steppe (and the names of) the different artisans." (36) Compounding the difficulty of learning any form of cuneiform script was the added disadvantage of having to do so in two dissimilar languages: in Sumerian, which was best suited for classifying and recording; and the more plastic Akkadian, better adapted to literary expression. Sumerian instruction required memorizing some 30,000 lines of lexical text. Akkadian likewise produced uncounted lines of omnia which had to be committed to memmemory. Thus, school vocabularies at advanced levels were invariably

bilingual and divided into sections consisting of groups of Sumerian words together with their Babylonian translations. (37) For example, the Sumerian *nin-da* for "bull" would be paired with its Akkadian equivalent *mi-i-rum*, while *il-ar* and *ti-il-pa-nu* would be juxtaposed with their signs for "throwing stick." (38)

Some uncertainty surrounds how and when the two languages were taught in school. Possibly teaching was conducted at the outset in the Babylonian vernacular, and only later progressed with the study of Sumerian, which by Old Babylonian times was no longer commonly spoken. Or possibly bilingualism was pursued throughout in the *edubba*. What is clear is that Sumerian was highly valued as the language of ancient literature, and its teaching definitely aimed at proficiency in speaking and writing the language. "A scribe who does not know Sumerian," one saying asks rhetorically, "where will he expect to obtain a translation of a Sumerian text?" (39) Or, again, "If there is a translation to be made from the Sumerian, the Sumerian is hidden from you!" (40) Scribes who had studied only the Akkadian language were thought to be deficient in their training: "A scribe who does not know Sumerian, what (kind of) a scribe is he?" (41) The implication, of course, is that Sumerian was no longer the native tongue of scribes, and maybe was no longer a living language at the time the passages were composed. (42) In the composition labeled "Disputation Between Enkimansi and Girnishag," appears the line, "He is a deaf fool when it comes to the scribal art, a silent idiot when it comes to Sumerian." (43) Another gibe at a scribe allegedly ill-versed in Sumerian runs, "Your tongue is not adapted to the Sumerian language." The so-called "Colloquy Between Enkitalu and Enkihegal" contains a similar line: "He is 'heavy' for the Sumerian language, he cannot move his tongue correctly." (44) Following a succession of abusive criticisms, the scribe Enkitalu emphasizes his diatribe with the words, "(And) that I will tell you in *both* languages, Enkihegal!" (45)

Apparently the *edubba* course of instruction was as far-ranging and comprehensive as it was difficult. Scattered references throughout the school literature make mention of a broad array of subjects. Tablet-house students naturally had to be proficient in keeping records and at letter-writing. In the vituperative exchange between Enkimansi and Girnishag, for example, one disputant hurls a charge at his fellow scribe: "You have written a tablet, but you cannot penetrate (its) meaning; you have written a letter (but) that is all you can do." (46) Stele-writing as a related occupation of scribes was undoubtedly taught in school. (47) Surveying also took its place in the curriculum, as shown in the taunt, "You go to divide an estate but you are unable to divide it. For when you go to survey the field, you are unable to hold the tape and the measuring rod; the pegs of the field you cannot drive in; you are not able to figure out the sense." (48) Regarding mathematics, one of the specific questions levied in Examination Test A, cited earlier, concerns multiplication, reciprocals, co-

efficients, the balancing of accounts, administrative accounting, and computing pay allotments. (49) As Enkitalu and Enkihegal dispute their respective virtues, mention is made (lines 6 and 57–78) of reciting the multiplication table, inverted numbers, and the calculation of volume. Still another important subject pursued was music. (50) The candidate whose interrogation is recorded in Examination Text A is asked, "Do you know . . . the *summu*-instrument, the *timbutu*, the *harharu*, and the *inu*-instrument, as many as they are?" The interrogator goes on to inquire whether he is able to divide up and distinguish the various parts of a musical composition (*pirsisunu parasu*). (51) Once again, in the exchange between Enkitalu and Enkihegal the allegation is made that one of the two protagonists is unskilled in music. "Even if he had a *zami*-instrument," the speaker claims, "he could not learn the art of singing, he, the most backward among (his) classmates; he has not been able to make a beautiful tremolo and sound . . . he cannot sing a song, cannot open his mouth." (52)

Tablet-house students devoted much time to the study of legal phraseology. Though scribes did not function as the equivalent of attorneys or argue court cases, they were expected to be intimately conversant with legal codes and their terminology. Numerous anthologies of law and the particulars of jurisprudence (*ana ittišu*) were drawn up in the *edubba* and studied, both in Sumerian and with Akkadian translation. Besides the well-known Codex of Lipit-Ishtar (c. 1920 B.C.) and the Code of Ur-Nammu (c. 2100 B.C.), the famed "Verdicts Of The Just Order" (*dīnāt mīšarim*) or Code of Hammurabi (c. 1750 B.C.) was invariably studied in school. A famous murder trial in Isin also seems to have found frequent use as an exercise-piece copied out in the Old Babylonian *edubba*. (53) Copies of model contracts, and of the Laws of Esnunna may have been products of a tablet-house, recopied for instruction in the school at Šaduppum (Tell Abu Harmal). (54) A scribe who specialized in legal studies, or was exceptionally well-trained in law, would find employment as a recorder in a court of law. He was referred to as a *dumu edubba* (Akkadian: *ša dajjāni*) or "scribe of the judge."

As the student progressed from simple lexical and grammatical texts to more connected examples of prose and poetry, the study of literature assumed a more important role in his program of studies. Oral dictation of literary passages may have been a relatively late introduction to the tablet-house; and the practice of exact replication may have been unusual in pre-Old Babylonian times. Thereafter, the distinction becomes common between "to dictate" (*linguinna - quabû*) and *linginna - šatāru*, "to take dictation." (55) The teacher would dictate a text; the student would repeat it orally and simultaneously record it on a tablet. One whose written copy was faithful to the dictated word was thought to be an ideal scribe: "A scribe whose hand moves in accordance with the mouth," runs one old proverb, "he is indeed a scribe." (56) Another saying went as follows: "A

scribe without a hand (is like) a singer without a throat"—that is, an injury to the hand of a scribe has the same incapacitating effect as an injury to a singer's throat. (57) When Enkimensi and Girnishag argue over who is the more competent *dubsar*, the first attacks his rival, saying, "Your hand may be fair, but it is not fit for the reed stylus, is not apt for the clay (tablet), (and your) hand does not rival (your) mouth." (58) Whatever the form of instruction, whether primarily oral or written or a combination thereof, it appears reasonable to assume that the *edubba* master and his assistants supplemented the bare lists, tables, and literary passages copied down with oral explanatory material. It is known, for example, that besides the canonical texts, there existed an extensive oral tradition (*ša pi ummāni*) involving narrative poems, hymns, lamentations, "wisdom" literature (proverbs and fables), and tales of the exploits of Sumerian heroes which had been handed down from earliest times. Much of the corpus of this material was preserved without benefit of reduction to writing until Old Babylonian times. Some works were not recorded until much later, around the time of Ashurnasirpal in the mid-ninth century.

Fixing the place of literature in the tablet-house is a hazardous undertaking, if only because so much disagreement attends discussion of precisely how the ancient Sumerian literary traditions were perpetuated and their contents preserved. (59) Suffice it to say, it was in the schools of the Old Babylonian period where the bulk of pre-Babylonian literature deemed worthy of preservation was given fixed form. (60) This Neo-Sumerian inheritance was incorporated into the Babylonian curriculum in one of two ways. Either an oral tradition was "modernized" so as to make it more congenial to the new Nippur theology, or an already extant written body of literature was reworked in process of its rendering into Akkadian. As noted previously, formerly Akkadian had been considered fit primarily for administrative texts, for royal monuments (mainly translations or imitations of Sumerian prototypes), and for a handful of literary fragments. Now a whole new literary dialect was created for Akkadian, and the works produced by it were gradually freed from excessive dependence on Sumerian models. (61)

This phenomenon is nicely illustrated in the development of royal hymnology and prayers. Repeatedly, specific petitions or celebrations of particular historic occasions were divested of any features distinctive to a particular time or place. History, it could be said, was converted into myth, and historical interests subordinated to theological considerations. (62) Much the same process may have surrounded the canonization of other literary forms in the schools, most notably epic poems. The results, no matter what the specific means utilized, was a rich legacy of hymns, epics, laments, love songs, lullabies, prayers, elegies, records of royal correspondence, and legal compendia. This literature was to occupy a prominent place in the curriculum of the Old Babylonian *edubba* for centuries afterward.

IV.

The most distinctive if somewhat perplexing literary form studied in the tablet-house was that of "hostilities (Akkadian: *tesitu*). (63) The Sumerian term for this genre, freely translated, could be "man-against-man" or "contest in speech." Typically a *tesitu* essay assumes the form of a verbal contest of merit between two characters. Protagonists alternate with speeches proclaiming their respective virtues, all the while hurling insults at one another. An exchange is apt to become abusive in the extreme. The argument between Enkitalu and Enkihegal, alluded to earlier, supplies one illustration; the vitriolic debate between Enkimansi and Girnishag furnishes another. Examination Text A falls under the same general heading since the tablet-house father's lengthy reprimand to the junior scribe disparages the latter's qualifications as a student. Invariably, the setting for "contest-in-speech" literature is the school, or involves characters who are tablet-house graduates. This common feature has led some to conclude that *tesitu* compositions were an invention of Sumerian school scribes and were copied down and read by students. Sumero-Babylonian *Streitgedicht* (as it has been dubbed aptly) has a certain air of burlesque about it. Speaking of the stock characters and situations portrayed in school sketches, C.J. Gadd comments:

> The absurdly complacent professor, the obsequious students, the bullying of students who, in turn, ape but too faithfully the conceit of their superiors, the hoodwinking of parents, the venality of teachers, the indiscipline and rowdyism of the schoolrooms—all these might be the creations of a satirist, even a reformer, rather than the writings of men themselves engaged in the activities so invidiously described, even caricatured. (64)

After pondering the question at some length, however, and considering the possibilities that school literature was intended to serve as social criticism or satire, Gadd concludes "that it was pure interest in contemporary life (naturally, with a bias to their own profession) which inspired the writers of these scenes." (65) Perhaps the abusiveness displayed—so obviously blown up to larger than life proportions—was calculated to amuse and entertain, to afford relief from the drudgery of ordinary classroom routine. Whatever the truth of the matter, the authors of school *tesitu* had a keen sense for the ludicrous and a warm appreciation of the human comedy.

The essay "Schooldays" has rightly been described as one of the most "human" documents excavated in the ancient Near East. (66) This brief piece, probably penned by some anonymous *ummia* around 2000 B.C., offers a vivid account of school life in Old Babylonian times. Meticulously assembled and restored from over twenty different tablet fragments, the document describes in graphic detail the experiences and reactions of a schoolboy attending the *edubba*. (67) It opens with a question from a tablet-house father to a former student. "School-son," he asks, "where did you go (when you were young)?" The graduate recalls, "I went to

school." The master then asks, "What did you do in school?" The question prompts a long reminiscence on the school-son's part of what purports to be a day in his life as a student. He tells how he recited his tablet, ate his lunch, prepared a new tablet, wrote it, finished it; then his model tablets were brought to him. In the afternoon he returned to his writing exercises. When school was dismissed, the boy went home. "I . . . entered the house," the speaker relates, "and found my father sitting there. I explained my exercise-tablets to my father, recited my tablet to him, and he was delighted. . . ." Afterwards, the boy summoned servants to bring food and drink, to bathe his feet, and to prepare his bed. "Wake me early in the morning," he instructs them, "I must not be late (to school) lest my teacher cane me."

The next day, so the narrative continues, "When I rose early in the morning, I faced my mother and said to her, 'Give me my lunch, I want to go to school!' My mother gave me two rolls, and I set out; my mother gave me two rolls, and I went to school. Upon arriving at the tablet-house (the monitor) said to me, 'Why are you late?' I was afraid, my heart was pounding," Trembling with apprehension, the tardy student hastened inside and managed a respectful curtsy before the teacher. But to no avail; the boy was to have a hard time of it. Upon examining his work and finding it incomplete, the *ummia* caned the student. Matters quickly went from bad to worse. An *edubba* proctor reprimanded him for his slovenly appearance and for loitering in the streets. He was caned again. As the narrator remembers it, the remainder of the day was given over mainly to beatings from other school functionaries. When he spoke without permission, he was punished. The next caning was administered for standing at ease without asking permission. The boy forgot to ask permission to rise from his seat and received another beating. When he wandered out the gate without the gatekeeper's authorization, he was beaten once again. His Sumerian language teacher flogged him for not speaking properly in Sumerian. Yet another whipping came at the hand of the school disciplinarian. The *ummia* pronounced the student's handwriting unsatisfactory and called for still another session with the cane.

The hapless boy began to dread school and neglected his lessons. As for his teacher, the speaker recalls, he "took no delight in me; even stopped teaching me his skill in the scribal art; in no way prepared me in the matters essential to the art of being a 'young scribe,' or the art of being an 'elder brother' (*šešgal*). In growing despair, the student went to his father with a proposal that the school master be invited home and plied with gifts.

At this point, the narrator himself takes over and assumes the role of a third-person observer of events ensuing. "To that which the schoolboy said, his father gave heed. The teacher was brought from school; having entered the house, he was seated in the 'great chair' (i.e., the place of honor). The schoolboy attended and served him, and whatever he

learned of the scribal art, he unfolded to his father. His father, with joyful heart, spoke to the headmaster of the school: 'You have opened the hand of my young son, and you make him an expert. You show him all the fine points of the scribal art; you have shown him the recondite details of mathematical problems . . . and cuneiform script." Thereupon, the father turned to his household servants and instructed them to bathe his honored guest with fragrant *irda*-oil. The schoolmaster was dressed in a fine new garment, given money and a ring for his finger.

Mollified, the pedagogue grew more kindly disposed toward his host's son and "with joyful heart" addressed him, saying, "Young man, because you did not neglect my word, did not forsake it; may you reach the pinnacle of the scribal art, achieve it completely from beginning to end. Because you shared with me unstintingly, and paid me a salary larger than my efforts deserve and have shown me great honor, may Nisaba, the queen of guardian dieties, be your guardian angel." There follows a lengthy invocation in which the *ummia* calls down blessings upon the student: "Of your brothers may you be their leader, of your friends, may you be their chief, may you rank the highest of the schoolboys. . . . You have carried out well the school's activity, you have become a man of learning. Nisaba, the queen of the place of learning, you have exalted. O Nisaba, praise!" The self-depreciatory humor apparent in this account of the schoolmaster's final change of heart, from hostility and anger to lavish praise, is almost too obvious to bear mention.

Another revealing school essay is entitled, "A Scribe And His Perverse Son," a work of some 180 lines reconstructed from more than a score of tablet fragments. (68) It begins with a dialogue between a father who is apparently a professional scribe and his son. (69) "Where did you go?" asks the father. "I did not go anywhere," his son replies sullenly. "If you did not go anywhere," exclaimes the father, "why do you idle about? Go to school, stand before your 'school-father,' recite your assignment, open your schoolbag, write your tablet, let your 'elder brother' write your new tablet for you. When you have completed your assignment and reported to your monitor, return home to me, and do not wander about in the street." To make sure the boy has understood his instructions, the father in growing exasperation has his son repeat them verbatim. The boy complies, and when he finishes, his father adds, "Come now, be a man. Do not loiter about in the public square or wander along the boulevard. As you walk through the streets, do not gawk at everything around you. Be humble and show humility before your school monitor. When you make a show of modesty, the monitor will like you."

The remainder of the essay consists of long monologue on the father's part. Turning bitter as he speaks, the father rebukes his wayward son for his constant grumblings and repeated disobedience. The boy is reminded that unlike so many other adolescents his age, he was never made to work in the fields: "I never sent you to work (carrying reed rushes) or to plow

my field. I never sent you to work to dig up my field. I never sent you to work as a laborer." Other boys, the father points out, are made to help support their parents, even very young children. "Night and day," the father complains, "am I tortured because of you. Night and day you waste in pleasure. You have grown wealthy and influential; you are full-grown and filled with your own sense of self-importance." The boy is warned that his family expects his downfall; his kin will rejoice because the boy has neglected cultivating his own "humanity." The scribe mourns that his offspring has shown little inclination to follow in his father's footsteps and become a scribe. Warming to his theme, the father continues with words of praise for the scribal art. He urges his son anew to take up the craft. The essay concludes with his invocation of a blessing from the moon-god Nanna and his consort Ningal.

More acrimonious by far in its tone is the exchange cited previously where Enkimansi, an older student, contends with his rival, Girnishag. The latter is represented as having attained the superior status of a *šešgal* or "elder brother" in the *edubba*. The dialogue opens with Girnishag asking Enkimansi, "Son of the tablet-house, today (after completing the tablet) what shall we write?" The subordinate student responds by proposing that the day's usual grammar lesson and the study of dialects be abandoned. Instead, declares Enkimansi somewhat impudently, "I am resolved to write something of my own. I myself will decide the subject." Shocked by this display of youthful independence, the *šešgal* asks, "If you are to decide the subject-matter for yourself (how can I be) your 'elder brother?' In what, pray tell, does my 'big brotherhood' consist? Girnishag turns sarcastic: "O intellect of weighty mind, vindicator (?) of the tablet-house, luminary of writing, lion (?) of Sumerian, your hand does not rival (your) mouth. You cannot equal me, for I am a scribe. . . . (If I were) like you, I could not be called a scribe." (70)

Enraged, Enkimansi retorts, "What do you mean, I am not a scribe like you? When you write a document, it makes no sense. When you write a letter it is illegible. You go to divide an estate, but you are unable to divide it. For when you go to survey a field, you are unable to hold the tape and the measuring rod; the pegs of the field you cannot drive in; you are not able to figure out the sense." He adds, "You don't know how to arbitrate between the contesting parties. You aggravate struggle among brothers. You are the most unworthy among all scribes. What are you fit for, can anyone say?" Girnishag responds in kind. He re-affirms his own competence, protesting that he is indeed an able surveyor, an experienced arbitrator between contesting parties, skilled in pacifying arguments. Returning to the attack, he taunts the junior scribe, saying, "But in everything you (are incompetent), the most careless person imaginable. When you do multiplication, your work is full of errors. . . ." The torrent of abuse goes on. Epithets are exchanged in quick succession. Girnishag alleges that Enkimansi cannot compose a ritual prayer, is

unable to transfer an inscription from a tablet to a stele, or impart the secrets of a ceremony. The former further derides Enkimansi's pretensions at being a scribe. The latter rises to the challenge with hyperbolic criticisms of his own. "What do you mean," he demands finally, "I am not the 'heart' of the student body?"

At a later point, one of the two characters—it is difficult to ascertain which—claims superiority by virtue of his lineage. "Gifted with a Sumerian name, I have written (Sumerian) since childhood. But you are a bungler, a braggart. You cannot shape a tablet properly, you cannot even handle the clay. You cannot write your own name! Your hand is unfit for tablet-writing. . . . Clever fool (*galam huru*), cover up your ears! You cannot hope to emulate me, I am a Sumerian." (71) By this time, the quarrel has become so heated that the intervention of the *ugula* or "supervisor" of the tablet-house is required. Angered by Enkimansi's intemperance, the monitor threatens to lock up the obstreperous student in chains:

> Why is it you behave this way? One knocks down the other, 'grinding the grain, threshing the straw' (a metaphor suggestive of a remorseless assault), and brawls in the tablet-house. The commotion assails my ears! What do you think you 'elder brother' is for? Do you suppose you are more learned than he? Why do you fail to show him the respect to which he is entitled? And yet you continue 'grinding the grain, threshing the straw.' The master (*ummia*) who knows all, even he advises me to do whatever is necessary (to restore peace). For one such as you, assailing your 'elder brother,' there is only a stick awaiting you. I will beat you with it, wrap a . . . chain around your feet, and keep you confined within the tablet-house for a full two months and not let you out! (72)

Following four unintelligible lines, the composition closes with the terse comment, "In the dispute between Girnishag and Enkimansi the *ummia* gave the verdict."

Overall, the impression given is one of brawling students and harried teachers trying vainly to preserve order in the classroom. Judging from the "Schooldays" essay as well as this debate, discipline must have been harsh and unforgiving. Students are portrayed as indolent or disruptive. Respect for teachers is conspicuously lacking. In contrast, the first portion of yet another school essay starts off in a much happier vein. An *edubba* graduate is summoned to hear a story told by a *ugula* or a clerk of an estate. The clerk recounts how when he was a boy in school, his teacher in turn had reminisced about his own days as a student. "I like you, was once a little fellow and had an 'elder brother,' " the *ummia* had said to the future clerk. "The *ummia* would assign me work (that was even too much) for a (grown) man." But as the clerk's schoolmaster remembers it, when he was in school he was a diligent and conscientious pupil. He paid attention to his 'elder brother' and showed proper deference before him. The *šešgal*, for his part, displayed humility and was not caught up with a sense of his own self-importance.

Impatiently, the *edubba* graduate breaks in on the clerk's tendentious account. Much of the rest of the essay follows the now-familiar pattern of vituperative complaints and accusations levied by one character at another. The scribe heaps abuse on the clerk for implying with his story that he—the tablet-house graduate—has been negligent somehow in the performance of his duties. "Why do you lay down rules for me as if I were an idler?" he asks angrily. "Anyone who heard you would drop his hands in despair." The young scribe protests that he understands his responsibilities and has been faithful in discharging all the obligations of his position. He has labored conscientiously. He has superintended the household slaves and kept them at their tasks. The scribe, or so he alleges, has offered repeated prayers to guardian duties as the *ugula* instructed. He has fulfilled the clerk's order to keep the estate's field laborers working night and day.

The *ugula* responds amiably enough, conceding the truth of his accuser's words. He admits, or so it appears, that the scribe has excelled in all aspects of his work. The clerk notes that his subordinate as acquired a good reputation as a supervisor in his own right; he is well thought of by all. The scribe's commands are obeyed, he has kept peace among staff members, and the scribe's former teachers are pleased with his work since leaving the tablet-house. The composition concludes with the *ugula's* repetition of a lengthy blessing delivered by schoolmasters. He calls upon Nisaba, patron goddess of the *edubba*, to look with favor upon the school-house graduate, to grant him joyfulness of heart, good fortune in his future endeavors, and continued effectiveness in his work of settling disputes. "May the loftiness of Nisaba," says the clerk, "bring you unrivaled rejoicing." (73)

Other vignettes of school routine and the life of a scribe are less well-preserved. Of those cited, the "Schooldays" essay and the composition entitled "A Scribe And His Perverse Son" are the most complete and best understood. Portions of the Examination Texts still await explication and further interpretation, as do parts of the "Disputation Between Enkimansi and Girnishag" and the piece sometimes called "Colloquy Between Enkitalu and Enkihegal." Still more fragmentary in character are various proverbs or sayings found on tablets which relate to Babylonian scribes. Incomplete though they may be, they share with the longer specimens of school literature the capacity to conjure up the spirit of schoolroom instruction from a very remote period. "You are a scribe and you don't even know your own name! You should slap your face.' " So runs one taunt at a scribal student who has just made an absurd and inexcusable mistake in his work. "You may be a scribe when viewed from above." reads another, "but you are not even a man when viewed from below"—that is, the scribe possesses the confidence of his superiors, but he does not have the respect of his subordinates and colleagues. In what is probably a reference to the pupil who was slow in learning to read syllabic exercises aloud,

one tablet fragment records the words, "A fellow who cannot even make the sounds 'a-a,' where will he expect to obtain fluent speech?" Yet another saying pokes fun at a young student more attentive to his hunger than his lessons: "A junior scribe is over-much concerned with food for his stomach; he does not pay attention to his scribeship." Finally, there is preserved a laconic warning about the probably destiny of a scribe who, through malfeasance, might be forced to take up a more lowly occupation as a writer of magical incantations: "A disgraced scribe becomes a man of spells." (74)

V.

Babylonian schoolhouse literature considered as a whole affords a wealth of information about early schooling in the Near East. Inevitably, much data is missing. Still unanswered are questions concerning the social composition of scribes, prevailing patterns of socialization, and the issues of contention that must have made for lively, animated debate among the literati. Nonetheless a surprising amount of material has survived as a basis for reasoned conjecture. Details of the tablet-house curriculum, how instruction was managed and classroom discipline maintained, the larger role of the school within the political economy, the ideals of scribal craft—all can be gleaned from the lines of *edubba* compositions. More important, the figures of teacher and student are neither dim nor shadowy. They appear clothed with substance, so to speak, and their full humanity is preserved almost intact despite the lapse of almost forty centuries. They are individual characters with defined personalities: the despairing father and his delinquent son, an angry and impatient school monitor, the long-winded clerk, an obsequious schoolmaster all too willing to dispense praise for a price, a bully of a senior student and a disrespectful junior scribe. These *persona* add a dimensional quality largely absent in accounts of school life in other distant historical periods. What is all the more surprising is the substantial antiquity of these reports, and the sense for the familiar they engender for an otherwise remote cultural milieu.

The Greek satirist Lucian, in a dialogue on the vanity of human hopes and effort, written a full thousand years after the Babylonian tablet-house had slipped into history, ventured a melancholy prediction, "Nineveh," he wrote, "has already perished, and not a trace of it now remains. As for Babylon, the city of the magnificent towers and the great circuit—wall, soon it too will be like Nineveh, and men will look for it in vain." The Hebrew prophet Jeremiah advanced a similar prophecy concerning the ancient land of Mesopotamia: "Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwells, neither does any son of man pass thereby." For almost another two millennia the prophets' declarations held true, until the remains of once-mighty civilization were once again brought to light. Only in modern times has appre-

ciation grown for the extent of mankind's indebtedness to that ancient culture. Revealed by the documents is an image of Mesopotamia as an important and great civilization early in the history of the human race. Although difficult to fathom and to appreciate across the span of so many centuries, complex and alien in its functioning, and somewhat inaccessible by virtue of the difficulties presented by its long-dead languages, Mesopotamia nonetheless emerges as a civilization aware of its own image, as focused and purposeful in its aspirations, and as consistent in all the facets of its self-expression as any of the later great civilizations. (75) The historical account of how that culture was shaped, defined, and preserved in the humble Babylonian tablet-house forms an integral part of the picture, and at one suggests something of the timeless character of institutionalized educational effort.

NOTES

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1. A. Leo Oppenheim, "A Note On The Scribes In Mesopotamia," in *Studies In Honor Of Benno Landsberger On His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago Assyriological Studies No. 16, edited by Hans G. Güterbock and Thorkild Jacobsen (Chicago, 1965), p. 253.
2. The earliest reference of record to schooling in Egypt appears in the "Instruction of Duauf (or Khety)," dating to the early portion of the second millennium: "Instruction . . . composed for his son . . . when he voyaged up to the Residence, in order to put him in the School (or House) of Books, among the children of the magistrates. . . ." Cited in Johann A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians,* translated by A.M. Blackman (London, 1927), p. 68. For a discussion of "wisdom" or teaching texts *(sebayet)* and the difficulty of dating schools earlier than the fourteenth century, see John A. Wilson, "Scribal Concepts of Education," in *City Invincible, A Symposium on Urbanization and Cultural Development in the Ancient Near East,* edited by Carl H. Kraeling and Robert M. Adams (Chicago, 1960), pp. 102-104; and Jacquetta Hawkes, *The First Great Civilizations* (New York, 1973), pp. 435-436. Still less can be said authoritatively about schooling in ancient India. Note the dated but still useful discussions in Stuart Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (London, 1962), chapter V and VI; Ernst J. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization,* 2nd edition (London, 1948), pp. 123-128; R.E.M. Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization* (Cambridge, 1953), *passim.*; and the reference in Hawkes, *op. cit.*, p. 279. For a more general analysis, see C.J. Gadd, *Teachers And Students In The Oldest Schools, An Inaugural Lecture* (London, 1956), pp. 1-2. The claim that Sumerian-Akkadian schools enjoy chronological priority is advanced by, among others, Samuel Noah Kramer in *History Begins At Sumer* (Garden City, New York, 1959), chapter 1.

3. Consult Adam Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Leipzig, 1942), *passim.* and especially pp. 64ff.
4. The bulk of documents presently available which reveals the work of scribes in keeping economic and political records dates mainly from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods (c. 2220-1600 B.C.). Refer to Oppenheim, *Letters From Mesopotamia;* Henry Frederick Lutz, "Sumerian Temple Records Of The Late Ur Dynasty," *Semitic Philology* 9 (May 31, 1928): 117-268; Tom B. Jones and John W. Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty* (Minneapolis, 1961); Tom B. Jones, "Sumerian Administrative Documents: An Essay," in *Sumerological Studies In Honor Of Thorkild Jacobsen*, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago Assyriological Studies No. 20, edited by Stephen J. Lieberman (Chicago, 1976), pp. 41-1; and Edmund Sollberger, *Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur* (Locust Valley, New York, 1966).
5. The following discussion of Scribal titles follows Benno Landsberger, "Scribal Concepts of Education," in Kraeling and Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95; and his "Babylonian Scribal Craft and its Terminology," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1954), pp. 123-127.
6. For an illuminating discussion of the notion of a "strategic elite" and its contrast with the concept of a "ruling class," consult Suzanne Keller, *Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society* (New York: 1963), pp. 4-58. While her observations are intended to apply to modern societies, her analysis of elitist recruitment, internal organization, degree of specialization, and social standing can be adapted readily to an archaic society with equal facility.
7. See E.F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 108; and Oscar Schroeder, "Ein mündlich zu bestellender altbabylonischer Brief," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 21 (1918): 5ff.
8. See A. Leon Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 157 ff.; and Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* (London, 1964), chapter 11.
9. The case for the essential continuity of the Old Babylonian literary tradition with the earlier Ur III period is made persuasively by Bendt Alster in "On The Earliest Sumerian Literary Tradition," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 28 (1976): 109-126. See also F.R. Kraus, *Wandel und Kontinuität in der sumerisch-babylonischen Kultur* (Leiden, 1954), pp. 24 ff.
10. This abbreviated analysis depends in part upon the interpretation and summation offered in Oppenheim, *Letters From Mesopotamia,* p. 36.
11. References to the *edubba* were first collected by Adam Falkenstein, "Der 'Sohn des Tafelhauses,' " *Welt des Orients* 1 (1948), pp. 174-175. Note also the citation of variant renderings in Åke W. Sjöberg, "The Old Babylonian Eduba," in Lieberman, *op. cit.*, p. 159, note 1.
12. G.R. Castellino, "Two Sulgi Hymns," *Studi Semitici* 42 (1972): 30-31. The specific citation is to Hymn B, lines 13-20, which refers to the education of Ishme-Dagan, Viceroy of Ekallatum (c. 1781-1742 B.C.). The translation is modified following Sjöberg in Lieberman, *op. cit.*, p. 176, note 60. Nisaba, goodness of science, "who in her hand holds the stylus," was the patron deity of scribes and the art of writing. Consult Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 242.
13. Castellino, *op. cit.*, p. 62. Refer to Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 185; and for a more extended discussion, see W.H.P. Römer, *Sumerische "Königshymnen" der Isin-Zeit* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 21-29; and William W. Hallo, "Toward A History Of Sumerian Literature," in Lieberman, *op. cit.*, p. 193, note 79.

14. This, at any rate, is the interpretation offered in M. Civil and R.D. Biggs, "Notes sur des textes sumériens archaiques," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 60 (1966): 1-16. The reasonable assumption is that the royal court ordered hymns to the king from the *edubba* and that the teaching scribes composed hymns for the palace while also using them for instructional purposes.
15. R. Frankena, "Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift and Übersetzung," *Briefe aus dem British Museum*, Vol. 2 (Leiden, 1966), p. 48, #81; and British Museum, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 2 (London, 1896-), plate 11, lines 29-31.
16. Nederlandsch Archaeologisch Philologisch Instit voor het nabije ossten, *Tabulae Cuneiformae a F.M. Th de Liagre Böhl Collectae* (Leiden, 1954), #84, lines 21-23. See Also I.J. Gelb, et. al., *The Assyrian Dictionary* Vol. Z (Chicago and Gluckstadt, 1956-), p. 75; and University (of Pennsylvania) Museum, *Babylonian Section, Publication No. VII* (1911-), #89.
17. Erich Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 200, #122, line 10.
18. Gerhard Meier, "Ein akkadisches Heilungsritual aus Bogazköy," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archaologie*, 45 (1935): 200, line 4.
19. Consult the additional references cited in Sjöberg, *op. cit.*, p. 160, note 4.
20. Benno Landsberger, "Scribal Concepts of Education," in Kraeling and Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Landsberger's judgment is that the tablet-house disappeared after the Old Babylonian II period (ends with Samsu-ditana, c. 1625-1595 B.C.) and that scribal education, paralleling the change from a form of democracy to feudalism under the Kassites, fell into the hands of individual families, a kind of nobility who traced their ancestry back ten or twelve generations. For a discussion and analysis of the lineage of prominent scribal families, consult W.G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 11 (1957): 1 ff.
21. The rendition follows Sjöberg, *op. cit.*, p. 159; a variant translation is given in Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians, Their History, Culture, and Character* (Chicago, 1963), p. 236.
22. Illustrative reports include Donald E. McCown, "Writing and History: The New Tablets from Nippur," *The University (of Pennsylvania) Museum Bulletin* 16 (July, 1951): 21-27; and Donald E. McCown, "Interim Report on the Excavations at Nippur," *Sumer* 6 (1950: 90-100.
23. For a representative sample of archaeological reports and technical commentary, see Adam Falkenstein, "Zu den Inschrifttenfunded der Grabung in Urak-Warka, 1960-61" *Baghdad Mitteilungen* 2 (1963): 41-42; Leonard Woolley, "Excavations at Ur, 1930-1," *Antiquaries Journal* 11 (1931): 365 ff.; and Woolley, *Excavations at Ur, A Record of Twelve Years' Work* (London, 1954), pp. 185 ff.; C.J. Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Sjöberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-178; and D.E. McCown and R.C. Haines, *Nippur I*, Chicago University, Oriental Institute Publication No. 78 (1967), pp. 148-49. For a detailed description of temple schools, albeit for a later period, consult the references in H. Lensen, "Mesopotamien Tempelanlagen," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 18 (1955): 1-36; and, most recently, preliminary press reports of newly-uncovered school sites near Baghdad at Tell Abu Harmal (Šaduppûm) which appeared in Baghdad's official newspaper *Althawra* for July 20, 1977.
24. See D.D. Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab*, Chicago University, Oriental Institute Publication No. 14 (1930), pp. 53-56; Civil and Biggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5; and for a report on inscriptions presumed to be products of a tablet-house at Telloh, refer to F.

Thureau-Dangin, *Nouvelles fouilles de Telloh* (Paris, 1910-1914), *passim*. Inscriptions from Kisurra and Tell Ed-Dēr appear in Iraq Museum, *Texts in the Iraq Museum* 7 (Baghdad, n.d.), #236-253.

25. See R. Harris, "The Organization and Administration of the Cloister in Ancient Babylonia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6 (1963): 138-139; and Benno Landsberger, *Materialienzum sumerischen Lexikon* 9 (Rome, 1937), p. 148. The subscript *munus* preceding *dubsar* ("scribe") following a tablet inscription shows the female gender of the writer, as in SU-MUNUS DUB.SAR on a Sippar tablet. Refer to Berlin Staatliche Museen, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaler der Königliche Museen* 10 (Leipzig, 1907): #207. For another example, see British Museum, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 6 (London, 1896), plate 35a. A third inscription is recorded in A. Leo Oppenheim, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection*, American Oriental Series No. 32 (New Haven, 1948), p. 21-22.
26. Full reports appear in André Parrot, "Mission archéologique de Mari II: Le Palais, Architecture," *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 68 (Paris, 1958), pp. 186-191 (plates XLI-XLII); Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari, deuxième campaigne (Hiver, 1934-35)," *Syria* 17 (1936): 21 (plates 3, 4); and in "Les fouilles de Mari, troisième campaigne (Hiver 1935-36)," *Syria* 18 (1937): plate VIII. See also Adam Falkenstein's discussion in "Die babylonische Schule," *Saeculum* 4 (1953): 127; and the more cautious identification in F.R. Kraus, "Briefschreibübungen im altbabylonischen Schulunterricht," in *Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* 16 (Leiden, 1964), p. 33.
27. J.J.A. Van Dijk, *La Sagesse suméro-accadienne* (Leiden, 1953), p. 24. For further explication of the important concept of *namlulu* or "humanity," see Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 243, 264, 285-286; and a commentary in Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note 1.
28. Samuel Noah Kramer, *Cradle of Civilization* (New York, 1967), p. 124.
29. Samuel Noah Kramer, "Schooldays: A Composition Relating to the Education of a Scribe," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949): 203; 206, line 52.
30. Paul Haupt, "Arab, Tajr and Assyrian, Tamkaru," *Beträge zur Assyriologie* 10 (Baltimore, 1913) p. 36; and Haupt, "Ishtar's Azure Necklace," *ibid.*, p. 99. See also *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 2 (London, 1896-), #K4815.
31. Text A comes from the library of Assurbanipal, at Nineveh, and is preserved in Musée national du Louvre, *Textes cunéiformes* (Paris, 1910), #1696. The translation and summary appears in Landsberger's "Scribal Concepts of Education," *op. cit.*, pp. 99-101. See also Åke W. Sjöberg, "Examenstext A," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 64 (1975): 137-176.
32. Landsberger, *ibid.*, p. 101.
33. Ake W. Sjöberg, "In Praise Of The Scribal Art," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 24 (1972): 126-129.
33. Åke W. Sjöberg, "In Praise Of The Scribal Art," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 24 (1972): 126-129.
34. See Benno Landsberger, "Zum 'Silbenalphabet B.'" *Zwei altababylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* (Ankara, 1959) p. 98.
35. For example, the sign *ilu* as a heading signified that the entries to follow were names of divinities; *matu* indicated that the next list designated various peoples; and the sign for "wood" preceded "box" or the name of a type of tree, and so on. An illustrative list containing the sixty names of a deity appears in Bruno Meissner, "Tex-

tkritische Bemerkungen zu einem medizinischen Kompendium," *Archiv für Keilschrift-forschung* 1 (1923): 12.

36. Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, *Ur Excavations, Texts,* 6/2 (London, 1928), #167, lines 16-17; and Benno Landsberger, *Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon* 8 (Rome, 1937), #14; and the same phrase from a longer dialogue in Samuel Noah Kramer, "Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 23 (New Haven, 1944): #116, obverse, lines 3-4.
37. Lines 198-200 of the bilingual vocabulary Erimhus I, for example, read: *dulla = redutu* ("succession"), édulla = *édullu ("a building"), lahlah = šalālu* ("to lead into captivity," "to plunder"). See E. Leichty, "The Omen Series Šumma Izbu," *Texts from Cuneiform Sources* (Locust Valley, New York, 1970), p. 232; Gelb, *op. cit.*, vol. E, p. 38b and vol. L, p. 173 b. Old Babylonian lexical and grammatical texts are similarly divided into sections of etymologically unrelated words, each pair given in Sumerian and a translation. See Benno Landsberger, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexicon* 2 (Rome, 1937), pp. 142-146; and Godrey Rolles Driver, *Semitic Writing from Pictograph to Alphabet* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 65 ff.
38. A good discussion of sign lists is supplied in A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, pp. 244 ff. Since some passages (as distinct from single words) were quite lengthy, it is doubtful whether they were memorized as was the case with the simpler bilingual vocabulary lists.
39. Edmund J. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs, Glimpses of Everyday Life In Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York, 1968), p. 208, #2.49.
40. Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths*, University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publication No. 15, Cuneiform Series III (Chicago, 1934), #67, obverse, lines 7-8.
41. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 206, #2.47.
42. See J.S. Cooper, "Sumerian and Akkadian in Sumer and Akkad," *Orientalia*, new series 42 (1973): 239-246. For the contrary interpretation, see Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 18; and the discussion in Sjöberg, "The Old Babylonian Eduba," *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.
43. *Ur Excavations, Texts* 6/2, *op. cit.*, #150, line 10.
44. Universität Jena, *Texte und Materalien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena*, Neue Folge 3 (Leipzig, 1932), #42ii, line 13.
45. *Ibid.*, line 6: and see also Samuel Noah Kramer, "Sumerian Literary Texts," *op. cit.*, line 56 of the same dialogue. In the exchange between Enkimansi and Girnishag, the one protagonist challenges his opponent with the question, "Do you, as I do, speak Sumerian?" *Loc. cit.*, line 66.
46. See M. Civil, "Notes on Sumeriar Lexicography I," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 20 (1966): 123.
47. Many examples of stele inscriptions survive. Note, for instance, the copy of a stele of Išme-Dagan of Isin reproduced in E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Upland, Pensylvania, 1924), #13. For other illustrations, consult J.J.A. Van Dijk, "Textes divers du Musée de Baghdad," *Sumer* 11 (1955): 110, plate XVI. and Åke W. Sjöberg, "Ein Selbstpreis des Königs Hammurbai von Babylon," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebeite* 54 (1961): 51-70.
48. *Ur Excavations, Texts* 6/2, *op. cit.*, #150. Note also the reference: "to write a stele, to draw a field, to settle accounts," in Sjöberg, "In Praise of the Scribal Art," *op. cit.*, p. 127, line 15.

49. See also line 48 with its reference to "counting and accounting," in Kramer, "Schooldays," *op. cit.*, p. 206.
50. See the discussion in Adam Falkenstein, "Die Babylonische Schule," *Saeculum* 4 (1955): 132, note 28; and in his "Der 'Son des Tafelhauses,'" *op. cit.*, p. 185.
51. Sjöberg, "Examenstext A," *op. cit.*, p. 142. Other references to the teaching of music appear in Kramer, "Sumerian Literary Texts," *op. cit.*, lines 94-97; and in *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection . . .*, *op. cit.*, #42, obverse 11, lines 10-15.
52. For commentary, consult J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum der altbabylonischen Zeit," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 59 (1969): 181.
53. See Thorkild Jacobsen, "An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide," *Studia Biblica et Orientalia* 12 (Rome, 1959): 130-150.
54. A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (New Haven, 1956), p. 14.
55. Landsberger, "Scribal Concepts of Education," *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.
56. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 202, #2.40.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 204, #2.43. Alternatively: "A scribe who writes illegibly or cannot take accurate dictation is as useless as a mute (or untalented) singer."
58. Quoted in Sjöberg, "The Old Babylonian Eduba," *op. cit.*, p. 170. Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 241, translates "cannot take dictation."
59. Note the technical analysis appearing in Adam Falkenstein, "Zur Chronologie der sumerischen Literatur," *Compte rendu de la seconde Rencontre assyriologique internationale* (Paris, 1951), pp. 12-30; and the discussion in M. Civil, "Remarks on Sumerian and Bilingual Texts," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967), pp. 201 ff.
60. See William W. Hallo, "Toward A History of Sumerian Literature," in Lieberman, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-203. Hallo's judgment is that many of the finest compositions from the courts of Lagash, Ur, and elsewhere in Neo-Sumerian times (c. 2200-1900 B.C.) derived wholly or in part from prototypical exemplars dating back to Old Sumerian times (c. 2500-2200 B.C.), and were either revised or updated subsequently by Babylonian scribes. See also his "On the Antiquity of Sumerian Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963): 167-176.
61. See W. Von Soden, *Zweisprachigkeit in der geistig en Kulture Babylonians* (Vienna, 1960); and D.O. Edzard, *Heidelberger Studium zum alten Orient* (Weisbaden, 1967), pp. 185-199.
62. An interesting account is given in William W. Hallo, "Individual Prayer in Sumerian: The Continuity of a Tradition," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88 (1968): 71-89. Also useful for a broader perspective is Samuel Noah Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (Philadelphia, 1972).
63. Gadd, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-42. See also R.H. Phiffer, "Fables and Didactic Tales," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, edited by James B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1955), p. 411.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
66. Kramer, "Schooldays," *op. cit.*, p. 199; Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 237. See also Kramer, *History Begins At Sumer*, chapter 2.
67. Sources are given in Kramer, "Schooldays," *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.
68. Quoted passages are free renditions from the German translation in Åke W. Sjöberg, "Der Vater Und Sein Missratener Sohn," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 (1973): 105-169.
69. A contrary interpretation holds that the character of the father in this essay claims to be a "singer" (*nar*). For reasons too complex to treat succinctly, one scholar's settled

conclusion is that the entire composition should be viewed as a satire of the profession of singers, composed by scribes. Consult Brendt Alster, "On the Sumerian Composition 'The Father and His Disobedient Son'," *Revue d' Assyriologie et d' archèologie orientale* 69 (1975): 81-84.

70. See Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 31; and *Sjöberg*, "The Old Babylonian Eduba," *op. cit.*, p. 170.
71. The term *galam huru* or "clever fool" shares the literal sense of the Greek "sophosmoros," or in English, "sophomore." Kramer, *The Sumerians*, p. 241; and Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 34, note 1.
72. The narrative is freely adapted and selectively rendered after several published sources, according to whatever seems to yield the clearest sense. Consult the variants in *Texte une Materialen der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection . . .*, *op. cit.*, #42; Kramer, *The Sumerians*, pp. 242-243; and in Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
73. Kramer, The Sumerians, pp. 247-248.
74. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 204, 207, 210, 211; respectively, #2.37, 2.44, 2.48, 2.53, 2.54.
75. Oppenheim, *Letters From Mesopotamia*, pp. 9-10.



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THE ROYAL LIBRARIES OF NINEVEH: NEW EVIDENCE FOR KING ASHURBANIPAL'S TABLET COLLECTING

By GRANT FRAME *and* A. R. GEORGE

The two tablets published here for the first time, BM 45642 and BM 28825,[1] are edited together for good reason, for the historical background of both texts is very probably the same episode in King Ashurbanipal's drive to acquire scribal learning. Where BM 28825 concerns the reception of the Assyrian king's demand for tablets among the citizens of Babylon, BM 45642 deals with the reaction of scholars of nearby Borsippa to a similar royal message. BM 45642 is the better preserved of the two tablets, and allows a fuller understanding of both texts' formal characteristics and of the contextual background. Consequently we present it first.

1. Ashurbanipal and the scholars of Borsippa

The text inscribed on BM 45642 (81-7-6, 35) is a letter, though not a typical one. It begins with an extremely deferential address to Ashurbanipal (ll. 1–4). Following a series of standard royal epithets, the address pays homage to the Assyrian king as the divinely appointed suzerain of Assyria and Babylonia. It goes on to record Nabû's patronage of the king, and to acknowledge his skill in Nabû's special field of writing, an expertise already well known from Ashurbanipal's own inscriptions. These clauses are chosen with care, for the writer is evidently a scholar from Borsippa, Nabû's cult-centre. With them he invokes a certain feeling of mutual fellowship. The name of the sender is expected at the end of the address, but although the end of l. 4 is broken there does not seem to be a name there, and we have restored instead *nilt*[*apra umma*] "we send word as follows". In this the text departs from normal Neo-Babylonian usage, perhaps because it is not a regular letter but, as becomes clear, a formal and collective communication on behalf of all the scholars of Borsippa.

The blessings that open the scholars' message call for the local gods to show favour to the king, not just Marduk in Babylon, but also Nabû and Nanay of Borsippa (ll. 5–7). The body of the letter is then introduced by a repetition of the word *umma*. It begins by identifying the writers as loyal subjects of the king who will execute his command and despatch to him the results (l. 8). Ashurbanipal's command is then quoted: he has asked the scholars of Borsippa to copy out and send him all the texts of the scribal tradition held in the library of Nabû's temple (ll. 9–10). This temple, called E-zida, is known to have been an important repository of scribal learning, especially from those first-millennium colophons that record the deposition there of literary tablets as votive offerings to Nabû (Hunger 1968: Nos. 135–6, 138–40a). The letter continues by anticipating the king's suspicions that the scholars of Borsippa will try to wriggle out of his commission by duplicity, as scribes of nearby Babylon are accused of doing, and protests that they will work day and night until the task is done and the texts copied on to writing-boards (ll. 10–12). In the disparaging remark about the scholars of Babylon, the letter reveals a rivalry between the scribal communities of the capital, Babylon, and Borsippa. It is not unexpected that an element of chauvinism should inform scribal life in Babylonia. A similar rivalry can be seen in a Sumerian practice letter of a much earlier time, in which scholars of Nippur cast doubts on the competence of their colleagues in the nearby capital, Isin (van Dijk 1989: 450).

There is one item that the scholars of Borsippa cannot help with, however. A Sumero-Akkadian glossary wanted by the king exists only at Babylon, in the temple of Marduk, and the king should

[1] The tablets are published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. BM 45642 was entrusted to George for publication by W. G. Lambert in 1985. BM 28825 was identified by Erle Leichty at about the same time and passed on to his pupil, Pamela Gerardi, who in 1999 gave her notes and preliminary hand copy to Frame. To these three colleagues we express our thanks; especial appreciation is owed to Gerardi for her initial decipherment of BM 28825. We are also grateful to Simo Parpola, who on learning of our collaboration graciously dropped advanced plans to publish BM 28825. Part 1 of this article was contributed in draft by George, Part 2 by Frame; Part 3 is a joint effort. Both authors shared in the final draft of the whole. The cuneiform copies are by George.

pursue the matter with the Babylonians (ll. 12–14). This very glossary may be at issue in the text of the second tablet published here, where Ashurbanipal mentions such a composition in his message to the scholars of Babylon (BM 28825: 27). The text of BM 45642 now becomes fragmentary (ll. 15–17); the passage ends with a reiteration that the scholars of Borsippa will indeed do the king's bidding. The letter then closes with routine prayers that the great powers in the universe grant the king health and happiness (ll. 18–20).

The letter contains many flourishes of Standard Babylonian literary style. Word order is the most striking vehicle for literary effect, with use of non-final verbs very conspicuous:

kunnušu ana ṭupšarrūti kīma yāti (l. 4), *liṣbat abbūtka* (7), *lišamqit ayyābīka liḫtalliq . . . -ka* (7), *utarrūšu našpartu* (8), *šulli'ā našpartu* (10), *niggu ina lišāni daliḫti* (10–11), *nušallam našpartu* (11 and 17), *nišaṭṭar ina muḫḫi lē'i ša musukkanni* (12), *nuppalšu surriš*(!) (12), *lū tašapparamma ana mārī Bābili* (14)

The introductory address includes other examples of elevated style: a chiastic construction: *šarrūt māt Aššur iqīpūšu ušatlimūšu šarrūt māti kalāma* (2), two examples of the locative: *qātuššu* (3), *imnuššu* (3), and an apocopated pronominal suffix on a false locative: *libbuš* for *libbīšu* (1). The use of Standard Babylonian literary effects is unsurprising in a formal communication composed by a member, no doubt a senior one, of Borsippa's learned intellectual élite.

Elsewhere, however, the text exhibits clear examples of Neo-Babylonian orthography and dialect, especially in the body of the letter and its rubric:

kiš-šat (l. 1) for SB *kiššati*, *i-qip-pu-uš-šú* (2) for SB *iqīpūšu*, *šu-ṭu-ra-'* (9) for SB *šuṭrā*, *šul-li-'-a* (10) for SB *šullimā*, *eninni* (11), *ni-na-ḫu ni-dal-li-pu* (11) for SB *ninâḫ nidallip*, *alla* (13), *yānu* (13), *enni* "now" (13), *ki-ni* (15) perhaps for SB *kīn*, *gabbu* (17? and 21), *šá-ṭár an-na-a* (21) for SB *šaṭru annû*, *šu-ú-li* (21) for SB *šūlu*

As is the habit of late scribes, inflected endings on noun and verb are not written according to earlier rules. The subjunctive is marked variously:

-Ø: *ú-ma-'-ir-šu-ma* (2), *ú-šat-lim-šú* (2), *na-ši* (3)
-Cu: *i-qip-pu-uš-šú* (2), *iš-ruk-ku-šu-ma ku-un-nu-šú* (4), *ni-ig-gu* (10), *taš-pu-ru* (13)
-Ci: *it-muḫ-ḫi* (3)

The present inscription is known from a tablet made long after the time of Ashurbanipal (see below). A rubric is appended, stating that the original — the scholars' letter to the king — was copied on to one or more stone tablets and circulated (l. 21). This is an unusual destiny for a letter and emphasizes how important it was in the eyes of either its writers or the royal addressee. Presumably the drafts on stone were made after the original letter was sent to the king. The noun describing the recipients of the stone tablets is problematic, but may denote members of the scholarly community. The purpose of the transfer of the letter on to stone was no doubt to preserve on permanent monuments Ashurbanipal's choice of Borsippan scholars to execute his royal command, and thereby to enhance their scholarly prestige.

At all events, the text and its rubric became part of the scribal tradition, for the colophon of BM 45642 records that it was made by Nabû-mušētiq-uddi as the property of his father, Bēl-uballissu (ll. 22–3). This is a scenario typical of Late Babylonian scribal apprenticeship, and marks the tablet out as a pedagogical assignment (George 2003: 37–8). Errors in the text confirm the impression that the tablet is not the work of a master:

tu written for *li* (l. 7), dittography of *šam* (7), *tal-liq* written for *liḫtalliq* (7), erased *a* (9), *nišaṭṭar* inadvertently left out and interpolated later on left edge (12), *šur-qí-iš* probably written for *sur-ri-iš* (12), ul.dù.a written for ud.ul.dù.a (12), gim *šú* written for gim *labiri-šú* (22)

The date of Nabû-mušētiq-uddi's tablet is uncertain, but the cryptic spelling he used in his colophon for the verb *ipaššiṭ* also occurs on a tablet written in 148 BC, during the reign of the Seleucid Alexander Balas (see below, the note on l. 23). Nabû-musētiq-uddi's family, the Mušēzibs, were scholars active at Babylon well into the ensuing Parthian period (e.g. George 2003: 740 MS b). While Late Babylonian palaeography remains undescribed, there is no clear picture of the evolution of Late Babylonian sign forms, nor of variation from place to place. For the moment all that can be done is to note the lack of the top horizontal wedge on signs such as *lu*, *ku*, *gíl*, *eme* and *šar* as suggestive of a date of writing somewhere in the twilight of cuneiform.

The short prayer to Marduk and Zarpanītum inscribed on the top edge of BM 45642 is typical of Late Babylonian tablets written by the scribal apprentices of Babylon. The consignment of

tablets to which the tablet belongs, accessioned on 6 July 1881, was purchased more than two years earlier from the dealer Joseph M. Shemtob (Reade 1986: xv). Late Babylonian tablets that came on to the market at this time were chiefly from Babylon, where local people were mining the site for them, and it is likely on these grounds too that this city is the provenance of Nabû-mušētiq-uddi's tablet. An odd symmetry appears: the text that records the reaction of the scholars of Borsippa to Ashurbanipal's demand survives in a copy from Babylon, while our second text, recording the reaction of their rivals at Babylon, is known from a manuscript found, in all probability, at Borsippa. This is no doubt an accident of discovery. The distribution of exemplars in both sites is symptomatic of the two texts' inclusion in the scribal curriculum. There they joined another Neo-Babylonian letter on the subject of royal tablet collecting, *CT* 22 1, which will be discussed below, after the editions of BM 45642 and 28825.

Much of ll. 1–12 has been quoted in a previous article (George 1997: 71–2 with fn. 9). Lines from the text are also cited by Fincke 2004 and by Frahm in press.

BM 45642 (81-7-6, 35). Copy: Fig. 1
top edge: [*in*]*a a-mat* ^{d}*bēl*(en) *u* [^{d}*bēl*]*ti*(gašan)-*iá liš-lim*
obv.

1 *a-na* ^{m}*aššur*(an.šár)-*bā*[*n*(dù)-*apli*(a) *š*]*arri*(lugal) *rabî*(gal)^{ú} *šarri*(lugal) *dan-nu šàr kiš-šat šàr māt*(kur) *aš-šur*^{ki} *šarri*(lugal) *ma-ṣi ma-la lìb-bu-uš š*[*á* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu)? *a-šib* é.sag.gíl?]
2 *ú-ma-'-ir-šu-ma šarru*(lugal)-*ut māt*(kur) *aš-šur*^{ki} *i-qip-pu-uš-šú ú-šat-lim-šú šarru*(lugal)-*ut māti*(kur) *kalāma*(dù.a.bi) ^{giš}*ḫaṭṭu*(níg.gid[ar]) ⌜*i*⌝-[*šar-tú mu-kan-ni-šat*?]
3 *la ma-gi-ri qa-tuš-šú it-muḫ-ḫi uš-pa-ri mu-šam-qit za-a-a-ri imnuš*(15)-*šú na-ši šá* ^{d}*nabû*(nà) ⌜*a*⌝-[*šib* é.zi.da]
4 *uznī*(geštu)^{min} *rapšāti*(dagal)^{tim} *iš-*⌜*ruk*⌝-*ku-šu-ma ku-un-nu-šú a-na* ^{lú}*ṭupšarru*(dub.sar)-*tú kīma*(gim) *ia-a-ti ni-i*[*l*]-*t*[*ap-ra*? *um-ma*]
5 *bēlu*(en) *rabû*(gal)^{ú} ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *a-šib* é.sag.gíl *mu-šim šīmāti*(nam)^{meš} ^{giš}*ḫaṭṭu*(níg.gidar) *i-šar-tú uš-pa-ri ki-*⌜*i-ni*⌝
6 *agû*(aga) *šar-ḫu ana ši-*⌜*rik*⌝-*tú liš-ruk-ku* ^{d}*nabû*(nà) *a-šib* é.zi.da *ina ma-ḫar* ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *a-bi a-li-di-*⌜*šu*⌝
7 *li-iṣ-bat a-bu-ut-ka* ^{d}*na-na-a be-let* é.ur$_5$.šà.ba *li*!(TU)-*šam-*{*šam*}-*qit a-a-bi-ka* ⟨*liḫ*⟩-*tal-liq* x[x]x-*ku*
8 *um-ma barsipayyī*(bar.sìp)$^{ki.meš}$ *sa-an-*⌜*qu-tú*⌝ *a-na šarri*(lugal) *bēli*(en)-*šu-nu ú-ta-ru-*[*š*]*ú na-áš-par-tum šá* ⌜*iš-ṭu-ru*⌝
9 *um-ma kul-lat* ^{lú}*ṭupšarru*(dub.sar)-*tú š*[*á libb*]*i*(šà) *makkūr*(níg.ga) ^{d}*nabû*(nà) *bēli*(en)-*iá šu-ṭu-ra-' šu-bil-la-ni*
10 *šul-li-'-a* [*na-áš*]-*par-t*[*um min-d*]*e-e-ma šarru*(lugal) *ina lìb-bi-šú i-ta-me šá kīma*(gim) ^{lú}*mārī*(dumu)^{meš} ⌜*bābili*(E)^{ki} *ni*⌝-*i*[*g-g*]*u*
11 *ina lisāni*(eme) *daliḫti*(lù) *e-nin-ni ina pî*(ka) [*šarr*]*i*(lugal) *bēli*(en)-*ni ul ni-ig-gu ni-na-ḫu ni-dal-li-pu ana šarri*(lugal) *bēli*(en)-*ni nu-šal-lam n*[*a-áš*]-*par-tum* {*ni*}
12 *ni-šaṭ-ṭár ina muḫḫi*(ugu) ^{giš}*lē'i*(da) *šá* ^{giš}*musukkanni*(mes.má.gan.nu) *nu-pal-š*[*ú*?] *šur-qí-iš ù ana muḫḫi*(ugu) ^{giš}*lē'i*(da) *šá šumerî*(eme.gi$_7$) *ṣâti*(⟨ud⟩.ul.dù.a)
13 *šá taš-pu-ru al-la šá ina* é.sag.gíl *ia-a-nu en-ni ina maḫar*(igi) *šarri*(lugal) *bēli*(en)-*ni lim-šal*
14 [*lu*] ⌜*ta*⌝-[*š*]*ap-pa-ra-am-ma a-na* ^{lú}*mārī*(dumu)^{meš} *bābili*(E)^{ki} *ši-im-ti-ni u ši-mat-su-un*
15 [x x-*a*]*m-ma ki-*⌜*ma*⌝ x[(x)]x *ki-i di-i-ni u purussê*(eš.bar) *ra-šu-ú ki-ni*
16 [x x]x-*ka ina bābili*(E)^{k}[^{i} x]x-*ni itti*(ki)-*šú-nu bēl*(en)-*ni šarru*(lugal) *ni-ša*[*ṭ-ṭ*]*ár*
17 [x x x]x ⌜*ni*⌝ [x (x) *g*]*ab*?-*bu nu-šal-*⌜*lam*⌝ *na-aš-par-tum*

rev.

18 [^{d}*marduk u* ^{d}*nabû mar-k*]*a-su ilī*(dingir)^{meš} *rabûti*(gal)^{meš} *bēlī*(en)^{meš} *šamê*(an)^{e} *u erṣeti*(ki)^{ti}[^{m} *š*]*im-tim damiqtu*(sig$_5$)^{t}[^{im}]
19 [*l*]*a-ba-ri* ⌜*palê*(bala)^{ú}⌝ *ṭūb*(dùg)^{ub} *šīri*(uzu) *ṭūb*(dùg)^{ub} *lìb-bi e-še-er eṣemti*(gìr.pad.da) *ina napišti*(zi) *šarri*(lugal)
20 ⌜*bēli*(en)⌝-*ni li-ši-mu-ú*

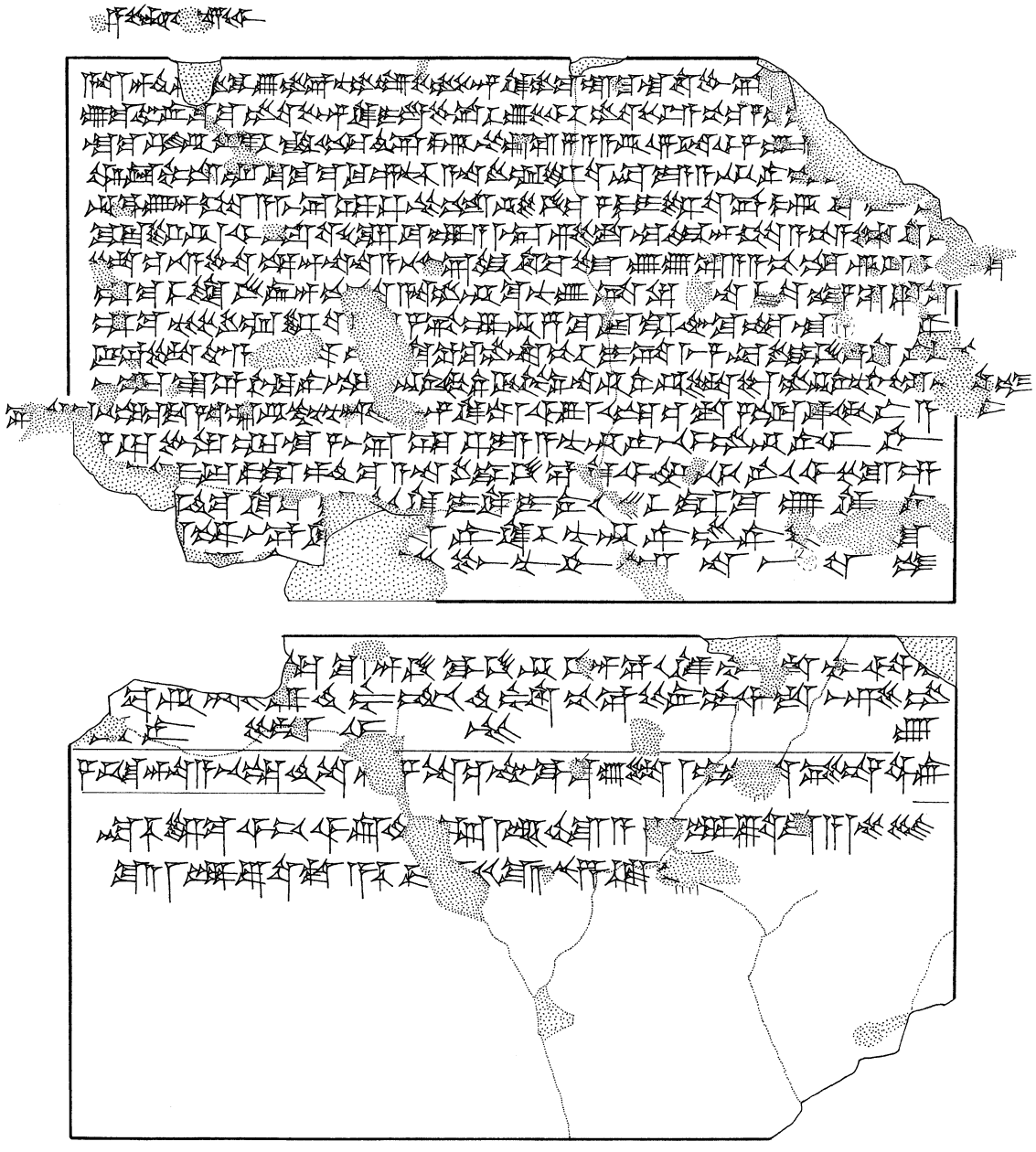


Fig. 1. BM 45642 obv. (*top*) and rev. (*bottom*)

21 *šá-ṭár an-na-a ina muḫ-ḫi nar*[*ê*(na$_4$.rú.a)] *šá* ^{na_4}*gišnugalli*(giš.nu$_{11}$.gal) ⌜*šu*⌝*-ú-li ana kan-n*[*a*]-⌜*a*⌝*-tú gab-bi šá-pi-ir*

---

22 *kīma*(gim) ⟨*labiri*⟩*-šú šaṭir*(sar)*-ma uppuš*(igi.tab) *u bari*(igi.kár) ^{i}[^{m}*ṭ*]*uppi*(dub) ^{md}*bēl*(en)-*uballiṭ*(tin)*-su māri*(a) *šá* ⌜^{m}⌝^{d}*nabû*(nà)*-mušētiq*(dib)*-uddi*(ud.da) *mār*(a) ^{m}*mu-še-zib*

23 *qāt*(šu)^{min} ^{md}*nabû*(nà)*-mušētiq*(dib)*-uddi*(ud.da) *māri*(a)*-šú pa-*[*li*]*ḫ šamaš*(20) *qātī*(šu)^{min} *là i-paš*$_x$(GÍN)-⌜*šiṭ*⌝

By command of Bēl and Bēltīya, let it be a success!

To Ashurbanipal, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king who can do as he pleases, [*to whom Marduk, who dwells in E-sangil,*] [2] gave charge and delegated the kingship of Assyria and (on whom) he conferred the kingship of the entire country, (who) grasps in his

hand a fair sceptre [that subdues] [3] the insubmissive, (who) bears in his right hand the staff that lays low the aggressor, on whom Nabû, who dwells [in E-zida,] [4] bestowed broad understanding and who like me is bowed to the scribal art, we *send* [*word*, thus:]

[5] May the great lord Marduk, who dwells in E-sangil and determines destinies, bestow on you as a gift a fair sceptre, a true staff [6] and a magnificent crown! May Nabû, who dwells in E-zida, intercede for you [7] before Marduk, the father who sired him! May Nanāy, the lady of E-ur-šaba, lay low your enemy and destroy your [*foe*]!

[8] Further: The dutiful Borsippans will send back to the king their lord the instruction that he wrote [9] as follows, "Write out all the scribal learning in the property of Nabû and send it to me. [10] Complete the instruction!" Maybe the king says to himself, we (*are ones*) who, like the citizens of Babylon, will shirk (it) [11] by (using) confusing language. Now, we shall not shirk the king's command. We shall strain and toil day and night to complete the instruction for our lord the king. [12] We shall write on boards of sissoo-wood, we shall respond *immediately*.[2] And regarding the board in Sumerian, the glossary [13] about which you sent word, there is none but that in E-sangil. Let enquiries now be made before our lord the king. [14] [You should] send word to the citizens of Babylon. Our destiny and their destiny [15] are [...] like [...] that they possess judgements and decisions, (is) true [16] [...] your [...] in Babylon [...] ... with them, our lord the king. We shall write [17] [...] ... [...] all, we shall complete the instruction.

[18] [May Marduk and Nabû, the] bonds of the great gods, the lords of heaven and underworld, [20] decree in the life of our lord the king a favourable destiny, [19] [long] duration of reign, soundness of body, soundness of mind and straightness of bone.

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[21] This inscription was copied on to a tablet (*or* tablets) of alabaster and sent to all the *colleagues*.

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[22] Written according to its original, checked and collated. Tablet of Bēl-uballissu, son of Nabû-mušētiq-uddi, descendant of Mušēzib. [23] Handiwork of Nabû-mušētiq-uddi, his son. He who fears Šamaš must not erase my handiwork.

Notes

1. The restoration of Marduk *āšib Esangil* is suggested on literary grounds, to make a pair with Nabû *āšib Ezida* in l. 3. Marduk and Nabû are also paired, each with the same epithet, in ll. 5–6 and restored together in l. 18. Theologically speaking, the restoration proposed in the present line is inherently plausible, though unparalleled in official documents from the reign of Ashurbanipal. Babylonian ideologues would certainly have maintained that Marduk, not Aššur, conferred the throne of Assyria on Ashurbanipal, for in this period they believed that, as king of the gods, the patron deity of Babylon was the prime mover in all human history. On this account learned scribes of later generations could assert that Marduk commissioned Cyrus of Persia first to destroy the Medes and then to invade Babylonia (Nbn 1 = V *R* 64 i 26–9, ed. Schaudig 2001: 417; Cyrus cylinder = V *R* 35 + *BIN* II 32: 12–17, ed. Schaudig 2001: 552).

11. The trailing *ni* at the end of the line is understood as a false start to *nišaṭṭar*, subsequently interpolated on the left margin at the next line.

12. The decipherment of the verb of the second clause is uncertain. A reading *nu-bal-šú* for *nubbalšu* "we shall carry for him" is obviously unsatisfactory in the context. We have assumed it to be *nuppalšu*, i.e. *apālu* "respond" in the rare II/1 stem. This means "pay off" a debt (OB), "discharge" an obligation (Ras Shamra) and, factitive, "make answerable" (once in NA). It is not known elsewhere in Neo-Babylonian but suits the discharging of the royal commission laid on the scholars of Borsippa. The adverb *šurqiš* "stealthily" hardly makes sense with either verb; we suspect it is an error for *surriš* "immediately".

13. In some desperation the last word is assumed to be *liššāl* (*šâlu* IV/1) with a hypercorrect dissimilation reversely analogous with NB /mš/ > /šš/ (e.g. *šaššāniš* "like the sun" < *šamš-ān-iš*, *ḫaššu* for *ḫamšu*, etc.). It may, on the other hand, be an error.

18. For *markasu* as an epithet of gods see Tallqvist 1938: 175–6; the allusion is to the control of the cosmic bonds by the most powerful deities (George 1986: 139, 143). In *Enūma eliš* VII 95 Marduk is hailed in his identity Lugaldurmaḫ as *mar-kas ilī*(dingir)^{meš} "bond of the gods". Our line holds a variant of that epithet but requires a plurality of gods, and the obvious pair is restored.

21. The word *šu-ú-li* = *šūl* (for SB stative *šūlu*) also appears in the rubric of the companion piece (BM 28825: 39). The phrase *ina muḫḫi* ... *šūlû* occurs in a colophon preserved on two manuscripts of *Uruanna* from Kuyunjik (Hunger 1968: No. 321, 16–17): *ina sa-di-ri šùm-šú-nu ul im-bi-ma* (var. *am-bi-ma*) *ina muḫḫi*(ugu)

[2] Tablet (erroneously?): "stealthily".

ṭuppī(dub)^{meš} *ú-še-li* "I did not cite their titles in the ruled-off section but did enter them on the tablets". Regarding the antepenultimate word, *qannātu* "horns, fringes" is surely inappropriate; the assumption here is that the word intended by the spelling *kan-n*[*a*]-ˈ*a*ˈ-*tú* was *kinattū*, a plural of the common NB word for fellows and peers. The use of CVC signs for syllables where the vowel is other than expected is an occasional feature of Akkadian orthography. In the late period it was encouraged by the absence of vowel notation in the alternative, Aramaic writing system.

23. The cryptic spelling of *ipaššiṭ* also occurs in the colophon of a tablet written at Babylon in the reign of Alexander Balas (SE 164 = 148 BC). Hunger's reading tu_{18}-ma_9-*laq* (1968: No. 167, 9; also *AHw* 1573a) was corrected by *CAD* M/1 161b s.v. ***malāqu*. I. L. Finkel, who kindly drew our attention to this other colophon, knows of further examples of this spelling in the colophons of unpublished Late Babylonian tablets.

* * *

2. *Ashurbanipal and the scholars of Babylon*

Regrettably the tablet BM 28825 (98-11-12, 1) is poorly preserved and the exact interpretation of many sections remains uncertain. Nevertheless, it is immediately apparent that the text preserved on it offers further evidence of King Ashurbanipal ordering the copying of tablets in Babylonia for his collections in Nineveh. In the light of the preceding exegesis of BM 45642, the tablet BM 28825 can be identified more particularly as a Late Babylonian copy of a transcript of a letter written on behalf of the scholars of Babylon in response to the king's request for scholarly cuneiform texts.

BM 28825 comes from a collection of over five hundred Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian–Achaemenid tablets acquired by the British Museum in 1897–8 from the Baghdadi antiquities dealers Asher Salem and Thoma Hindi. The overwhelming majority of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid period economic texts in the collection that record the place at which they were composed indicate that they came from Borsippa (information courtesy C. B. F. Walker). The collection includes a few economic texts from the time of Ashurbanipal and his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn drawn up at Babylon, Borsippa, and Dilbat: BM 29171 (98-11-12, 347; Borsippa, year 22 of Asb), BM 29105 (98-11-12, 281; Babylon, year 12 of Ššu); BM 29084 (98-11-12, 260) and BM 29086 (98-11-12, 262) (both Dilbat, year 13 of Ššu), and BM 29029 (98-11-12, 205; Dilbat, year 16 of Ššu); see Brinkman and Kennedy 1986: 22 J.18, 29 K.50, 30 K.68 and K.71, and 33 K.107. The ancestor of the scribe/owner of the tablet, $^{md}e_4$.gi_7-ba-ti.la, also appears in colophons of tablets copied during the Seleucid and Parthian periods (see below, the textual note on l. 40). Two colophons mentioning this individual state that the tablets were copies of originals in Borsippa (Hunger 1968: Nos. 410–11). Thus, although the original provenance of the tablet BM 28825 is not known for certain, it likely came from Borsippa or Babylon. The handwriting of BM 28825 is distinguished by the lack of upper horizontal wedge on signs like *ku*, *lu*, *šar* and *kin* (as also BM 45642), and reinforces a general impression from physical inspection, that the tablet is post-Achaemenid.

The tablet is badly damaged, and continuous text is rare, so the reconstruction of its contents must be provisional. With the example of BM 45642 in mind, division into the following passages seems likely:

(a) Address to King Ashurbanipal (ll. 1–7, cf. BM 45642: 1–4). The writer places fulsome emphasis on the king's scholarly learning, scribal dedication and generous patronage of the temples of Babylon.
(b) Quotation of the king's command (ll. 8–10, cf. BM 45642: 9–10). His demand is for all texts of the Sumero-Babylonian scribal tradition (*kullat ṭupšarrūti gabbi*), with specific mention of exorcistic lore, omen compendia and liturgical chants, such as can be found in the great temple Esangil.
(c) Response detailing the Babylonians' reaction to the king's demand (ll. 10–18). A team of twelve expert and experienced scholars has been identified and will not delay in setting to work; practical preparations are under way, e.g. of their writing instruments.
(d) Reassurance that the scholars will work diligently (ll. 18–20). The writer perhaps anticipates the king's anxieties about their commitment to the task (cf. BM 45642: 10–12).
(e) Further details, making reference to particular scholars and texts (ll. 20–4, fragmentary, cf. BM 45642: 12–14). This passage is too damaged to yield connected sense.
(f) Quotation of the king's promise of payment and other rewards (ll. 24–36). Much of this passage is also difficult to reconstruct, but clearly Ashurbanipal has publicly promised great benefit to Babylon if his command is obeyed. In particular he will reward the individual scholars very generously in silver for their efforts, and more generally re-establish the Babylonians' exemption from duty (*kidinnu*).
(g) Date, "the fifth year" (l. 36).

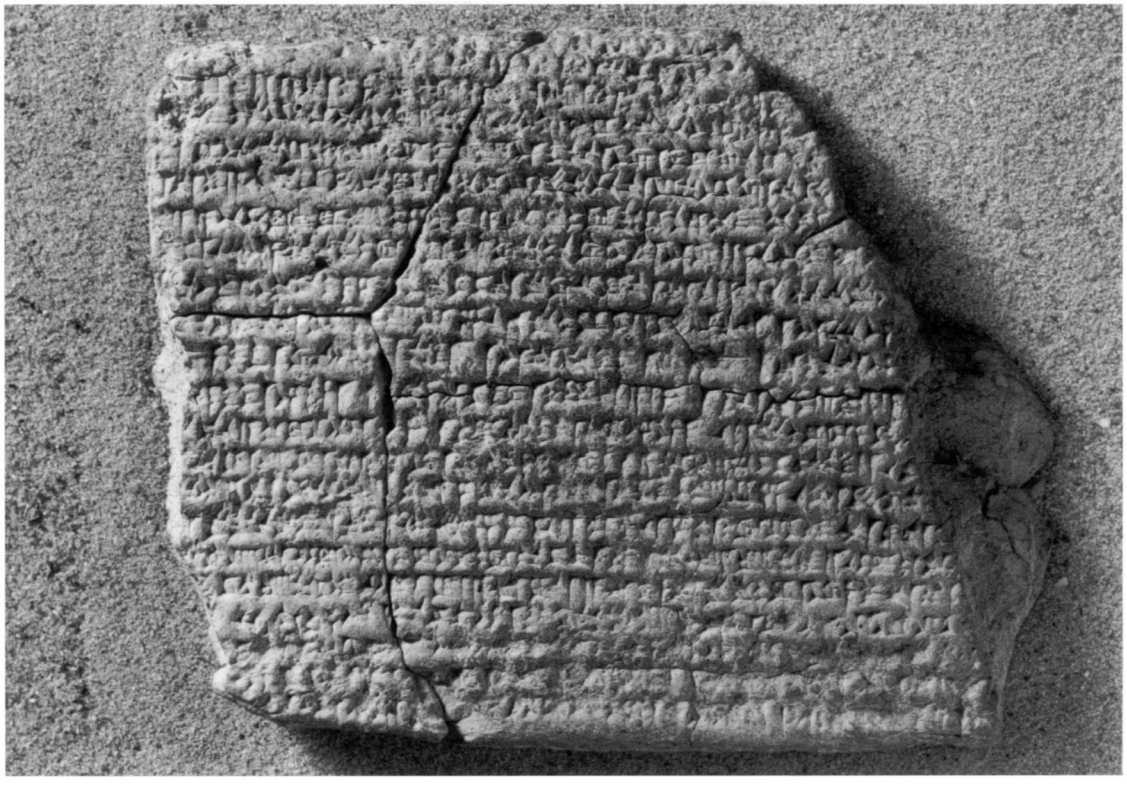


Fig. 2. BM 28825 obv. © The Trustees of The British Museum

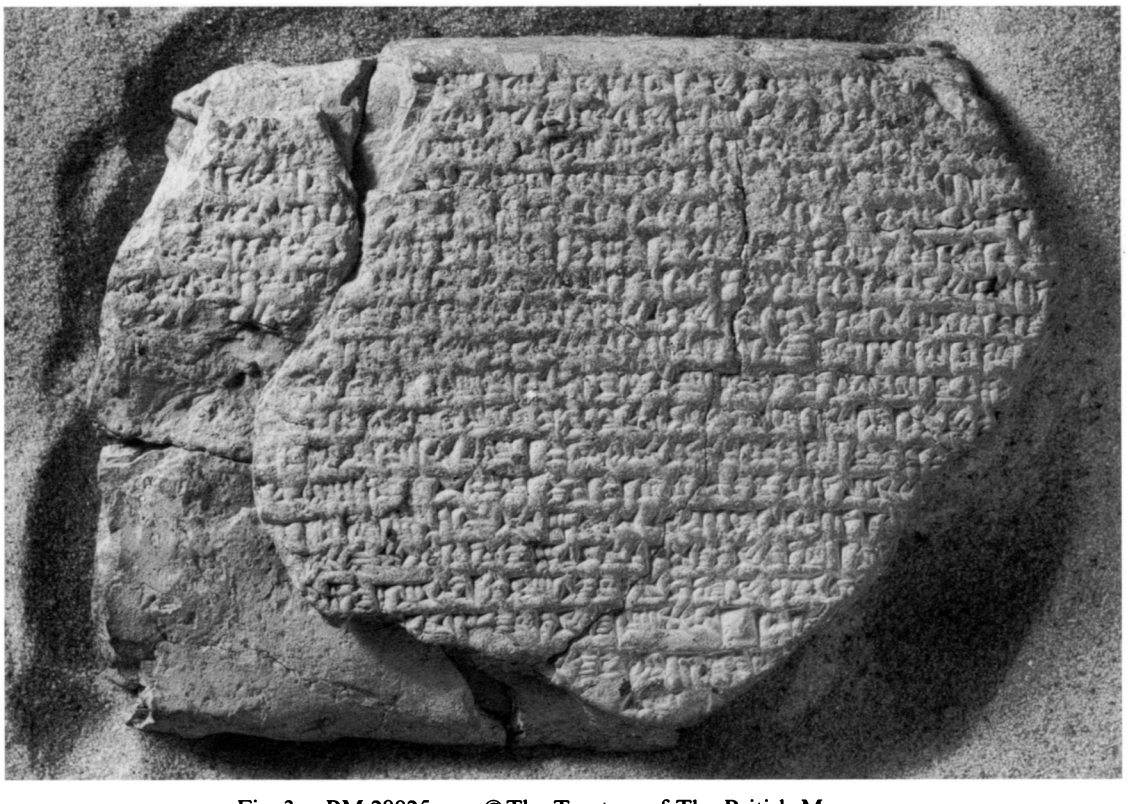


Fig. 3. BM 28825 rev. © The Trustees of The British Museum

(h) Account of the Babylonians' reaction to the king's promises (ll. 36–8). The writer reports that the king's instruction caused great excitement in Babylon, with some five thousand men gathering to learn the news.
(i) Rubric (l. 39, cf. BM 45642: 21). The foregoing text was copied from a writing-board.
(j) Colophon (ll. 40–1, cf. BM 45642: 22–3). The tablet belonged to a member of the well-known Egibi family.

As was the case with BM 45642, the original text copied on BM 22825 is no normal letter, but rather a collective formal communication responding on behalf of numerous scholars. Accordingly, while this letter appears to have been sent by one particular individual (cf. "[like] me" in l. 7 and "my lord" in l. 15), his name may not have been given in the expected place in the text. Perhaps, though, it occurred in the damaged portion at the end of the text or in its rubric, where a certain Erra-[...] is mentioned.

This second text also displays a literary style unsurprising in a formal communication of scholars. Particularly striking is the adapted quotation of a line from a scholarly hymn to Ninurta, by which the writer assures Ashurbanipal that the twelve scholars chosen for the task of copying texts for him are as learned as Ninurta himself (for Ninurta as a learned scribe see Annus 2002: 81–90). Compare:

12 *ummânī a[nnûti kullat ṭupšarrūtu ša] iḫīṭū ibrû kīma gurunnê ana karšīšunu kamsū*
BM 28825: 13–14

These twelve scholars have, stored in their minds like *g.*, [the entire corpus of scribal learning that] they have read and collated.

um-man-nu mu-du-u šá ki-ma šá-a-ri a-na me-ḫi-il-ti i-ziq-qa
u kul-lat ^{lú}*ṭupšarru*(dub.sar)*-ú-tu kīma*(gim) *gu-ru-un-né-e ina kar-ši-šú kam-su*
Hymn to Ninurta as Helper in Need, ll. 37b–9a, LB MSS (Mayer 1992: 26)

Learned scholar, who "blows like the wind" on cuneiform writing,
and has the entire corpus of scribal learning stored in his mind like *g.*

This vivid image of the texts stored in the minds of the scholars, perhaps like grain piled in a granary,[3] points out that the most learned and experienced men are on the job, men who are so good that they have the entire Sumero-Babylonian scribal tradition by heart.

Other examples of Standard Babylonian literary style are found in BM 28825. Non-final verbs occur on numerous occasions:

kunnušu ana ṭupšarrūti (l. 7), *...-ā kullat ṭupšarrūti gabbi* (8), *[šull]i'ā? našpartu* (28, cf. 25), *šuḫḫirā našpartu* (29), *šullimā našpartu* (31), *[uša]zzaz kidinkunu, uṭâb libbakunu, ušapšaḫ kabtatkun(u)* (32), *[ušad]bab šumkunu, unessēkunūši tupšikku* (33), *nušaqqâ rēšk[unu]* (35)

Again, there are clear examples of Neo-Babylonian orthography and dialect in BM 28825. For example:

gabbu (ll. 8, 15, 30), *ni-na-ḫu* (19) for SB *ninâḫ*, *alla* (26), *eninni* (28), *šu-ṭu-ra-'* (31) for SB *šuṭrā*, *ú-ṭa-bi* (32) for SB *uṭâb*, *ri-gim* (38) for SB *rigmu*, *šu-ú-li* (39) for SB *šūlu*; possibly *napḫar* (1) for SB *napḫari* and note the partially restored *šul-li-'a* for SB *šullimā* (25 and 28)

Many of these same forms have already been met in BM 45642. In addition, there are likewise several examples of inflected endings that are not written according to earlier rules.

BM 28825 (98-11-12, 1). Photographs: Figs. 2–3, copy: Fig. 4
obv.

1 [*ana Aššur-bān-apli* .....]x [(x) *na*]*p*?-⌜*ḫar*?⌝ *bēl*(en) x x x[...]
2 [...] x x [x]x ⌜*nik*?-*la-a-te*?⌝ *šu-*⌜*ḫu*⌝*-uz šá* ^{d}*mardu*[*k*(amar.utu) ...]
3 [(x) x] x x x-*a-te e-*⌜*gi*⌝*-ret a-*⌜*ḫi*⌝*-*[*i*]*z rid-di ra-'-im* x[...]
4 [x (x) x-*t*]*um šarri*(lugal) *en-qa mu-du-ú le-'-é-um šàr māt*(kur) *aš-šur*^{ki} *a*-x[...]
5 [x (x)]x-⌜*ku*⌝ *mu-šar-ru-ú* ^{d}*bēli*(en) *rabî*(gal)^{ú} ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) *ina* é.sag.íl x[...]
6 [*mud*]*-diš par-ṣi u uṣurāti*(giš.ḫur)^{meš} *mu-kin šattukki*(s[á].dug$_4$) *ilī*(dingir)^{meš} *muš-par-zi-ḫu ekurrāti*(é.kur)^{meš} [*bābili*^{ki} *šarri bēlīni ša*]
7 [*kīma i*]*a-a-ti ku-nu ku-ú-un-nu-šú a-na* ^{lú}*ṭupšar*(dub.sar)*-ru-tum il-*[*tap-ra-an-na-ši um-ma*]
8 [x]x *kil*?*-'-a kul-lat* ^{lú}*ṭupšarru*(dub.sar)*-tú gab-bi né-me-qí* ^{d}*é-a u* ^{d}*asal-l*[*ú-ḫe* ...]

[3] On *kīma gurunnê* and the syntax of the clause see below, the textual note on BM 28825: 13–14.

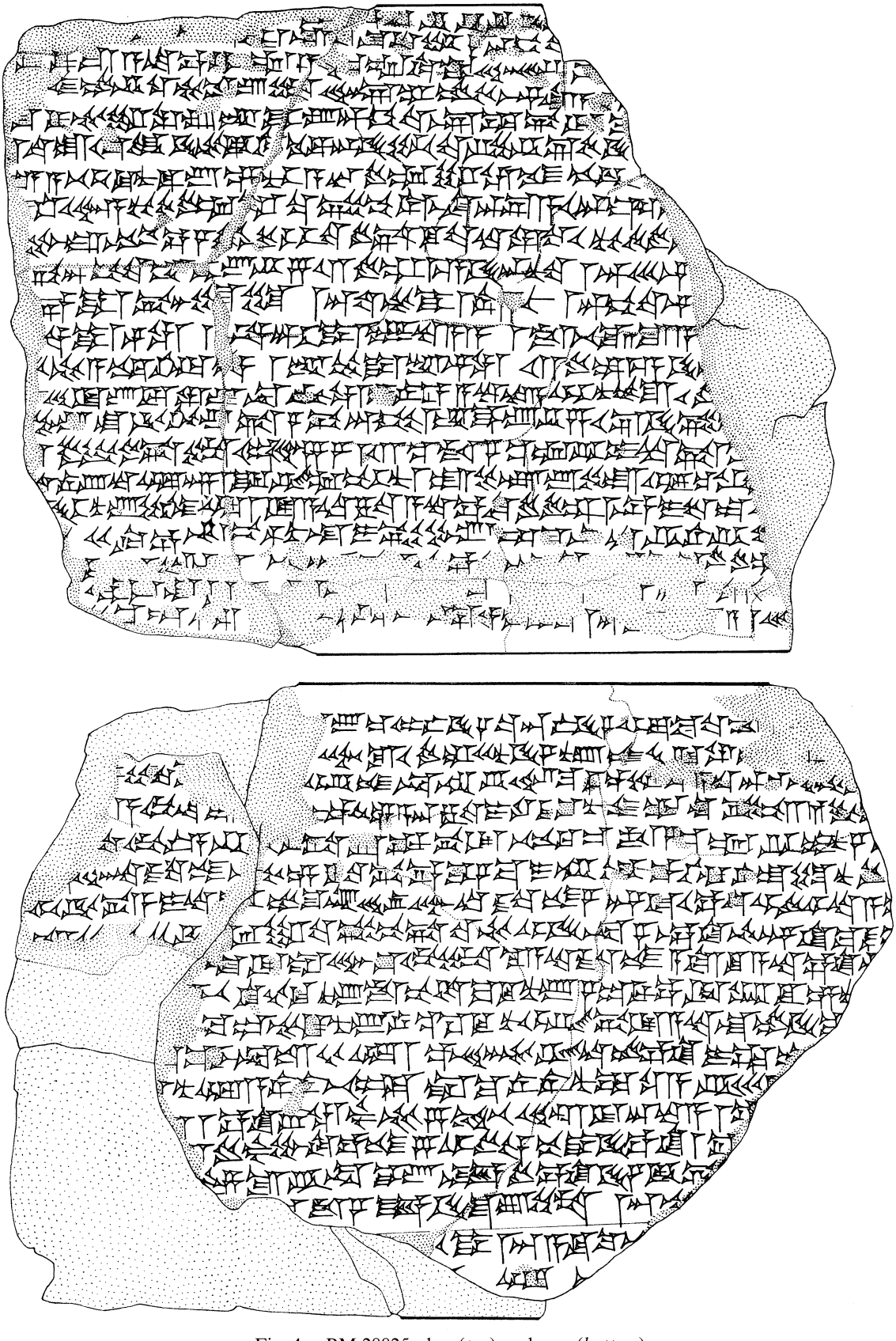


Fig. 4. BM 28825 obv. (*top*) and rev. (*bottom*)

9 [BE *iz*]-*bu ālu*(uru) *ina mēlê*(sukud)^{e} *šakin*(gar)^{in} ^{lú}*āšipu*(maš.maš)-*tú* ^{lú}*kalû*(gala)-*tú na-ru-tú u kul-lat* ^{lú}*ṭ*[*upšarru*(dub.sar)-*tú mala bašû*? *ša*]

10 [*libbi makk*]*ūr*(níg.ga) ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) ^{d}*bēli*(en) ⌜*rabî*(gal)⌝^{ú} *bēli*(en)-*iá* 12 ^{lú}*ummânī*(um.me.a)^{meš} *an-nu-tú* ^{md}*sîn*(30)-*ēṭir*(sur) [*mār* ^{m} ... ^{m} ... *mār* ^{m} ...]

11 [^{m}x-K]AL *mār*(dumu) ^{m}*ga-ḫal-tu-tu* ^{md}*šamaš*(utu)-*iddina*(mu) *mār*(dumu) ^{m}*ir-*⌜*a*⌝*-nu* ^{md}*marduk*(amar.utu)-*ēṭir*(sur) [*mār* ^{m} ... ^{m} ... *mār* ^{m} ...]

12 [^{md}x-*mud*]*ammiq*(sig_5) *mār*(dumu) ^{m}*ēṭiru*(sur)^{ru} ^{m}[*m*]*udammiq*(sig_5)-*ili*(dingir)-*šú mār*(dumu) ^{md}*nabû*(nà)-*na-a-a* ^{m}*ṭa-bat-qát-su mār*(a) [^{m} ... ^{m} ... *mār* ^{m} ...]

13 [^{md}*s*]*în*(30)-*iddina*(mu) *mār*(a) *ka-nik-b*[*ā*]*bi*(ká) ^{md}*bēl*(en)-*īriš*(kam) *mār*(dumu) ^{md}*bēl*(en)-*ēṭiru*(sur)^{ru} 12 ^{lú}*ummânī*(um.me.a)^{meš} *a*[*n-nu-tú* (...) *kullat ṭupšarrūtu*]

14 [*šá*] ⌜*i*⌝-*ḫi-ṭu-ú ib-ru-ú kīma*(gim) *gu!-ru-*⌜*un*⌝*-né-e a-na kar-ši-šú-nu kam-su u* ^{1}[^{ú} ...]

15 [*id-dal*]-*pu-*⌜*ú*⌝ *la ig-gu-ú ultu*(ta) *makkūr*(níg.ga) ^{d}*marduk*(amar.utu) ^{d}*bēli*(en) *rabî*(gal)^{ú} ^{d}*bēli*(en)-*iá u bītāti*(é)^{meš} *gab-b*[*i* ...]

16 [^{m}x]x ^{lú}*aḫu*(šeš) ^{lú}*ta-li-mi-'-iá šá* 1,12 ^{giš}*lē'i*(da) *šá* ^{giš}*musukkanni*(mes.má.gan.na) *ultu*(ta) *b*[*īt*(é)? ...]

17 [*šamnu diš*]*pu*(làl) *ḫimētu*(ì.nun.na) *ù ḫal-ṣa ana ruqqi*(šen) *qan*(gi)-*ṭup-pí-šú-nu ana ṣe-pu-ú ú-še-ṣi ù* ^{giš}*qê*(sìla) ^{1}[^{ú} ...]

18 [*ana* x^{m}]^{eš}-*šú-nu ú-še-ṣu ù gi-ṭu a-na kaspi*(kù.babbar) *a-na bābili*(E)^{ki} *ša*?(lú) ^{lú}*ummânī*(um.me.e) *i-na-ad-d*[*in* ...]

19 [x x]x *mìn-de-e ina lìb-bi-šú-nu la i-qab-bu-ú um-*⌜*ma ni-na*⌝*-ḫu ni-dal-l*[*i-ip nušallam našpartu*?]

20 [x x x] x x x x be? x x x e? x x x x x x lú ^{lú}u[m.me.a ...]

21 [x x x] x x la? x x x x x x x x x x x ^{md}x x x [...]

22 [x x x]x x x x [x x] x x x x x x x x ^{md}x [x] x *mār*(a) ^{m}*i*[*m*?- ...]

rev.

23 [.....]x-*ú ṣillu*(gissu) *nēpešī*(dù)^{meš} *šá* ud-an-⟨^{d}en.líl.la⟩? *nēpešī*(dù)^{meš} *šá* ḫul.ba.è.⌜a⌝ [x x x x]

24 [...] x[x x *lu*] *kam-su u* ^{lú}*um-man-nu*^{meš} *šá-nu-ú-tum liš-*⌜*ṭu*⌝*-ru* x[x]x [x x x]

25 [... *šu*]*l*?-*lí*?-'[*a*? *na-áš-pa*]-*ar-tum kīma*(gim) *maḫ-ri-im-ma* ½(maš) *bilat*(gú) ⌜*kaspu*(kù.babbar)⌝ *a-na* ^{d}⌜*šamaš*(giš.nu_{11})-*šùm*⌝-*u*[*kīn*(gi.na) *šàr bābili*(E)^{ki}]

26 [...]-*a ul-te-*⌜*ṣi*⌝ [*u*? *x*]+2 *bilat*(gú.un)^{àm} *kaspu*(kù.babbar) *i-qa-áš-*⌜*šu*⌝*-nu-tu*$_4$ *al-la gab-bi* 2 *šá aḫu*(šeš) *t*[*a-li-mi*?]

27 [...] *ṣâtu*(ud.ul.dù.a) en [*b*]*e-l*[*u*?] *ultu*(ta) ⌜é⌝.sag.íl *ina muḫḫi*(ugu) ^{giš}*lē'i*(da) *šá* ^{giš}*musukkanni*(mes.má.gan.nu) *šá* x[x x]

28 [*šūbilāni*? *šul*?-*l*]*i*?-'*a na-áš-par-tum* 1(aš) [*b*]*ilat*(gú.un) *kaspu*(kù.babbar) ⌜*ta-dag*⌝*-gal qīštu*(níg.ba) *i-maḫ-*⌜*ḫar e-nin-ni*⌝ *at-tu-nu* ^{lú}[*ummânī*]

29 [*bābili*^{ki} ... *la*] *ti-ig-ga-a i-na m*[*a*?-*ḫa*]*r*? *šarri*(lugal) *šu-uḫ-ḫi-ir-a' na-áš-par-tum šá aš-šur*^{ki} *u bābili*(E)^{ki} *pān*(igi) *amēli*(lú) *lem-na a*-x[x x]

30 [...] x x x x ig? [*ṭ*]*upšarru*(dub.sar)-*tú gab-bi ultu*(ta) u_4-*mu ninnammaru*?(igi)^{meš} *kīma*(gim) *šá ina bābili*(E)^{ki} *ina māt*(kur) *aš-šur*^{ki} *ba-áš-t*[*um*? x x]

31 [...]-⌜*a*'⌝ *šu-ṭu-ra-'* ⌜*šu*⌝*-ul-li-ma-a na-áš-*⌜*par*⌝*-tum a-di ana-ku a-na bābili*(E)^{ki} *e*[*r-ru-bu*?]

32 [... *ú-šá-a*]*z-zaz ki-din-ku-nu ú-ṭa-bi lìb-ba-ku-nu ú-šá-ap-šaḫ kab-tat-ku-un* (-) *nu* [x x x]

33 [... *ú-šad*]-*ba-ab šùm-ku-nu ú-né-es-se-ku-nu-ši* ^{gi}*tupšikku*(dusu) *a-na-la šarrī*(lugal)^{meš} *ma-*[*aḫ-ru-tī*?]

34 [...] x x x *kīma*(gim) *iš-tin ù* ^{m}*šamaš*(giš.nu_{11})-*šùm-ukīn*(gi.na) *šàr bābili*(E)^{ki} *i-šak-ka*[*n* x x-*ku-nu*]

35 [... *-k*]*u-nu ù a-ni-*⌜*ni*⌝ *ina mi-lik ra-ma-ni-ni nu-šaq-qa-a re-eš-k*[*u-nu* x x x x]

36 [...]x *ana bābili*(E)^{ki} *er-ru-ub* mu.5.kam!(UZU) ^{im}*gi-ṭu an-na-a ana bābili*(E)[^{ki} *ki-i ik-tal-da*?]

37 [...]x ^{lú}*up-pu-de-e-tum* 5 *lim* ^{lú}*ṣab-bi mārī*(dumu)^{meš} *bābili*(E)^{ki} *ana* é.[sag.íl ...]

38 [... *-a*]*s-su ri-gim rabû*(gal)^{ú} *ina qabal*($murub_4$) ^{lú}*bābilayyī*(E)$^{ki.meš}$ *šá-kin ult*[*u*(ta)? ...]

39 [(...) *šaṭru annû ina muḫḫi* ^{gi}]^{š}*lē'i*(da) *šá qablāti*($murub_4$)^{meš} *šu-ú-li* ^{md}*è*[*r-ra-* ...]

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40 [*tuppu ša* ^{md} ... *māri šá* ^{md} ...]x *mār*(dumu) ^{md}e_4.gi_7-ba-t[i.la *qāt* ^{md} ... *mārīšu*?]

41 [... gi]m libir.b[i ...]

[To Ashurbanipal ...] of everything, lord of ... [... [2]...] ... educated in arts of skill, whom Marduk [... [3]...] the twisted ... s, who holds to the true path, lover of [... [4]...], wise king, expert and learned, king of Assyria, ... [... [5]...] who has lavished riches on the great lord Marduk in Esangil, [... [6]who has] renewed the rites and ordinances, who has established the regular offerings of the gods, who has provided abundantly for the temples [of Babylon, the king our lord who [7]like] me is faithfully bowed to the scribal art, (who) wrote [to us thus:]

[8]"[...] ... the entire corpus of scribal learning, the craft of Ea and Asalluḫe, [... [9]*Šumma*] *izbu*, *Šumma ālu ina mēlê šakin*, the exorcistic corpus, the lamentation corpus, the song corpus, and all the scribal [learning, *as much as there is*, that is in [10]the] possession of the great lord Marduk, my lord."

These twelve scholars — Sîn-ēṭir [son of PN, PN_2 son of PN,] [11] PN_3 son of Gaḫal-Tutu, Šamaš-iddina son of Ir'anni, Marduk-ēṭir [son of PN, PN_6 son of PN, [12]...]-mudammiq son of Ēṭiru, Mudammiq-ilīšu son of Nabûnnaya, Ṭābat-qāssu descendant of [PN, PN_{10} son/descendant of PN,] [13] Sîn-iddina descendant of the Door-Sealer, Bēl-īriš son of Bēl-ēṭiru — these twelve scholars have, stored in their minds like goods piled in a magazine (i.e. they know off by heart), [the entire corpus of scribal learning [14]that] they have read and collated, and the [..., [15]they have toiled day and] night (writing it all down); they shall not shirk, from the property of the great lord Marduk, my lord, and all the houses in [... PN] my dear brother, who [...] seventy-two writing-boards of sissoo-wood from the [house (*or* temple) ... [17]] he (*or* I) got out [oil,] syrup, ghee and pressed (oil) to soak the kettle of their styli, and a one-litre vessel of the [...] [18]he (*or* I) got out [for] their [...] and the *chief* scholar will exchange the tablet (credit-note?) for silver at Babylon.

[... [19]...] For sure, must they not say in their hearts as follows, "Let us strain and toil day and [night *to complete the king's instruction*"? [20]...] ... the *chief* scholar [... [21]...] ... PN [... [22]...] ... PN son of PN [... [23]...] shadow, rituals of UD-AN (= *Enūma Anu Ellil*?), rituals of *Ḫulba-ea* [... [24] ... let] them be collected up and let the other scholars write (them) out.

[*As regards what the king my lord wrote further*, [25]"...] *complete* [the] instruction! As before half a talent of silver for Šamaš-šum-[ukīn, king of Babylon, [26]...] I have fetched out. He will give them [*x*]+2 talents of silver each. Over and above everything (else), there are two (*or* 120?) (talents?) that [my dear] brother [27][...] The glossary *en* = *bēlu* from Esangil, on a writing-board of sissoo-wood that [... [28] *send to me! Compl*]*ete* the instruction! You will own one talent of silver, you(! tablet: he) will receive a gift! Now, you [scholars of [29]Babylon, ... do not] shirk, present the instruction *before* the king! Regarding Aššur and Babylon *the face of a wicked man* ... [... [30]...] ... all the scribal learning from the day *we meet*. As in Babylon, so in Assyria *honour* [... [31]...] write out! Complete the instruction! As soon as I [*come*] to Babylon, [32][... I shall] establish your protected status, I shall please your hearts and set your minds at ease [... [33]... I shall make all people] speak of your fame, I shall remove from you the hod-basket, more than kings [*of old*, [34]...] ... are as one, and Šamaš-šum-ukīn, king of Babylon, will establish [your ... [35]...] your [...] and we, by our own counsel, shall take care of [you ... [36]...] shall enter Babylon. The fifth year."

[*When*] this tablet [*came*] to Babylon, [37][...] the temple overseers, five thousand men, citizens of Babylon, [*went*] to E-[sangil ... [38]...] ... a great shout went up among the Babylonians, from [...]

[39][This document] was copied [from a] writing-board of *the middle parts*. Erra-[...]

[40][Tablet of PN, son of PN,] descendant of Egi-ba-tila. [Handiwork of PN his son(?). [41]Written according] to its original, [checked and collated ...]

Notes

5–6. It is appropriate that Ashurbanipal's benevolent acts toward Marduk and Babylon are mentioned in the address since the letter is from Babylon and deals with the copying of tablets belonging to Marduk. Upon his succession in 669 Ashurbanipal completed the reinstatement of the religious buildings and cults of Babylon, begun by his father; his deeds are described in numerous royal inscriptions from Babylonia and Assyria (e.g. *RIMB* 2 198 B.6.32.1: 11–16 "I (re)confirmed the regular offerings for Esangil and the gods of Babylon. I (re)-established the privileged status of Babylon ... I *decorated* Esangil with silver, gold, (and) precious stones and made Eumuša glisten like the stars of the firmament").

7. Cf. BM 45642: 4, which offers a slightly different version of the phrase: *kunnušu ana ṭupšarrūti kīma yāti*. Here the signs *ku-nu* are taken as a II/1 subjunctive stative *kūnu*; alternatively they represent a false start to *kunnušu*.

8. As we understand the text, the first word of the line should be a plural imperative verb, comparable with BM 45642: 9, where the corresponding command reads *kullat ṭupšarrūti ša libbi makkūr Nabû bēlīya šuṭ(u)rā šūbilā*. Neither of these two verbs fits the traces here, nor does any roughly synonymous verb, e.g. *šite''â* or *šūli'ā*. A reading *kil!-'-a* "hold back" is contextually unlikely (as well as Assyrian in form); [*pānū'a* ^{8}*šu-u]d!-gíl!-'-a* (for *šu-ud-gíl-a-'*) "place at my disposal" would yield better sense, but in both decipherments the sign read *kil*/gil has one more wedge than is expected in this script. Altogether, there are too many uncertainties to allow confidence.

9. One might expect *bārûtu*, "the extispicy corpus", not *narûtu*, "the song corpus", since the former is well attested and the latter is not. In Assyrian library records the series *bārûtu* is frequently mentioned, along with three of the other series mentioned in this line, *Šumma ālu*, *Izbu* and *Āšipūtu* (Parpola 1983: 6 and see below). However, the first sign is certainly a better *na* than *ba*; compare *na* in ll. 7 12, 14, 16, etc. and *ba* in ll. 23, 28, 30, 32, 33, 40. Since a prebend of the musician of Bēl is attested at Babylon in the Neo-Babylonian period (see Wunsch 2003: No. 33: 14; reference courtesy Cornelia Wunsch) and since music was performed during religious rites in Esangil, it would not be surprising if there was a corpus of material dealing with music kept in that temple. The preceding category, *kalûtu*, is also musical.

10–13. It is not possible to identify any of the scholars mentioned here with individuals appearing in other texts with any degree of certainty. *SAA* XI 156 (= *ABL* 447) mentions several individuals with Babylonian names copying texts and Parpola believes that these individuals were Babylonian prisoners being educated in Assyria and instructed in the "Assyrian way of life", with the intention that they would one day enter the Assyrian king's service and take up positions back in their native country (Parpola 1972: 33). One of these is a Šamaš-iddina (r. 15) who could conceivably be the Šamaš-iddina of BM 28825: 11, but since no patronymic is given in *SAA* XI 156, this must remain doubtful. *SAA* X 160 (= *ABL* 1321 + *CT* 54 57 + *CT* 54 106), a Babylonian letter from one Marduk-šāpik-zēri, lists twenty able scholars who could be of use to the Assyrian king, but the names of many of the individuals are not preserved and none that is extant can be found in our text.

11. Cf. the Nergal-ēṭir son of Gaḫul-Tutu (^{m}*ga-ḫúl-*^{d}*tu-tu*) of *SAA* VIII 266 r. 6 (= *RMA* 123); the paternal name is understood to be Gaḫul-Marduk in *PNA* 1/2 419 and 2/2 945, but cf. *PNA* 1/2 418 sub Gaḫal. Nergal-ēṭir was the sender of many Babylonian astrological reports.

12. The final name, Ṭābat-qāssu, is unparalleled as a NB personal name; it is a reversal of the name of a minor chthonic deity, Ereškigal's servant Qāssa-ṭābat (SB Gilgameš VIII 164–5).

13–14. The restoration of *kullat ṭupšarrūti* follows the Hymn to Ninurta as Helper in Need (passage quoted in the introduction). There and here this phrase is the adverbial qualifier of *ina*/*ana karšīšu*(*nu*) *kamsu*, literally "he is/they are stacked in his/their mind with all scribal learning". In discussing the problematical simile *kīma g.* as it appeared in the Hymn to Ninurta, Mayer noted the variants (a) ^{gi}*gu-ru-um-me-e* (Sultantepe MS) and (b) *gu-ru-un-né-e* (two LB copies) (Mayer 1992: 41). These variants are booked in AHw under *gurumm/nnû* "Rohrgegenstand" (hapax legomenon, p. 1557); Mayer pondered the two variants as evidence for two different words and, noting the context, suggested respectively (a) a reed container and (b) goods (e.g. grain) stored in a magazine or granary (√*grn*, **purussā'*). The determinative of the Sultantepe variant may turn out to be a mirage created by a careless scribe; in translating we have preferred the LB form. Those who prefer not to create another hapax may wonder whether *gu-ru-un-né-e* is not an alternative plural form of the common noun *gurunnu* "pile" (*q*/*gurunnu* in *AHw*), normally formally fem. *gurunnā*/*ēti*. The sense of the simile would then be little different. The first sign of the word in BM 28825 is miswritten and could equally be *qu* as *gu*, but given the evidence of the hymn, where the LB manuscripts agree on *gurunnê*, *gu* is more probable.

15. For the translation of *lā iggû* as a negative assertion rather than a prohibition, see Woodington 1982: 323; cf. also *lā iqabbû* in l. 19.

16. Since Ashurbanipal frequently called his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn *aḫu talīmu*, we might assume that the latter is being referred to; however, there is not sufficient room to restore that name at the beginning of the line and the person speaking appears to be the author of the letter, not Ashurbanipal. The "dear brother" would therefore seem not to be Šamaš-šum-ukīn, unless we emend *talīmiya* to *talīmika*.

18. It is proposed that ^{lú}um.me.e is an error or variant for ^{lú}um.me.a.

19. Here *lā* + present tense cannot be a negative assertion (as *lā iggû* in l. 15), for so construed the news would be the opposite of what the king would wish to learn; accordingly this is a question, to the effect "how can they refuse to obey?" For the restoration at the end of the line, see BM 45642: 11.

23. It is assumed here that UD-AN is an otherwise unattested abbreviation of the title of the series *Enūma Anu Ellil* or a defective writing of that title. For the various writings of the name of the series *Enūma Anu Ellil*, see Parpola 1972: 26 and 1983: 23. Alternatively the reference is to "rituals of Oannes", reading *ūm*(ud)-*ani*(an). The series *Ḫulba-ea* is not known to us; its name recalls the well-known incantation series *Ḫulbazizi* (edition expected from I. L. Finkel).

25. The NB form *šulli'ā* for *šullimā* is also found in l. 28 (mostly restored) and BM 45642: 10; cf. *šullimā* in l. 31.

25–8. These lines suggest that that the scholars were each to receive a large amount of silver for their work. The amounts mentioned here are enormous and, due to the poor state of preservation of the passage, it is difficult to understand the situation with any degree of confidence.

25. ... As before half a talent of silver for Šamaš-šum-[ukīn, king of Babylon]
26. [...] I have fetched out. He (*Šamaš-šum-ukīn*?) will give them (*the twelve scholars*?) [*x*]+2 talents of silver each.
26–7. Over and above everything (else), there are two (*or* 120?) (talents?) that [my dear] brother [...] ...
28. [*send to me! Comple*]*te* the instruction! You will own one talent of silver, you(!) will receive a gift! ...

How could Šamaš-šum-ukīn distribute two or more talents to each scholar (l. 26) when he appears to have received only half a talent (l. 25)? Perhaps we should emend ½ in l. 25 to GÉŠ (= 60), or *bilat* "talent" (l. 26) to a smaller unit, i.e. *mana* or *šiqil*.

27. The glossary en = *bēlu* may be a commentary to the *pirsu* 29/30 of *Aa* (see *MSL* 14: 425–6 and cf. *SpTU* 2 54 and p. 210 l. 56); suggestion by Antoine Cavigneaux. As noted earlier, it is possible that this glossary is mentioned in the companion piece, where the Borsippans refer the king to a rare glossary kept only in Esangil (BM 45642: 12–14).

29. Cf. *ABL* 287: 8′–9′ *en-na a-na maṣṣarti*(en.nun)*-ku-nu la te-eg-ga-a-*' "Now then, don't shirk your watch duty!" (letter of the Assyrian king to the people of Nippur). There does not appear to be sufficient space for the reading *m*[*a-ḫa*]*r*, but no other suitable restoration comes to mind.

The translation assumes that *šuḫḫirā* stands for Bab. *šumḫirā*; cf. NA *iḫḫur* for Bab. *imḫur*, *taḫḫur* for Bab. *tamḫur*, *ittaḫar* for Bab. *imtaḫar*, etc. (*CAD* M/1 51). Note that *šuḫḫirā* is not a pure Assyrian form, for the first vowel has not changed to /a/ as it should (**šapris*). It is instead a mixed Assyrian-Babylonian form of the kind found occasionally in the Standard Babylonian written in Assyria (e.g. George 2003: 436). While the present letter is written in Babylonian, this passage is a quotation of what the Assyrian king had said, and a mixed form at this point is thus understandable.

32. Ashurbanipal claims to have confirmed the privileged status of Babylon in some of his royal inscriptions (see above, the textual note on ll. 5–6), and in consequence the grateful people of Babylon state in a letter to him, "ever since the kings, our lords, sat on the throne, you have been intent on securing our privileged status and our happiness (*ki-di-nu-ti-ni u ṭu-ub lib-bi-ni*)" (*SAA* XVIII 158: 2–3 [= *ABL* 878]).

33. Cf. *SAA* XVIII 158 r. 5′ (= *ABL* 878) *al-la šarrāni*(lugal)^{meš} *maḫ-ru-ti* "more than past kings".

34. Cf. *ABL* 287 r. 14–15 *ṭabtu*(mun) *šá gab-bi-ku-nu ki-i* 1-*en ina muḫ-ḫi-iá* "the kindness of all of you is as one to me".

36. It is not certain whether mu.5.kam!(UZU) goes with what precedes it or with what follows. Since some Assyrian decrees end with the date (e.g. *SAA* XII 69, 71 and 74; month > day > eponymy), it is tentatively assumed to be part of the order sent by Ashurbanipal, even though it follows the Babylonian practice of dating by means of regnal years.

39. With regard to *šu-ú-li* see the note on BM 45642: 21.

40. This is the full form of the family name Egibi, explained as Sîn-taqīša-liblut in 5 *R* 44 iii 20 (53), a list of ancestors; see Lambert 1957: 13 and Wunsch 2000: I 1–2 n. 3. As mentioned earlier, colophons mentioning Egi-ba-tila as ancestor of the scribe are known from both the Seleucid and Parthian periods (Hunger 1968: Nos. 144 [composed at Babylon] and 170 [name heavily restored]; see also No. 181 [name partially restored], for the date of which see Neugebauer 1955: 15 and 21). This spelling of the name does, however, appear already in Neo-Babylonian times (for example, Wunsch 2000: No. 7 l. 16, reign of Neriglissar). While the Egibi family is best attested at Babylon and Uruk, members are also found at other cities, including Borsippa.

For the tentative restoration of the line, see for example BM 45642: 22–3 and Hunger 1968: Nos. 410–11.

* * *

3. *Ashurbanipal and the libraries of Nineveh*

The importance of the documents edited here lies in their implication that in collecting texts for his library Ashurbanipal used commissioned labour alongside involuntary labour and other types of coercion. This is an addition to the range of tactics he is known to have employed in building up the royal holdings. The following discussion will reconsider the evidence for these tactics, which is supplied by (a) library records from Ashurbanipal's reign, (b) seventh-century court correspondence, (c) his own inscriptions and colophons and (d) later scribal tradition. Under the last heading we will assess the significance of the new sources as evidence for Ashurbanipal's tablet collecting.

Library records. Several fragmentary administrative lists document the transfer of private scholars' tablets to Nineveh during the reign of Ashurbanipal, especially an enormous influx of Babylonian tablets and writing-boards soon after the failure of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's revolt in 648, which may have been war reparations. About twenty years ago Simo Parpola published an important study of these fragments and identified them as listing tablets and writing-boards in the process of

TABLE 1. Text categories in the Kuyunjik library records

Category of text	*Number of mentions in the records*	*Number of tablets and writing-boards*
Exorcists' lore (*āšipūtu*)	9	at least 18 tablets and 1 board
Astrological omens (*Enūma Anu Ellil*)	8	at least 107 tablets and 6 boards
Teratological omens (*izbu*)	8	10 tablets and 10 boards
Terrestrial omens (*Ālu ina mēlê šakin*)	6	at least 79 tablets and 1 board
Medical recipes (*bulṭē*)	5	at least 6 tablets and 24 boards
Dream omens (*iškār Zaqīqu*)	4	at least 22 tablets
Haruspical omens (*bārûtu*)	3	at least 135 boards

accession into the royal collections (Parpola 1983; see *SAA* VII 49–56 for more recent editions of these texts and one additional one; also Lambert 1976, Lambert 1989: 95–6, 98 K 10182+19757, and Lambert 1992: 95–6 K 18436+11922 and K 1409+1468). Parpola (1983: 6) noted that the three best-preserved texts studied by him recorded the following text categories in the largest numbers: exorcists' lore, astrology, teratology, terrestrial omens, medical recipes, dream omens and haruspicy (see Table 1).

Over twenty other texts and types of texts are mentioned in those records, including on two or more occasions the menological series *Iqqur īpuš*, funerary offerings (*kispu*), commentaries (*mukallimtu*), lamentation lore (*kalûtu*) and anti-witchraft rituals ($uš_{12}$.búr.da.meš). Some of these texts are specifically stated to have come from Babylonia or from individuals from Babylonian cities: e.g. *Enūma Anu Ellil*, lamentation lore and dream omens from an exorcist from Nippur; anti-witchcraft material from the scribe of the king of Babylon; and haruspical omens from the town of Bīt-Ibâ (Parpola 1983: 14 No. 1 section 5, 18 No. 2 section 4, 20–1 No. 3 section 1). Two of the records date to the end of the eponymy of Bēlšunu (early 647), thus shortly after the fall of Babylon and the end of Šamaš-šum-ukīn's revolt (Parpola 1983: 15–16 No. 1, 21 No. 3 = *SAA* VII 49 and 51), and may include items confiscated from defeated rebels (Parpola 1983: 11). The categories of texts mentioned in these records are, in general, the types of texts that have been found at Nineveh on tablets displaying colophons of Ashurbanipal.

Court correspondence. Many original seventh-century letters and records found at Nineveh mention the copying or collecting of tablets for use by or for the Assyrian king and his scholarly advisers. A few instructive examples follow:

(a) Letter attributed to Akkullānu, dated by Parpola to *ca* 655

[Concerning] the tablets of [the series ... and] the non-canonical tablets [... of which] I s[poke] to the king, my lord, they have now been brought. [If] it pleases [the king], m[y lord], let them b[ring them in, and let the king, my lord], have a look. Later [*I shall collect*] the Akkadian [writing-b]oards [...] and the Assyrian [writing-board]s [...], and I shall write the tablets [...] ... [And concerning what the k]ing, my lord, [wrote to me]: "Let [*all the omens*] be e[*xtracted*]" — should I at the same time [copy] the tab]let of non-canonical [omens of wh]ich [I spoke? Or should I write them] on a *secondary* tablet? [Wh]at is it that the king, my lord, [orders]?

SAA X 101: 2–10 and r. 1–6 (= *CT* 53 187)

(b) Memorandum of individuals doing scribal work

Ninurta-gimillī ... has completed the series and has been put (back) in irons ... Kudurru and Kunaya have completed "Evil Demons" ... These nine have been serving with the scholars and are working on "Sick Man's House" ... These three are finishing the series *according to* its (original) tablet.

SAA XI 156: 8–9, 14–17, r. 10–14, 18–20 (= *ABL* 447)

(c) Letter of Ninurta-aḫ-iddin

Let me read the tablets in the presence of the king, my lord, and let me put down on them whatever is agreeable to the king; whatever is not acceptable to the king, I shall remove from them. The tablets I am speaking about are worth preserving until far-off days.

SAA X 373 r. 4–13 (= *ABL* 334)

(d) Letter of Marduk-šākin-šumi, dated by Parpola to 671-X-13

(As) the king, my lord, knows, an exorcist has to avoid reciting a "hand-lifting" prayer on an evil day: (therefore) I shall now look up, collect and copy numerous — twenty to thirty — canonical and

non-canonical tablets, (but) perform (the prayers) (only) tomorrow evening and on the night of the 15th day.

SAA X 240: 20–r. 2 (= *ABL* 23)

(e) Letter of [Marduk-šākin]-šumi, dated by Parpola to 670-IV/V

As for myself, I am presently [col]lecting all the thirty to forty canonical tablets that are relevant to the matter, as well as (all) the existing non-canonical ones that are ever [per]formed (in this connection).

SAA X 245 r. 12–18 (= *ABL* 453)

(f) Letter of Marduk-šākin-šumi, dated by Parpola to 670-IX-22

Concerning the ritual about which the king said yesterday: "Get it done by the 24th day" — we cannot make it; the tablets are too numerous, (god only knows) when they will be written ... And concerning the Sumerian texts of the counterspells about which the king said: "Send (word)! They should be brought from Nineveh!" — I shall send Nādin-aḫḫē; he will go and bring them. He will also bring with them the other tablets of the "refrain series". Let the king perform (his part) on the 2nd of Tebet (X), the crown prince on the 4th and the people on the 6th.

SAA X 255: 5–10 and r. 1–13 (= *ABL* 18)

(g) Letter of Adad-šum-uṣur and Marduk-šākin-šumi, dated by Parpola to the end of IX-670

Concerning what the king wrote to us, [he has a]ssigned it as follows: "Once he is through with the [*Sum*]*erian* counterspells, he should thereafter finish the antiphone (series). Thereafter the others should do likewise."

SAA X 256: 6–r. 7 (= *ABL* 11)

The first letter (passage a) seems clearly to refer to a programme of copying tablets in large numbers for Ashurbanipal's palace. Alongside passage (a) should be mentioned a more fragmentary letter that gives details of individual scribes at work preparing individual texts, some of them in multiple copies (SAA X 102). Passage (b) documents the copying of tablets under duress by men who appear to be high-born Babylonian prisoners, including Ninurta-gimillī, the son of the governor of Nippur (see Parpola 1972: 33). Letter (c) attests a process of identifying tablets worth keeping for posterity. Neither (b) nor (c) certainly dates to the reign of Ashurbanipal.

Although we usually associate the collecting of scholarly tablets with Ashurbanipal, in view of his claims of great scholarly ability and achievement, some of the Kuyunjik letters on this topic appear to come from the reign of his father and predecessor, Esarhaddon. The last four letters quoted above (d–g) have been so dated by Parpola and show that scholarly tablets were already then copied for use in connection with the king and his family. While Esarhaddon did not make the expansive claims to personal scholarship that his son did, he does mention in passing that he could write (Borger 1956: 6 Ass. A vii 39 *al-ṭu-ur*), and evidently had a keen interest in scholarship. It is not clear whether the tablets at issue in passages (d–g) were to go into a royal collection or into the personal collections of the scholars advising and assisting the king. In any case, this may be a modern distinction that would not obtain in seventh-century Assyria. The Kuyunjik collections are heterogeneous regarding the nature and age of the tablets they contain. The royal libraries of Nineveh held private archival documents as well as library tablets, and among both are certainly many tablets that were written before Ashurbanipal was born, some of Middle Assyrian date and many early Neo-Assyrian, e.g. eighth century (on the mixed age of the K tablets see George 2003: 381–91). A process of acquiring tablets was evidently already under way long before Ashurbanipal's accession in 668. This may have been a matter of accumulation by default, or it may have been a more active policy by royal command. A programme of copying scholarly tablets might very well have been part of such an initiative. If so, Ashurbanipal's tablet-copying activities represent a continuation of his predecessors' policy, but on a larger and more ambitious scale.

Ashurbanipal's own inscriptions. As is well known, in some of his inscriptions Ashurbanipal claimed to have been well educated and to have possessed advanced knowledge of scholarly matters (see e.g. Villard 1997). Relevant passages from his royal inscriptions are the following two excerpts:

The god Nabû, the scribe of all things, granted me the precepts of his craft as a gift ... I learned the craft of the sage Adapa, the secret lore of all scribal learning. I am knowledgeable about celestial and terrestrial portents (and) can discuss (them) in the assembly of scholars. I am able to argue with expert diviners about the series "If the liver is a correspondence of the sky". I can solve complicated divisions and multiplications which do not have a solution. I have read cunningly written text(s) in obscure

> Sumerian (and) Akkadian that are difficult to unravel. I have examined confused *kakku sakku* inscriptions on stone (dating) from before the Flood.
>
> Asb. L^4 i 11–18

> Moreover, I, Ashurbanipal, acquired there the craft of Nabû, all scribal learning. I have studied the lore of every single one of the master scholars.
>
> Asb. A i 31–3

Many examples of Ashurbanipal's various colophons survive on scholarly tablets found at Nineveh (Hunger 1968: Nos. 317–45). Several different colophons refer to Ashurbanipal's own knowledge of scribal lore, while others report the copying of tablets from Sumer, Akkad and Babylon, and thus bear witness to a large-scale copying programme at Nineveh during his reign. Excerpts from four colophons will suffice:

> Ashurbanipal, great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria ... I have written, checked and collated this tablet among the assembly of scholars according to the wording on tablets (and) writing-boards, exemplars from Assyria, Sumer and Akkad; I have placed (it) inside my palace for my royal inspection.
>
> Hunger 1968: No. 318, 1–8

> Tablet of Ashurbanipal ... who has learned and ruminated on the art of the diviner, the knowledge pertaining to the secrets of the sky and earth, the wisdom of the gods Šamaš and Adad.
>
> Hunger 1968: No. 325, 1–3

> For the god Nabû, ... who grasps the writing-board (and) holds the reed (stylus) for (writing on) the Tablet of Destinies ..., his lord: I, Ashurbanipal ... wrote on tablets the wisdom of the god Ea, the lore of the lamentation-priest, the secret knowledge of the sages which is suited for soothing the hearts of the great gods, according to the wording on tablets, exemplars from Assyria and Akkad. I checked, collated and deposited (them) in the library (*girginakku*) of Ezida, the temple of the god Nabû, my lord, in Nineveh.
>
> Hunger 1968: No. 328, 1–18

> Written and collated according to the wording on a writing-board, an exemplar from Babylon.
>
> Hunger 1968: No. 331, 1; Borger 1969–70: 168

There is undoubtedly a great deal of hyperbole here and we cannot blindly assume that Ashurbanipal copied any or all of the tablets bearing colophons stating that he did. Nevertheless, the above passages demonstrate that Ashurbanipal was personally interested in and involved with the copying and collection of scholarly tablets from Babylonia and Assyria for use by himself and at his court. For the most part, the fields of scholarship in which this Assyrian king claimed expertise are those documented by letters as collected and/or copied, those listed prominently in the Assyrian library records, and those attested frequently at Nineveh in the tablet collections bearing colophons of Ashurbanipal. All support the conclusion that Ashurbanipal was very actively behind the collection of scholarly texts from Babylonia and Assyria for the royal libraries at Nineveh, and that the collection of texts was complemented by a major programme of tablet-copying. While the sources clearly indicate that tablet-copying went on in Nineveh, some copying of tablets was done elsewhere, for example in the city of Assur (Villard 1998). The new texts demonstrate that the copying programme took place in Babylonian centres too.

Later scribal tradition. Hitherto the principal non-contemporaneous evidence for Ashurbanipal's tablet collecting has been the much cited Neo-Babylonian letter inscribed on two Late Babylonian scribal exercise tablets from Borsippa. The tablets (BM 25676 = 98-2-16, 730 and BM 25678 = 98-2-16, 732) were acquired by the British Museum from Selim Homsy and Co. The text they hand down, whether a genuine document or not, preserves the memory of a king's forced requisition of tablets from private libraries and the temple E-zida in Borsippa, including a "shopping list" of texts that were particularly desirable. In the absence of a modern English translation, it is worth quoting in full:

> *a-mat šarri*(lugal) *a-na* ^{m}*šá-du-nu* ^{2}*šul-mu ia-a-ši lib-ba-ka lu-u ṭa-ab-ka* ^{3}u_4*-mi ṭup-pi ta-mu-ru* ^{m}*šu-ma-a* ^{4}*māru*(dumu)*-šú šá* ^{m}*šùm-ukīn*(gi.na) ^{md}*bēl*(en)*-ētir*(kar)^{ir} *aḫu*(šeš)*-šú* ^{5}^{m}*aplay*(ibila)^{a} *māru*(dumu)*-šú šá* ^{m}*ár-kát-ilī*(dingir)^{meš} ^{6}*ù* ^{lú}*um-ma-nu šá bár-sipa*^{ki} ^{7}*šá at-ta ti-du-ú ina qātī*(šu)^{min}*-ka ṣa-bat-ma* ^{8}*ṭuppī*(dub)^{meš} *ma-la ina bītāti*(é)^{meš}*-šú-nu i-ba-áš-šú-ú* ^{9}*ù ṭuppī*(dub)^{meš} *ma-la ina* é.zi.da *šak-nu* ^{10}*ḫi-pi-ir-ma ṭuppī*(dub)^{meš} *šá kišādi*(gú)^{meš} *šá šarri*(lugal) ^{11}*šá na-ra-a-ti šá ūmī*(ud.ud)^{meš} *šá* ^{iti}*nisanni*(bára) ^{12}*aban*(na_4) *kišādi*(gú) *šá nārāti*(id)^{meš} *šá* ^{iti}*tašrīti*(du_6) *šá bīt*(é) *sa-la-' mê*(a)^{meš} ^{13}*aban*(na_4) *kišādi*(gú)

šá nārāti(id)^{meš} *šá di-ni* u_4*-mu* [14] 4 *aban*(na_4) *kišādi*(gú)^{meš} *šá rēš*(sag) ^{giš}*erši*(ná) *šarri*(lugal) *u še-pit šarri*(lugal) [15] ^{giš}*kakki*(tukul) ^{giš}*e'ri*(ma.nu) *šá rēš*(sag) ^{giš}*erši*(ná) *šarri*(lugal) [16] *šipat*(én) ^{d}*é-a u* ^{d}*asal-lú-ḫe né-me-qa* [17] *li-gam-me-ru-ni pu-uḫ-ḫu-ru* [18] *iškar*(éš.gàr) *tāḫāzi*(mè) *ma-la ba-šú-ú* [19] *a-di* ^{im}*liginnāti*(gíd.da)^{me}*-šú-nu at-ra-a-ti* [20] *ma-la i-ba-áš-šú-ú* [21] *ina tāḫāzi*(mè) *qanû*(gi) *ana amēli*(lú) *là ṭeḫê*(te)^{e} [22] eden.na.dib.bé.da é.gal.ku_4.ra [23] *né-pe-šá-a-nu šu'illakāni*(šu.il.la.kam)$^{a-nu}$ [24] *mál-ṭa-ru šá abnī*(na_4)^{meš} *u* [25] *šá a-na šarru*(lugal)*-ú-ti ṭa-a-bi* [26] *tak-pir-ti āli*(uru) *ṣūd pāni*(igi.nigin.na) [27] *ki-i na-qut-ti u mim-ma ḫi-šiḫ-ti* [28] *ina ekalli*(é.gal) *ma-la ba-šú-ú ù ṭuppī*(dub)^{meš} [29] *aq-ru-tu šá mé-dak-ku-nu-šim-ma* [30] *ina māt*(kur) *aš-šur*^{ki} *ia-'-nu bu-'-a-nim-ma* [31] *šu-bi-la-a-ni a-du-ú a-na* [32] ^{lú}*šatammi*(šà.tam) *u* ^{lú}*šakin-ṭēmi*(gar-umuš) *al-tap-ra* [33] *ina bīt*(é) *qātī*(šu)^{min}*-ka tal-tak-nu mam-ma* [34] *ṭup-pi ul i-kil-lak-ka u ki-i* [35] *mim-ma ṭup-pi u né-pe-šú šá a-na-ku* [36] *la áš-pu-rak-ku-nu-šú u ta-tam-ra-ma* [37] *a-na ekalli*(é.gal)*-ia ṭa-a-bu* [38] *it-ti-'-im-ma i-šá-nim-ma* [39] *šu-bi-la-a-ni*

CT 22 1 (Ebeling 1949: No. 1, Lieberman 1990: 334–6)

The command of the king to Šadûnu: [2] I am well, you should be happy. [3] The day you read this tablet, take in your company Šumāy [4] son of Šum-ukīn, his brother Bēl-ēṭir, [5] Aplāy son of Arkât-ilī, [6] and the scholars of Borsippa [7] whom you know, and [10] collect [8] whatever tablets are in their houses [9] and whatever tablets are kept in E-zida. [30] Search out for me:

[10] amulet-tablets for the king, [11] for (crossing?) rivers, (tablets) to do with days (i.e., hemerologies), (menologies/rituals) of Nisannu, [12] stone amulets for (crossing?) rivers, (menologies/rituals) of Tašrītu, (tablets) of (the ritual) House of Water-Sprinkling, [13] {stone amulets for (crossing?) rivers}, for (success in?) lawsuits, "Day", [14] sets of four stone amulets for the head of the king's bed and the foot of the king's (bed), [15] (the ritual) Wand of *E'ru*-Wood, for the head of the king's bed, [16] the incantation "Let Ea and Asalluḫe use wisdom [17] in full for me!", (tablets of) "Mustering" (the army?), [18] series to do with war, as many as there are, [19] including their additional tablets, [20] as many as there are, [21] (the ritual) So that in Battle Arrows do not Come Near a Man, [22] (the series) Travelling through the Country, (the series) Entering the Palace, [23] (medical?) rituals, *šuilla*-prayers, [24] inscriptions on stone amulets and [25] those that are good for kingship, [26] (the ritual) Purification of the City, (spells against) Dizziness, [27] (the medical text?) "Out of Concern"

and any texts that might be needed [28] in the palace, as many as there are, also rare [29] tablets that are known to you but [30] do not exist in Assyria, and [31] send them to me.

Now, [32] I have written to the temple-steward and the governor: [33] in the houses where you set to work nobody [34] will withhold tablets from you (sg.). And if, [35] furthermore, you (pl.) come across any tablet or ritual which I myself [36] have not mentioned to you (pl.) and [37] it is beneficial to my governance, [38] take it too and [39] send it to me.[4]

Lieberman thought this letter improbable evidence for Ashurbanipal's activities, attributing it to an Assyrian king other than Ashurbanipal or to Babylonian fantasy (Lieberman 1990: 312). In general he supposed that Ashurbanipal would have no need of these texts to help him govern, being the scion of a long line of experienced kings, and there were such tablets in Assyria anyway. In this he took no account of perhaps a collector's obsessive desire to possess everything. While he noted the heavy reliance of some Sargonid kings on written tradition as a source of advice for good government, and discussed fully Ashurbanipal's desire personally to master and control the interpretation of that tradition, he failed to see that royal interest in the sources of professional lore would have encouraged the collection of multiple exemplars of scholarly texts from all over the empire. In addition Lieberman observed that no tablets found in Ashurbanipal's library claim to be copies made from exemplars from Borsippa. That may be so but he ignored the fact that several tablets formerly in the property of E-zida at Borsippa, as stated in their colophons, actually survived to be excavated in the remnants of Ashurbanipal's library and so confirm this city as the place of origin of some of the library's tablets. These include copies of a list of stars, of *Enūma eliš* IV, and of a ki.^{d}utu.kam incantation (Hunger 1968: Nos. 135–6, 140a).

The texts that the king demands Šadûnu send him do not, however, exhibit the full range of scholarly and professional expertise that informed Sargonid government. They are texts of *āšipūtu* "exorcists' lore", especially prophylactic and apotropaic magic. Divinatory compositions are notably absent. The overwhelming impression given by the letter is that the royal author wanted texts that would above all protect his person from sickness and keep him free of injury. In this there is a contrast with BM 45642 and 28862, where the emphasis is on everything — the whole

[4] As pointed out by Streck 1995: 163, a literal translation yields: "And furthermore, any tablet or ritual, which I myself have not mentioned to you but you come across, if it is beneficial to my governance, take it too and send it to me." This makes for clumsy English as well as inelegant Akkadian, and we have emended the wording slightly to what the sender of the letter surely wanted to say.

corpus of scribal learning — and the only text mentioned specifically (beyond the summary list of the great text corpora in BM 28825: 8–9) is an academic aid. Given the predisposition of Esarhaddon, Ashurbanipal's father, to illness, and the evidence of the many letters from his advisers that his health was a preoccupation at court, it may yet be that he, not his son, was the author of the letter to Šadûnu.

Whether or not the letter to Šadûnu was written for Esarhaddon or for Ashurbanipal, BM 45642 and 28825 prove beyond doubt that Ashurbanipal did indeed order the collecting and copying of scholarly tablets in Babylonia. He wanted tablets from Borsippa and Babylon and the local scholars were keen to oblige him. No doubt he got them. The new texts reveal that the rewards promised to those who discharged the royal commission were immense. In their much briefer quotation of the royal instruction the scholars of Borsippa do not cite any promise of payment by the king; they are keen simply to assure the king that the job is in hand. The companion piece gives more detail. At Babylon Ashurbanipal offered financial inducements and political concessions so generous that, when the news spread around the city, a huge crowd gathered amid great excitement. The sums of money that the scholar-king of Assyria was willing to spend on completing his library show just how important it was to him.

The question of date arises. The process began long before the mass requisitions documented by the library records dated to 647. Since BM 28825 mentions the involvement of Šamaš-šum-ukīn in his brother's affairs, the new texts show that the Assyrian king was already collecting large quantities of texts from Babylonia early in his reign, not by force but by a programme of copying in the great temple libraries of Babylon and Borsippa. The period in question was clearly before the outbreak of rebellion in 652, when relations with Šamaš-šum-ukīn broke down. If the date inserted in BM 28825 accurately reports the year of Ashurbanipal's engagement of the scholars of Babylon, the programme of copying began in 664. The commission quoted in BM 45642, which refers to copying tablets at Borsippa, could in theory date to either before or after the rebellion but, given its detailed similarity in wording to the companion text from Babylon, it very probably records the Borsippans' response to the same royal commission, and thus also dates to 664.

Both BM 45642 and BM 28825 refer to writing texts on waxed writing-boards of a valuable hardwood known as *musukkannu*. This wood, now identified as sissoo,[5] was eminently suitable as material for writing-boards intended for the Assyrian king. Writing-boards, Akk. *lē'u* and *daltu*, were used for both royal library collections and administrative purposes in the first millennium.[6] It is already known from the Assyrian library records that hundreds of texts inscribed on such boards were collected from private libraries, many of them in Babylonia (Parpola 1983: 4). BM 45642 reveals that when the Borsippan scholars responded to the king's demand for texts, they did so by sending him writing-boards rather than clay tablets, perhaps because boards were more precious and thus more fitting for a king, or perhaps because they were easier to transport. Writing-boards normally perish from the archaeological record, so it is not possible to tell whether all the boards sent to the king in response to his commission became part of the royal holdings, nor whether those taken by him after the revolt joined them.

Given that there was a very productive copying programme going on at Nineveh in Ashurbanipal's time, it may be that many writing-boards were used as master exemplars and for collation in the making of exemplars on clay, and then returned whence they came. This may

[5] For the identification of *musukkannu* with Dalbergia sissoo, see most recently Maxwell-Hyslop 1983 and Postgate 1992: 183. Another board made of this wood occurs in a small fragment from Nineveh, *CT* 51 222: 1′ ^{giš}*le*]-⌜u_5⌝-*um* ^{giš}mes.má.gan.na (part of a colophon?). Writing-boards made of walnut and ivory were found at Nimrud (Mallowan 1954: 98) and there are references in Assyrian texts to boards of tamarisk (*bīnu*) and cypress (*šurmēnu*) (see *CAD* L 159 sub *lē'u* b.3′.b′ and Weidner 1941–4: 177). The Late Bronze Age board found in the shipwreck of Ulu Burun was of boxwood (Warnock and Pendleton 1991).

[6] The term *daltu*, literally "door-leaf", means a single board that did not belong to a polyptych (Stol 1998). For the manufacture and use of writing-boards see Nemet-Nejat 2000. Sixteen ivory writing-boards that may have all come from the same polyptych were found by Mallowan in a well of the North-West Palace at Nimrud. The outer surface of one writing-board (ND 3557) bore an inscription stating that it belonged to Sargon II and contained the astronomical omen series *Enūma Anu Ellil* (cf. BM 28825: 23); see Mallowan 1954: 98–9 and Pl. 23; Wiseman 1955. For a technical description of these boards see Howard 1955. An ivory writing-board was also found at Assur (Klengel-Brandt 1975). For the use of writing-boards in the temple administration at Sippar in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, see MacGinnis 2002. For such boards in the second millennium see Symington 1991 and Postgate 1986: 22–6.

have been common practice for tablets too. The Assyrian library records show that clay tablets were imported from Assyrian and Babylonian private libraries in their thousands. The remains of the excavated library, however, include comparatively few tablets in Babylonian script (Fincke 2004), and only a small proportion of tablets are identified by colophon as originating in private possession. Parpola pointed out that the tablets and boards listed in the Assyrian library records were taken while their owners still lived, rather than after their deaths (Parpola 1983: 9). It is conceivable that many were not so much confiscated as requisitioned temporarily for copying and then returned to their owners. The same may have been true of the tablets collected for the king in response to his letter to Šadûnu. In this regard it is suggestive that the two texts published here envisage the transfer to Assyria not of original tablets but of copies made locally for the purpose.

Like both copies of *CT* 22 1 known to us, BM 28825 and BM 45642 are late copies. Long after the fall of Assyria, these three documents continued to be read, learned and copied by Babylonian scribes. As such they are further evidence for a long-standing practice, the adoption of royal correspondence into the scribal tradition as pedagogical tools. The Sumerian royal correspondence of the Old Babylonian curriculum is well known as a literary genre, but their Akkadian counterparts in the first-millennium curriculum are less often thought of in such terms. Some of these Akkadian royal letters are clearly bogus, either because they are self-evidently ahistorical fantasies, like the Letter of Gilgameš, or because they are royal or religious propaganda, like the much-copied letters of Sargon of Akkade, of a king of Isin whose name is lost (a text formerly known as the Weidner Chronicle), of Samsuiluna and of Kurigalzu of Babylonia (see George 2003: 117–18).

The three letters that report the commissioning of the copying and collection of Babylonian scholarly texts for the Assyrian king (or kings) are not obviously driven by ideological or other tendentious motives. As historical documents they fit the picture of Ashurbanipal's tablet collecting and scholarly interests already gained from the seventh-century sources cited above. In particular, the five specific categories of text requested by Ashurbanipal in BM 28825: 9 are almost all mentioned in the library records. The single exception, the song corpus (*narûtu*), may, as noted earlier, be a scribal error for haruspical omens (*bārûtu*), which occur frequently in the records and are very well represented in the extant Kuyunjik collections. Accordingly we suppose that the three letters are copies of genuine documents.

The reason for the inclusion of these texts in the scribal curriculum was surely a matter of intellectual prestige. When Ashurbanipal was collecting the greatest library the world had ever known, he turned for help to the learned and expert scholars of Babylon and Borsippa. Accordingly the texts inscribed on the tablets published here must have held a special place in the collective memory of the intellectual élites of these cities. Still passed down after perhaps half a millennium, they were proud reminders of the local scholars' finest hour.

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ROYAL HERMENEUTICS: OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMENTARIES FROM ASHURBANIPAL'S LIBRARIES AT NINEVEH*

By ECKART FRAHM

The British excavations at Nineveh, initiated in 1845 by Austen Henry Layard, produced about 30,000 clay tablets or fragments of tablets, most of them coming from the citadel mound of Kuyunjik. This textual material can be divided into two main groups: on the one hand, library tablets, consisting of literary, lexical and historical texts, rituals, medical compendia, Sumerian prayers and above all omen texts, and on the other, archival documents, such as letters, contracts and administrative notes.[1] The great, and rather unique, potential of the texts from Kuyunjik lies in the fact that they reveal to us, more than any other repository of cuneiform tablets ever found, how culture, represented by the first group of texts, and politics, represented by the second, were related to each other in ancient Mesopotamia.

While the archival documents from Kuyunjik date to the reigns of several Assyrian rulers from the eighth and seventh centuries, the library texts seem to belong mostly, though not exclusively, to the reign of a single Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (669 to about 630), a man deeply interested in the scribal arts of ancient Mesopotamia.[2] His enthusiasm for reading and writing, which he seems to have shared with his wife, Libbāli-šarrat,[3] can be traced back to his youth. From an autobiographical sketch about his intellectual socialization, we know that Ashurbanipal had received the education of a future scholar. In a passage somewhat reminiscent of the twelve-year-old Jesus in the temple, Ashurbanipal described the scribal training of his early years as follows:

> I learnt the craft of Adapa the sage, the hidden mystery of the scribal art. I used to watch the signs of heaven and earth and to study them in the assembly of the scholars. Together with the able experts in oil-divination, I deliberated upon (the tablet) "If the liver is a mirror of heaven". ... I looked at cuneiform signs on stones from before the flood.[4]

What is particularly remarkable about this statement is the king's claim that he not only *read* ancient texts, but also thought about them and discussed them together with senior scholars. The only specific text he mentions, "If the liver is a mirror of heaven", is a difficult commentary attached to the extispicy series.[5] Apparently, Ashurbanipal was highly interested in textual hermeneutics.

Hermeneutical reflection and scholarly discussion played a significant role in the intellectual life of Assyria and Babylonia in the first millennium BC. The most important texts used and studied during this period were deemed to be unchangeable because they were, in the eyes of the scholars, revelations of the gods or creations of unsurpassably gifted human authors of a golden past.[6] If

* I would like to thank Kathryn Slanski for her comments. Abbreviations are generally those of *Archiv für Orientforschung* 48/49 (2001/2002), 311–56.

[1] For an overview see O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East* 1500–300 BC (1998), 158–64, with earlier literature.

[2] On the nature of Assurbanipal's tablet collection see S. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal's Personal Tablet Collection," in: T. Abusch *et al.* (eds.), *Festschrift Moran* (1990), 305–36.

[3] Libbāli-šarrat's scholarly ambitions can be inferred from the letter *SAA* 16, No. 28. Is it possible that the anonymous woman, who in order to verify rumours about an insurrection against Assurbanipal, wrote the query *SAA* 4, No. 321 (cf. No. 322) to the god Manlaḫarban, may have been Libbāli-šarrat?

[4] [*š*]*i-pir ap-kal-li A-da-pà a-ḫu-uz ni-ṣir-tú ka-tim-tú kul-lat ṭup-šar-ru-tú* / [gis]kim-meš an-*e u* ki-*tim am-ra-ku šu-ta-du-na-ku ina* ukkin *um-ma-a-ni* / *šu-ta-bu-la-ku* DIŠ bà-*tú ma-aṭ-lat* an-*e it-ti* abgal-ì-meš *le-'u-u-ti* / *ḫi-ṭa-ku* gù-sum *ab-ni šá la-am a-bu-bi* (L[4], I 13′–18′, M. Streck, *Asb.*, 252 ff.; Th. Bauer, *IWA*, 84 f.; R. Borger, *BIWA*, 187 f.).

[5] According to the catalogue K 1352 (*CT* 20, Pl. 1), the text belongs to *Multābiltu*, the final chapter of the canonical extispicy series, of which it is the 16th tablet. No actual manuscripts of *Multābiltu* XVI have been published so far, but from its title one might conclude that the tablet offered material similar to the esoteric equations between liver parts, stars and gods found in *SpTU* 4, No. 159. Whether the unpublished fragment K 6137 belongs to *Multābiltu* XVI requires further studies; the tablet, booked as a potential source for *Enūma Anu Enlil* by E. Reiner, "Celestial Omen Tablets and Fragments in the British Museum," in: S. M. Maul (ed.), *Festschrift Borger*, CM 10 (1998), 236, is designated as [...]-*ṭa-lat* an-*e* in its colophon.

[6] S → W. G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 16 (1962), 59– → F. Rochberg-Halton, "Canonicity in Cuneiform Texts," *JCS* 36 (1984), 127–44.

a text passage was unclear, it could therefore not just be ignored or emended, but had to be explained.

The oral discussions through which ancient scholars tried to establish the meaning of difficult and obscure passages are of course forever lost to us. But two groups of texts that allow some insight into the hermeneutical reasoning of Mesopotamian "academics" have survived. Both of these are prominently attested at Nineveh. The first group is the omen reports and letters written by the Assyrian and Babylonian scholars in the service of the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.[7] Many of these documents, which belong to the archival part of the Kuyunjik Collection, deal with the interpretation of texts. In some cases, what needed clarification was the meaning of individual words. For example, in a letter to the king, the scholar Balasî, Ashurbanipal's private teacher,[8] explains the Standard Babylonian word *išdiḫu* "profit", attested in an omen quoted by him, by offering a more common synonym, *nēmelu*.[9] This is philology on a rather elementary level, and if the king who received the letter was indeed Ashurbanipal, his scholarly knowledge was far more modest than he claims in his autobiography. But in certain cases, the difficulties presented by the passages discussed were indeed considerable, and the scholars dealing with them had to turn to more complex interpretive strategies, such as symbolic association, etymology, etymography and gematria.[10] Balasî, referring to the series on malformed births, describes the hermeneutical challenges posed by the texts in very explicit terms: "*Šumma izbu* is difficult to interpret. ... Really, [the one] who has [not] had (the meaning) pointed out to him cannot possibly understand it."[11]

The degree of hermeneutical sophistication attested in some of the letters and reports raises the question of the sources from which the scholars obtained the knowledge they displayed in their attemps at textual clarification. Sometimes their explanations seem to be based on oral lore.[12] Sometimes they were taken from lexical lists, which the scholars partly knew by heart. But occasionally another source is mentioned. In a letter to king Esarhaddon, the chief-scribe Issar-šumu-ēreš explains that the word *šērtu* "morning", which appears in an astrological omen quoted by him, means *namāru* "to be bright", and he supports this equation by pointing out that it was recorded in a *mukallimtu* commentary.[13]

This brings us to the second group of texts relevant to Assyrian and Babylonian hermeneutics, and to the main topic of this paper: the commentaries.[14] Commentaries as a tool for understanding ancient texts were an innovation of the first millennium. Their authority derived from the fact that the explanations offered by them were ultimately linked, as stated by colophons, to the wisdom of the master-scholars, the *ummânū*. Two basic types of commentaries can be distinguished. The first type are the so-called *ṣâtu* commentaries, which quote individual signs, words or expressions from a given text and explain them by offering pronunciation glosses or lexical equations. In Nineveh, they are organized in columns, a feature they have in common with lexical lists, which can be called *ṣâtu* as well.[15] Balasî's explanation of *išdiḫu* may have been taken from a *ṣâtu*

[7] The omen reports were published by H. Hunger in *SAA* 8, the letters by S. Parpola in *SAA* 10. For an extensive commentary on the letters see Parpola, *LAS* 2.

[8] For Balasî, and for all the other scholars mentioned in this article, see the respective entries in the *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Helsinki 1998–).

[9] *SAA* 10, No. 58: 16: *iš-di-ḫu né-me-lu*. Many similar glosses can be found in the reports of Nabû-aḫḫē-erība (*SAA* 8, Nos. 39–79): see Ph. Talon, "The Uses of Glosses in Neo-Assyrian Letters and Astrological Reports," in *Festschrift Fronzaroli* (2003), 648–65.

[10] There is no room for examples here. Some analysis of the rules of association employed by the Nineveh scholars who dealt with astrological texts is provided by D. Brown, *CM* 18 (2000), 63–81.

[11] *SAA* 10, No. 60, r. 1 f., 10–14: *Šumma izbu da''ana ana parāsi ... kettu [ša] ubānu ina pānātuššu [lā] tallikūni lāmūqāšu lā iḫakkim*.

[12] See Y. Elman, "Authoritative Oral Tradition in Neo-Assyrian Scribal Circles," *JANES* 7 (1975), 19–32; Brown, *CM* 18, 156–60.

[13] *SAA* 10, No. 23, r. 8–20. The reference to the commentary (*kī annî ina mukallimti ṣaṭir*) is in r. 13 f.

[14] Due to limitations of space, this paper can provide only a very general overview. More in-depth information will be given in my forthcoming study on Mesopotamian commentaries. The remarks presented here are based on what I hope is a rather complete catalogue of Assyrian and Babylonian commentaries.

[15] What *ṣâtu* as a philological term literally means is unclear. Suggested translations include "extraits, citations" (R. Labat, *Commentaires* [1933], 15), "explanation" (W. G. Lambert, *AfO* 17 [1954–6], 320) and "forme ancienne, désuète" (M. Civil, in: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Mélanges Birot* [1985], 74; cf. already G. Meier, *AfO* 12 [1937–9], 237: "Archaismen"). For *ṣâtu* as a term for lexical lists see the recent remarks by J. Oelsner, *OLZ* 90 (1995), 383. It seems that certain bilingual lists, e.g. ḪAR-ra, are called *ṣâtu*, while monolingual ones like *Malku* are called *lišānu*. But also sign lists of the *tu-ta-ti* type and grammatical texts were called *ṣâtu*, as appears from the "Esoteric Babylonian Commentary" published by R. D. Biggs in

commentary.[16] The second category of hermeneutical treatises are the *mukallimtu* commentaries. They quote phrases, for example, the protasis or apodosis, or both, of an omen entry, and explain them by giving factual information or by offering equations for difficult terms. *Mukallimtu* commentaries have the form of a running text, with individual entries marked by indentation. As we have seen, important scholars like Issar-šumu-ēreš had access to written commentaries. Commentaries were an integral part of the scholarly text corpus, serialized and to some degree, it appears, even canonized. It is therefore not surprising that Ashurbanipal, in building his library, collected not only primary texts, but also commentaries.

Some of the commentaries found on Kuyunjik, and therefore probably belonging to Ashurbanipal's library, were originally part of other tablet collections. The most prominent examples are the numerous commentaries copied by the Kalḫu scholar Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, who was active as a scribe from 716 to 683.[17] He was the father of the royal scholar Nabû-zēru-lēšir and the grandfather of Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's chief-scribe Issar-šumu-ēreš, whose reliance on commentaries was mentioned above. It seems possible that when Nabû-zēru-lēšir came to Nineveh, he brought the library of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu with him, and that he and his son were privately using it before it was eventually integrated into Ashurbanipal's personal tablet collection. Commentaries written by descendants of the famous Bēl-kundi-ilā'ī and Bābu-šumu-ibni families from the city of Ashur ended up in Ashurbanipal's library as well.[18]

Other commentaries seem to have been imported from Babylonia, as can be inferred from the so-called "Library records", which mention *ṣâtu* and *mukallimtu* commentaries from cities in the south.[19] Commentaries written in Babylonian script were actually found on Kuyunjik,[20] and some of them may be identical with those mentioned in the "Library records". But many tablets sent to Assyria from cities like Babylon or Borsippa probably never became part of Ashurbanipal's library at all.[21] It seems that after their arrival at Nineveh they were compared to similar texts already available, and then copied, in full or in part. In the end, the normal procedure was probably that only the copies, marked with an Ashurbanipal colophon, and not the Babylonian originals were put into the royal library. Such a practice is indicated by Ashurbanipal colophons on scholarly texts that claim that the texts in question were written down according to the wording of tablets from Assyria, Sumer and Akkad,[22] and by the references to alternative readings that are given in these texts. Ashurbanipal colophons are the most common marks of ownership on

RA 26 (1968), 51–8, r. 14 f.: be-*ma* kešda(*kiṣru!*) *šá ṣa-a-tum ana* igi-*ka tu* : *ta* : *ti* / *ù* : *a* (dupl.: *šá*) : *ia* : *e* (Biggs — and ‹ → B. Böck, *JAOS* 120 [2000], 616 — translate kešda *šá ṣa-a-tum* as "collection of commentaries", but this seems not to be in accordance with the context).

[16] It is attested in *ṣâtu* commentaries on *Izbu* and *Alu*, see *CAD* N/2, 157b.

[17] On Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, see S. Lieberman, "A Mesopotamian Background of the So-Called *Aggadic* 'Measures' of Biblical Hermeneutics," *HUCA* 58 (1987), 204– → E. Frahm, "Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, das Gilgameš-Epos und der Tod Sargons II.," *JCS* 51 (1999), 73–90 and A. Guinan, "A Severed Head Laughed: Stories of Divinatory Interpretation," in: L. Ciraolo and J. Seidel (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, Ancient Magic and Divination II (2002), 7–40.

[18] The astrological commentary K 872 (*AAT* 58), a copy of an original from Babylon, was written by Aššur-mudammiq, son of Nabû-mušēṣi, descendent of Bēl-kundi-ilā'ī. He may be identical with the Ashur scribe who copied the prayer *LKA* 51, while his father might have written the astrological reports *SAA* 8, Nos. 143–59, dating from 669 to 663/2. The astrological commentary K 3145 (F. Rochberg-Halton, *AfO Beih.* 22, 225 f.), written *ana malsût Kiṣi*[*r-* ...], should be attributed to Kiṣir-Aššur or Kiṣir-Nabû, descendants of the Bābu-šumu-ibni family, who left very similar commentaries in their library in Ashur. On Kiṣir-Aššur's relationship with Nineveh, see P. Villard, "Kiṣir-Aššur et la bibliothèque de Ninive," *NABU* 1998, No. 16; on the transfer of knowledge in first-millennium Mesopotamia in general, see my forthcoming article "Headhunter, Bücherdiebe und wandernde Gelehrte," in *CDOG* 4. → S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," *JNES* 42 (1983), 1–29; a new edition is provided in *SAA* 7, Nos. 49–56.

[20] For texts from Kuyunjik written in Babylonian script see the website http://assyriologie.uni-hd.de/fincke/nineveh/, created by J. Fincke.

[21] In at least one case, a commentary took the other way round. The extispicy commentary W 22729/14 (*SpTU* 2, No. 46), inscribed with Ashurbanipal's colophon I, was found at Uruk, in the library of a Late Babylonian exorcist; see W. Farber, "Neues aus Uruk," *WeOr* 18 (1987), 35, and E. Frahm, "Zwischen Tradition und Neuerung: Babylonische Priestergelehrte im achämenidenzeitlichen Uruk," in: R. G. Kratz, *Religion und Religionskontakte im Zeitalter der Achämeniden* (2002), 97 f.

[22] Colophon b (H. Hunger, *BAK*, No. 318): *ekal Aššur-bāni-apli* ... *šar māt Aššurma kī pî ṭuppāni lē'āni gabari māt Aššur māt Šumeri u Akkadi ṭuppu šuātu ina taphurti ummânī aštur asniq abrēma ana tāmarti šarrūtīja qereb ekallīja ukīn ša šumī šaṭru ipaššiṭu šumšu išaṭṭaru Nabû ṭupšar gimri šumšu lipšiṭ* "Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria. I wrote this tablet in the assembly of the scholars according to tablets and wooden writing-boards from Assyria, Sumer and Akkad, checked it, collated it and put it into my palace for my royal reading." The colophon is attested on a number of extispicy commentaries.

the commentaries from Kuyunjik, indicating that the majority of the Nineveh commentaries were specifically designed to be part of the royal tablet collection.

A statistical evaluation reveals that, without taking into account cultic commentaries, explanatory texts and *Dub-ḫa-la* tablets,[23] the number of commentary fragments from the Kuyunjik Collection amounts to 798.[24] Of this total, 2.8% are commentaries on literary texts, 13.5% on lexical lists, 0.3% on ritual texts, 31.6% on astrology, 46.7% on extispicy, 0.1% on *giskim* texts, 0.1% on menologies, 1.9% on physiognomic omens, 1.8% on teratological omens, 1.1% on terrestrial omens, and 0.1% on more than one of these texts.

A closer look at these statistics may be helpful. There are twenty-two commentary fragments from Kuyunjik dealing with literary texts. They are concerned with the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma eliš* and the wisdom text *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*. Commentaries on *Lugal-e* are attested in a catalogue.[25] *Ludlul* is a text reminiscent of the "lexical poetry" of ancient Greece and the Middle Ages: it abounds in obscure words, which were probably deliberately selected, by a learned author, from lexical lists. Not surprisingly, therefore, the *Ludlul* commentary[26] primarily addresses rare lexemes. The *Enūma eliš* commentaries have a more sophisticated purpose. One of them[27] establishes links between the text and certain ritual acts, and provides at least one *interpretatio assyriaca* by identifying Marduk's wetnurse as Ištar of Nineveh.[28] The other *Enūma eliš* commentaries[29] are theological treatises on the immediate correspondence between Marduk's names and his qualities. There are 108 Kuyunjik fragments of ḪAR-gud,[30] an explanatory treatise on the lexical series ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu*,[31] and two fragments of commentaries on ritual texts.[32] However, the vast majority of the Nineveh commentaries, altogether 83.4%, deals with omen texts. There are 252 commentary fragments related to the astrological series *Enūma Anu Enlil*,[33] 373 related to the series on the inspection of the entrails of the sacrificial animal,[34] fifteen fragments of commentaries on *Šumma Alamdimmû* and other parts of the series of physiognomic omens,[35] fourteen on the teratological series *Šumma izbu*,[36] nine on the terrestrial omen series *Šumma ālu*,[37] and three on other omen texts.[38]

It is very clear from this overview that commentaries on astrology and extispicy are predominant among the hermeneutical treatises from the Kuyunjik Collection. Commentaries on these two fields also fall into a wide range of different types. In the case of the *Enūma Anu Enlil* commentaries, we have the large and highly sophisticated *mukallimtu* commentary *Šumma Sîn ina tāmartīšu*,[39]

[23] For cultic commentaries and explanatory texts, see A. Livingstone, *Explanatory Works*; for *Dub-ḫa-la* tablets see the preliminary remarks by U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens* (2000), 24.

[24] Due to the difficulties involved in classifying smaller fragments, this number is to be taken *cum grano salis*. I have counted fragments, even when they are rejoined, individually, in order to facilitate the quantitative evaluation of the different groups of commentaries. If one operates with rejointed fragments, the number of commentaries from Ashurbanipal's libraries amounts to 648, while there are 980 commentaries from Mesopotamia altogether.

[25] W. G. Lambert, in: B. L. Eichler *et al.* (eds.), *Festschrift Kramer*, AOAT 25 (1976), 314 f. In the following, only very selective bibliographical references can be given.

[26] W. G. Lambert, *BWL*, 31–56 (ms. G).

[27] *CT* 13, 32 (Sm 747, now joined to numerous unpublished fragments). The catchline of this tablet refers to a commentary on another, so far unidentified religious-literary text.

[28] See R. Da-Riva and E. Frahm, *AfO* 46/47 (1999/2000), 173 f.

[29] J. Bottéro, "Les Noms de Marduk, l'écriture et la 'logique' en Mésopotamie ancienne," in: *Finkelstein-Gedächtnisschrift* (1977), 5–28.

[30] The number given in my Rencontre handout was too small.

[31] Published together with the respective ḪAR-ra tablets in *MSL* V–XII. Since the ḪAR-gud manuscripts are never explicitly designated in their colophons as *ṣâtu* or *mukallimtu*, it is difficult to establish whether ḪAR-gud should really be characterized as a commentary, or rather as a lexical text in its own right.

[32] On *Šurpu* (E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, 50), and on "Marduk's Address to the Demons" (cf. Lambert, "Marduk's Address to the Demons," in: T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn [eds.], *Ancient Magic* 1 [1999], 294 f.).

[33] A catalogue of the Kuyunjik fragments belonging to *Enūma Anu Enlil*, with references to commentaries, is given by E. Reiner in: S. M. Maul (ed.), *Festschrift Borger*, CM 10 (1998), 215–302. The number given by me includes fragments belonging to *Sîn ina tāmartīšu*, a serialized commentary attached to *Enūma Anu Enlil*.

[34] Many of them now edited by U. Koch-Westenholz, *Babylonian Liver Omens*. The number given by me includes fragments belonging to *Multābiltu*, for which see above, n. 5.

[35] Published by B. Böck, *AfO Beih.* 27 (2000), 238–56.

[36] Mostly published by E. Leichty, TCS 4 (1970), 211–33.

[37] Most of them *ṣâtu* commentaries on small tablets in Babylonian script (*CT* 41, Pls. 25–34, Th. J. Meek, *RA* 17 [1920], 140 f.). A *mukallimtu* commentary in Assyrian script was published by S. Langdon, *RA* 13 (1916), 27–33.

[38] On *Iqqur īpuš* (A. H. Sayce, *ZA* 2 [1887], 333–5: K 98), on *giskim* texts (*CT* 41, Pl. 45: Rm 855) and on several different omen texts (2R 47: K 4387).

[39] The first tablet was edited by U. Koch-Westenholz, "The Astrological Commentary *Šumma Sîn ina tāmartīšu* Tablet 1," in: *La science des cieux — sages, mages, astrologues*, Res Orientales XII (1999), 149–65.

several other serialized *mukallimtu* commentaries, extracts (*nisḫu*) from them, *ṣâtu* commentaries, and even a commentary which, according to its subscript, is classified as both a *ṣâtu* and a *mukallimtu*.[40] These commentaries are written either in Assyrian or in Babylonian script, and they can cover one tablet only, several tablets, or even the whole series.[41] Regarding the commentaries on the extispicy series, the fact that they have at least four different Ashurbanipal colophons[42] suffices to show that they constituted a highly complex body of texts as well. Astrological and extispicy commentaries were therefore not only more numerous than commentaries on other texts, but also more varied.

What is the reason for the remarkable predominance of omen commentaries at Nineveh, especially of commentaries on astrology and extispicy? It seems to me that two factors must be considered. First of all, the king and the royal court at Nineveh must have had a deep and unshakable belief that the gods communicated their decisions to the human world by inscribing them in the sky, in the entrails of the sacrificial animal, and sometimes in other media, and that their signs could be deciphered using the knowledge collected in the large omen series. But the Assyrian king, and this is the second factor, had to take into account as well the political and military realities of his realm. Activities of the enemy in border regions, requests from his subjects, and conflicts between Assyrian officials were reported to him on a daily basis, and they required decisions nearly all the time. If Assyrian politics had been dominated by a literal belief in the tens of thousands of entries of the omen texts, if, for example, every black dog running through the street and every cloud crossing the sky had brought the administrative and military machinery of the Assyrian state to a halt, Assyria would never have become what it was in the end: the dominant political entity of its time. There had to be a balance between the world of divine communications on the one hand, and the world of politics on the other. This balance was provided by hermeneutics. Hermeneutics was the tool that made possible the flexible management of ominous signs.

This flexibility may be illustrated by an example. In the night of the 16th of Addaru 669, a conjunction of Mars and Saturn with the full moon took place in the constellation of Virgo. As discussed by Ulla Koch-Westenholz,[43] at least nine scholars communicated this event to the king. Using different methods of interpreting the astrological series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, they all related it to different omens. Such a lack of agreement looks like complete divinatory anarchy. But for the king, this anarchy had a great advantage. Among the numerous omen entries transmitted to him, he could choose the one that was most easily reconcilable with the political realities of the moment.

Seen in this light, even seemingly strange omen reports begin to make sense. Ashurbanipal's teacher Balasî, mentioned earlier, was one of the nine scholars who wrote about the night sky of the 16th of Addaru. He quoted the omen: "If the constellation 'raven' reaches the path of the sun, trade will diminish."[44] The foundation for this rather surprising quotation can be found in commentaries and other learned treatises. The sun, according to these texts, could be equated with Saturn, and the raven constellation with Mars, the two planets that were visible close to each other during the night in question.[45] So commentaries, by providing a pool of symbolic or etymological associations, enriched the possibilities of finding omens whose protases were applicable to the natural phenomena actually observed and whose apodoses were reconcilable with current political needs. Divinatory hermeneutics, thereby, indirectly enhanced the king's freedom to act without depriving him of the belief, psychologically so helpful, of acting according to the will of the gods.[46] To be sure, the reports of the scholars normally discuss the omen protases only; they establish links between natural phenomena and omen entries, but not between omen entries and politics.[47]

[40] The latter commentary was published by Meek, *RA* 17, 190 f.: 82-5-22, 572.

[41] The whole series seems to be covered by K 4593 (+) Sm 9 (+) Sm 1038 (Meek, *RA* 17, 144, 175, 180).

[42] Colophons a, b, l (Hunger, *BAK*, Nos. 317, 318, 325), and a colophon similar to o (Hunger, *BAK*, No. 328).

[43] *Mesopotamian Astrology* (1995), 140–51.

[44] *SAA* 8, No. 82: 5 f.

[45] Brown, *CM* 18, 68–72.

[46] As for the many negative omens reported to the king, there was of course always the possibility of performing a *Namburbi* ritual to ward off the evil predicted by them. This is in fact what Balasî suggests on behalf of the omen quoted above (*SAA* 8, No. 82: 10).

[47] An interesting exception is a letter by Bēl-ušēzib, who writes about an Assyrian campaign against the Manneans and some omens relating to it; see G. B. Lanfranchi, "Scholars and Scholarly Traditions in Neo-Assyrian Times," *SAAB* 3 (1989), 99–114.

Yet we have to assume that there were oral discussions of that latter issue as well, because otherwise, the omen reports would not make sense. There are good reasons, therefore, to claim that at the Assyrian court hermeneutics served a highly pragmatic political purpose.[48]

That Ashurbanipal himself wanted to have access to omen commentaries, and collected them in his library, shows that he had an interest in controlling the interpretations offered to him by his scholarly advisors. Sovereignty of interpretation, or "Deutungshoheit", was an important fact of Ashurbanipal's all-encompassing power.

The pragmatic background of Ashurbanipal's collection of commentaries becomes more obvious if one takes a look on the hermeneutical treatises that are not attested at Nineveh. That there are no commentaries on Sumerian laments and prayers is not surprising, since the intellectual form in which the scholars of the first millennium dealt with Sumerian texs was not the commentary but translation into Akkadian. But it is conspicuous that the Nineveh corpus does not contain commentaries on diagnostic and medical texts, like those that were in use in Nippur and Uruk during the Achaemenid period.[49] These late commentaries, written by *āšipu*s and *kalû*s, besides explaining difficult words and offering factual information, frequently attempt to create secondary meanings for passages whose literal sense is clear.[50] Using methods reminiscent of Philo's allegorical interpretation or the Medieval doctrine of the fourfold meaning of scripture, they try to demonstrate the inner coherence of the texts, or the immediate correspondence of their wording and the effects of their application.[51]

It seems that this kind of contemplative esoteric textual interpretation was not particularly relevant for the Assyrian king and his scholars when they dealt with the hundreds of ritual and medical texts that were kept in the royal library at Nineveh. The prescriptions and incantations collected in such texts had just to be applied. The hermeneutical apparatus employed in divination was not necessary in this context. Speculative philology as displayed in some Late Babylonian commentaries on lexical lists such as *Aa* and *Nabnītu* was likewise of no great interest to Ashurbanipal and his scholars; no commentaries on these lists are attested in the Kuyunjik corpus. At Nineveh, the techniques of speculative philology and symbolic association, heavily used in omen commentaries, are otherwise restricted to cultic commentaries, "explanatory texts" and treatises like the commentaries on *Enūma eliš*, which have cultic implications as well. All these compositions are more matter- than language-related, more interested in "Sachverhalte" than in "Sprachverhalte".[52] This, too, shows the pragmatic dimension of Ashurbanipal's royal hermeneutics.

* * *

Our understanding of Babylonian and Assyrian hermeneutics is still very rudimentary. Before we can hope to unseal what one might metaphorically call the first (Assyro-)Babylonian Talmud, primary texts and commentaries have to be reconstructed, editions must be prepared, and the exegetical techniques used by Mesopotamian scholars must be analysed. This is no easy task. Whoever works on cuneiform commentaries will admit that Montaigne was right when he said: "Il y a plus affaire à interpréter les interprétations qu'à interpréter les choses."[53] But only by means of a thorough investigation of the commentaries, omen reports and scholarly letters from Nineveh and elsewhere, will we eventually be able to gain deeper insights into the intellectual life of first-millennium Mesopotamia.

[48] For similar ideas about divination, see B. Pongratz-Leisten, *SAAS* 10 (1999), 5.

[49] Besides the medical and diagnostic commentaries, hermeneutical treatises attested elsewhere in Mesopotamia but not in Nineveh include commentaries on *Aa/Ea*, the "Babylonian Theodicy", botanical texts (*Uruanna*), grammatical texts, the Laws of Hammurapi, *Maqlû*, *Nabnītu*, *Namburbi* rituals, potency incantations (*Šà-zi-ga*), *Tummu bītu* rituals, and *Udug-ḫul*.

[50] Good examples are provided → M. Civil, "Medical Commentaries from Nippur," *JNES* 33 (1974), 329–38, and A. R. George, "Babylonian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith — Part Two: Prognostic and Diagnostic Omens, Tablet I," *RA* 85 (1991), 137–63.

[51] See A. Cavigneaux, "Aux sources du Midrash: l'herméneutique babylonienne," in: *AuOr* 5 (1987), 243–55.

[52] See J. Assmann, "Text und Kommentar. Einführung," in: J. Assmann and B. Gladigow (eds.), *Text und Kommentar* (1995), 12 f.

[53] Montaigne, *Essais*, 3, 13.



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ASSYRIAN LIBRARY RECORDS*

SIMO PARPOLA, University of Chicago

To Irving L. Finkel

In this article, 10 fragments of Neo-Assyrian administrative records are published giving important, previously unrecognized information on the history of the famous palace libraries of Assurbanipal in Nineveh. Six of these fragments have been previously published in copy by C. H. W. Johns as nos. 869, 943, 944, 980, 1053, and 1107 of his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1901); his copies, however, are in every respect so poor that a republication is more than amply justified. The other four fragments are previously unpublished.[1] The emphasis of the article is on the *ADD* texts, labeled "Records," which constitute the bulk of the material and form a chronologically and structurally homogeneous whole. The information in these will be discussed collectively in the following introduction, whereas the unpublished fragments will be dealt with separately in an appendix.

INTRODUCTION

1. *The Structure, Terminology, and Nature of the Records*

Even a superficial study of the Record fragments suffices to determine their basic structure and characteristic features. They are all itemized lists of literary works arranged in sections, and each section concludes with a sum-total and a personal name (in one case, a geographical name) followed by a professional, patronymic, or geographical identifier. A closer examination reveals the following facts: the *ADD* fragments and two unpublished ones are actually parts of only *three tablets*, all compiled by the same scribe.[2] Two of the tablets, henceforth referred to as (nos.) "1"

* In this article each text is divided into sections which are assigned separate numbers. Information found in individual sections will be identified with reference to both text and section; for example, 1.4 indicates that the item discussed occurs in text no. 1, section 4.

Abbreviations are those used in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* and R. Borger's *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*.

This article was originally envisaged as a joint paper to be co-authored with Irving L. Finkel, who thoroughly collated the *ADD* fragments and discussed a number of problems in the texts with me. For various practical reasons, the original plan was later abandoned. However, even after the completion of the first draft of the manuscript, Finkel continued to take an active interest in it, contributing the join K.4753 + K.5711 and important observations (see n. 23 below). Thus this article owes him more than can be expressed in a mere dedication. I am also indebted to Professor Erica Reiner for advice received for the notes to 1.7 and 2.7. The responsibility for the interpretations offered, views presented, and errors committed in the article remains, naturally, entirely mine.

[1] The permission to publish these fragments was kindly granted on behalf of the Trustees by Dr. E. Sollberger, Keeper, Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum.

[2] That all fragments are the work of the same scribe is clear from the handwriting, see figs. 2–4 and note, for example, the forms of PAB, ZU, RA, TI, and DUB (not UM), as well as the wedge-head visible at the left end of each dividing line. The indirect joins between *ADD* 943 (+) 944 and *ADD* 869 (+) K.12722 are certain on the basis of such criteria as column width, width of the space between columns (see fig. 1), script density and size of signs (see

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and "2") have 3 columns of text on both sides; the third is a two-column tablet (fig. 1). Nos. 1 and 3 end with eponym dates showing that both texts were written at the end of year 648 within a period of two months. The date in 2 is lost, but its affinities with 1 make it certain that it also dates from the same period. The significance of the dates will be discussed in detail below (see § 4). No. 1 consisted of at least 10 sections separated from one another by dividing lines, no. 2 consisted of at least 12, and no. 3 of two similar sections.

The literary works listed in the tablets are specified not only in terms of title or genre as is commonly done in catalogues of literary texts,[3] but every entry in the Records also contains a number or numbers indicating the quantity in which a given text was available and is followed by a specification of its material and/or format. The following four terms were used to express the latter feature: *ṭuppu* (DUB); *egirtu*; *lē'u* (GIŠ.ZU); *daltu* (GIŠ.IG). In addition, the term *asarru* occurs once (1.8). As is well known, *ṭuppu* is the generic term for "clay tablet," *egirtu* normally means "letter," *lē'u* has been convincingly shown to be the generic term for "(wax-covered) writing board,"[4] and *daltu* literally means "door." In the Records, however, each of these terms has a different, more specific technical meaning. The first two are both used to refer to clay tablets, the difference in meaning being that the former denotes full-size tablets divided into two or more columns and the latter smaller one-column tablets.[5] Correspondingly, *lē'u* refers to sets of writing boards consisting of two or more "leaves" and therefore should be rendered in these texts "diptych," "triptych," or "polyptych" (depending on the case),[6] whereas *daltu* serves as a designation of single writing boards not forming part of a multi-board "book." This technical meaning of *daltu* is not known from any other texts but is a natural assumption in view of the doorlike appearance of Assyrian writing boards.[7] The meaning of *asarru* is unknown, but the context in 1.8 makes it certain that it, too, denoted a type of clay tablet.

The implications of the above terminology are important to keep in mind when assessing the number of tablets and boards registered in the Records. The quantities of clay tablets and single writing boards can be established immediately from the numbers preceding them, but in the case of *lē'us* the matter is more complicated, since they consisted of a variable number of boards. Thus, each multi-board edition of a text listed in the Records is preceded by two sets of numbers, the first indicating the number of *lē'us* and the second the number of boards each *lē'u* consisted of (e.g., 2 3-*a-a iz-bu*, "two triptychs of teratological omens," 1.7). The number of individual boards

figs. 2–4), tablet totals (*ADD* 869 (+) K.12722), and orthographical and stylistic considerations, e.g., *ADD* 869 and 980 both write MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú* as opposed to *a-ši-pu-tú*, 943 (+) 944, and omit DUB. MEŠ in tablet-totals, as opposed to 943 (g) 944.

[3] See, for example, $4R^2$; → S. Langdon, "The Assyrian Catalogue of Liturgical Texts: A Restoration of the Tablets," *RA* 18 (1921): 157 ff. (= Krecher, *Kultlyrik*, pp. 19 ff.), liturgical texts; R. Caplice, "Namburbi Texts in the British Museum," *Or.* n.s. 34 (1965): 108 ff., namburbi rituals; King, *BMS*, p. xix, incantations.

[4] See D. J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 3–13.

[5] *Egirtu* does not actually mean "letter" but is the term for *any* vertically oblong tablet showing the ratio 2:1 between its long and short axis. It is contrasted with the term *u'iltu* referring to *horizontally* oblong tablets with the same ratio between its axes. Letters and legal transactions were usually written on *egirtu* shaped tablets, reports, excerpt texts, and loan documents and court proceedings on *u'iltu* shaped ones.

[6] Diptychs are mentioned in 1.7 and 3.1; triptychs in 1.2, 1.7, 1.8, and 3.1; and polyptychs (of 4 to 12 boards) in 1.2, 1.7, 2.12, and 3.1.

[7] See Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," and M. Howard, "Technical Description of the Ivory Writing-Boards from Nimrud," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 14–20.

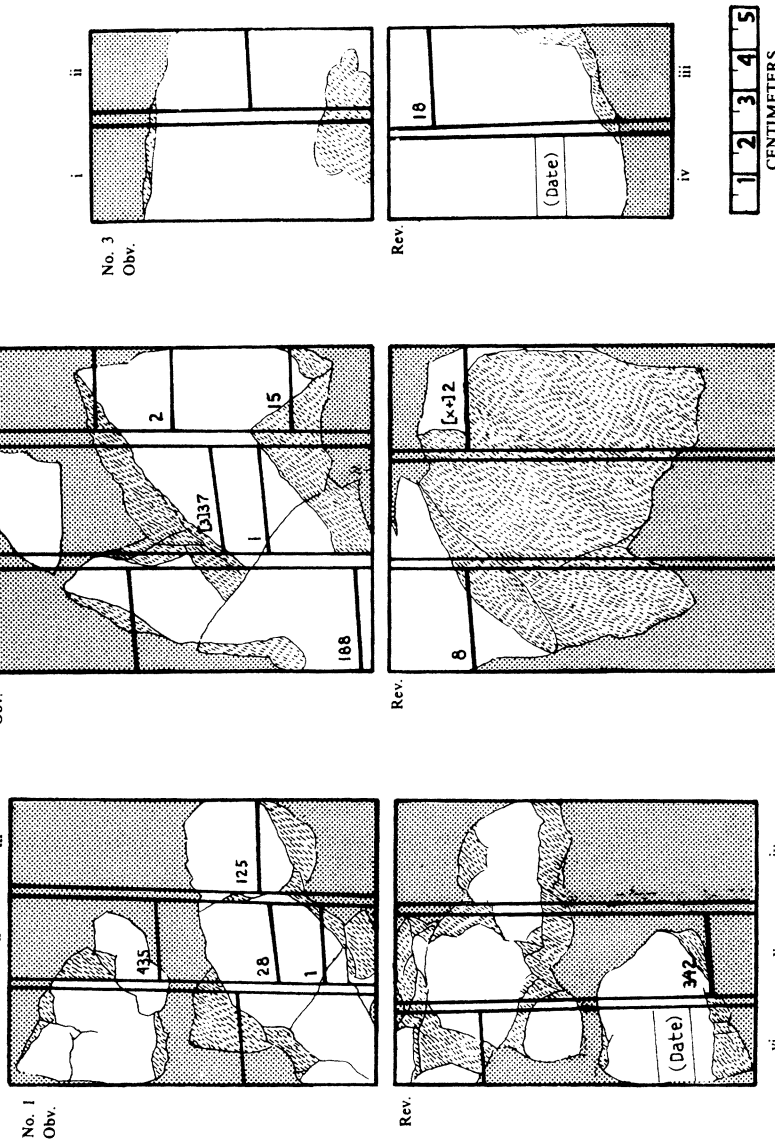


FIG. 1.—Diagram showing the Records in their original outline and present state of preservation. Reconstruction is based on the ratios 3:4 and 2:3 normally holding between the short and long axis of three- and two-column tablets; the numbers before dividing lines represent extant tablet-totals recorded in the relevant sections. Bold lines indicate outlines of tablets and rulings drawn by the scribe, insofar as they are reconstructible. Weak lines indicate breaks and cracks. White areas represent surfaces with extant script. Shaded areas represent areas with no traces of script left. Dotted areas indicate parts of the tablet which are completely lost.

is not, however, given in the totals. Consequently, while the totals of clay tablets give an accurate idea of the quantity of material involved, those of writing boards have to be multiplied by at least three to give an idea of the number of boards actually involved. This fact may well be worth keeping in mind in the study of other contemporary texts as well.[8]

Writing boards and clay tablets are listed and added up in groups. If both types of texts occur in the same section, the former are consistently listed first.[9] Combined totals of boards and tablets are not given.

Even though the purpose of the Records is nowhere explicitly stated, their content leaves no doubt as to their nature: they record acquisitions or accessions to the palace libraries of Nineveh, the source of the acquisitions being mostly a private individual and in one case (3.1) also a "House." As such, they not only give us invaluable information about the colossal library of Assurbanipal, but also about several private libraries whose existence and constitution would otherwise have remained totally unknown. This latter information is especially important because of its significance to the question of literacy and the breadth of literary and professional competence in ancient Mesopotamia.

The importance of the texts not only to us but also to the ancients is borne out by the fact that they were dated, in contrast to the overwhelming majority of administrative texts from Nineveh.[10]

2. *Information on the Library of Assurbanipal*

With the exception of the chronological information discussed in §4 below, most data in the Records relevant from the viewpoint of the Assurbanipal Library can be elicited from table 1 (below). It speaks for itself, and thus only a few supplementary remarks are necessary.

The most striking fact emerging from the table is the great number of tablets and writing boards listed in the Records. Despite the fact that all of them are badly broken, they can be shown with certainty to have registered a minimum of 1,441 clay tablets and 69 polyptychs, the majority of which consisted of more than 4 boards. Taking the breaks into consideration, the original tablet-total can be placed at about 2,000 and the writing-board total somewhere in the vicinity of 300.[11] In view of the fact that the total number of tablets and fragments (including the smallest ones) found

[8] E.g., the ivory writing board found in Nimrud was actually a polyptych consisting of 16 separate boards; correspondingly, when the writer of *LAS* 319 (r. 1 ff.) refers to a *lē'u* of Enūma Anu Enlil, he certainly does not mean a single board but a whole set of boards like the Nimrud polyptych.

[9] See 1.2, 1.8, 1.10, and 2.12. This convention implies that 1.6 and 1.7, and probably 1.7 and 1.8, are separate sections.

[10] While legal documents are always dated, very few administrative texts from Nineveh bear an eponym date (see *ADD* 753, 818, 851, 853, and 859 for extant dates; many more broken tablets naturally may originally have been dated).

[11] The fragmentary obverse of 2 lists a minimum of 358 tablets. Supposing that the reverse (which is almost totally destroyed) contained approximately the same number, this text would have listed at least 716 tablets, i.e., 337 more than are ascertainable in its present state of preservation. Three sections of 1 (6, 7, and 10) constituting about one-fifth of the whole text are very poorly preserved, adding in their present state virtually nothing to the tablet-total; they may be estimated to have contained about 20 percent of the ascertainable tablet-total, i.e., about 280 tablets. 1,441 + 337 + 280 = 2,058 tablets. Multiplying the polyptych total (69) by 4 and adding to the product (276), the same 20 percent as above would yield 321 as the approximate total number of single writing boards; this seems a realistic number considering that very few boards are listed in 2.

TABLE 1

Text Label	No. 1										No. 2												No. 3		Total of MSS
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	
alandimmû											T	T													2
ālu								37		L		T	29		6					6					6
āšipūtu			6							L_2	T	T	T			2	T				T			6	9
bārûtu		L								L													27L		3
bulṭē		L_6						$3L_3$		L_2		6										L_8			5
Enūma Anu Enlil		L					4L	57		L		T	38							4					8
Gilgameš	1																								1
GIŠ.GIGIR. . .	1				8																				1
ḪAR-*ra*																								5	1
iqqur īpuš												T			1									2	3
išḫur māda	1																								1
izbu	1		2				$2L_3$	L_3		L					2		1			1					8
kakku sakku	L_3																								1
kalûtu		L_{12}			2																				2
kammāni	3																								1
kispu												T					1								3
kunuk ḫalte	2						L_5																		2
[M]ÁŠ-TI.LA																								4	1
mukallimtu		2						6																	2
MUL.SAG.MU																	1								1
SAG.ME.GAR = S.							L_2																		1
sakiqqê												T													1
SI-DÙ	1																								1
ṣarrat šamê																								1	1
tīrāni																							L_2		1
UDU.[x].MEŠ																	1								1
ūm il āli	1																								1
ūmē ṭābūti															2		1								2
ušburrudāni														1											2
zaqīqu					1		L					12	T				9?								4
PI Ú-*ri*				1*																					1
Total Tablets	11	*435*	*28*	*1*	*125*	2		*342*	100			*188*	137	*1*	13	*2*	*15*	2		13	*8*			*18*	=1441
Boards	L	*6L*					9L	*10L*		6L												9L	*28L*		= 69L

NOTE: Plain digits indicate *tablets*. T = unknown number of tablets; (2)L = (2) *lē'us* polyptychs, etc. (sub index indicating number of boards in each *lē'u*). *Egirtus* are counted as tablets. The totals represent the *minimum* number of tablets attested in each section; italics indicates that the respective sum-total is preserved on the tablet itself.

in Nineveh does not exceed 30,000,[12] and taking further into consideration that a substantial portion of these 30,000 fragments (about one-fifth) are non-literary texts (letters, legal and administrative texts, reports, etc.), the tablets recorded in the present lists must have represented a major acquisition to the library.

Another striking fact is that out of all these hundreds and thousands of tablets and boards, only a tiny fraction (in all 10 tablets) consists of what could be called *belles-lettres*, i.e., epics, myths, etc.[13] The rest is professional literature of experts in Mesopotamian scientific and religious lore. This fact is well known to all students of the Assurbanipal Library, but because of the fragmentary state in which the Library has come down to us, it does not stand out as clearly as it does in the present lists.

Altogether, 31 different types of text figure in the lists. Seventeen of them, all independent compositions identified by their own specific names or labels, occur only once.[14] Of the remaining 14, relatively few represent independent compositions but are mostly identified by a generic designation permitting the lumping together of several different texts falling under the same broad category. In descending order of frequency, the compositions or text categories attested in greatest numbers of copies are:

9	Exorcists' Lore (*āšipūtu*)	at least 18 tablets and 1 board
8	Astrological Omens (*Enūma Anu Enlil*)	at least 107 tablets and 6 boards
8	Teratological Omens (*izbu*)	in all 10 tablets and 10 boards
6	Terrestrial Omens (*Ālu ina mēlê šakin*)	at least 79 tablets and 1 board
5	Medical Recipes (*bulṭē*)	at least 6 tablets and 24 boards
4	Dream Omens (*iškār Zaqīqu*)	at least 22 tablets
3	Haruspical Omens (*bārûtu*)	at least 135 writing boards

If any of these compositions occur together in one section, the sequence in which they are listed is usually *Enūma Anu Enlil—bārûtu—Ālu—izbu—āšipūtu—bulṭē—Zaqīqu*; this sequence is not absolutely binding, however.[15] Note that the order in which the texts are listed is not determined by the number of the items involved (see 1.1, 2.6, 2.9, 3.2), nor by the extent of the series or corpora in question (*Ālu* is much more extensive than *Enūma Anu Enlil*, not to speak of such vast corpora as *bārûtu* or *āšipūtu*) and may accordingly reflect the popularity the texts enjoyed.

Most of the compositions/corpora and their designations are well known, but some are unidentified or only imperfectly known (see notes to 1.1 ad *kunuk ḫaltu*, GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD, *is-ḫur ma-a-da*, ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ; 1.2 ad *kakku sakku*; 1.4 ad PI Ú-*ri*; 1.7 ad SAG.ME.GAR ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È.A; 2.2 ad *kispē*; 2.7 ad MUL.SAG.KUL, 3.2 ad *ṣarrat šamê* and [M]ÁŠ-TI.LA). Not all of these can be considered rarities, since they are also attested in other library catalogues,[16] and some of them occur twice or even more often in the

[12] See E. Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I.," *AfO* 16 (1952): 197 f. To the figure 25,357 mentioned by Weidner one must add the ca. 5,000 small fragments currently being catalogued by W. G. Lambert.

[13] These include one tablet of the Gilgameš Epic and probably the following texts: GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD (1 tablet), *iṣḫur māda* (2 tablets), *kammāni* (3 tablets), the Series of SI-DÙ (1 tablet), possibly also *kakku sakku* (3 writing boards). It must be noted, however, that virtually all of these latter texts are either unidentified, imperfectly known, or imprecisely specified, so the number of actual "*belles-lettres*" texts may be even smaller than assumed here.

[14] See the commentary to 1.1 *iškār Gilgameš* and 2.1 *sakiqqê* below.

[15] In 1.3 we have the sequence *āšipūtu—izbu*; in 1.8, *bulṭē—Izbu*.

[16] For ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ, see Lambert, "A Late Assyrian Catalogue of Literary and Scholarly Texts"

present records. It is interesting to note that hemerological texts are identified by a collective designation (*ūmē ṭābūti*, "auspicious days") which is otherwise attested as the name of the Assur hemerologies, a composition poorly represented in Nineveh.[17] *Ūm il āli* (1.1) appears to be the name of a text listing holidays;[18] *tīrāni*, "convolutions" (3.1), probably refers to omen texts dealing with the convolutions of the sheep's intestines; and *kammāni* (1.1) could be a general term for hymns or other poetical works.[19]

A fact worthy of attention is that very few of the sets of tablets and writing boards listed seem to have been complete, i.e., to have comprised the entire composition or corpus of texts in question. Thus 1.1 lists only one tablet of the Gilgameš Epic (out of a total of 12),[20] 1.3 only 3 of the 24 tablets of the *Izbu* series,[21] 2.2 only 6 of the 107-tablet series *Šumma Ālu*, etc. This matter will be taken up again under §3 below but is worth noting here, too, since it helps to explain why it is so difficult to put together a complete text of most large Babylonian compositions despite the fact that so many separate manuscripts of each text were apparently kept in the Nineveh libraries.[22]

The provenance of the tablets is known for certain in only four instances (1.4 and 5: Nippur, yielding tablets of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, lamentations (*kalûtu*), and dream omens; 2.4: Babylon, 1 tablet of anti-witchcraft rituals; 3.1: *Bīt-Ibâ*, yielding masses of haruspical material). However, since all these cities were located in Babylonia, it is reasonable to assume that the bulk of the other tablets also came from Babylonia (see also §4 below), and it seems possible, hence, that a large portion of the tablets in Neo-Babylonian script found in Nineveh are actually to be identified with the tablets listed in the present records.[23] On the other hand, there is reason to believe that not all tables listed in them necessarily were written in Babylonian script. Aššur-mukīn-palē^{3}a, the owner of the tablets listed in 3.2, was a brother of Assurbanipal and as such was more likely to have possessed tablets in Assyrian rather than in Babylonian script. The haruspex Nabû-nādin-apli (2.2) is found in a contemporary document (*ADD* 851 ii 5) among scholars employed at the royal court, so his library *may* also have been in Assyrian script.

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in B. L. Eichler, J. W. Heimerdinger, and Åke W. Sjöberg, eds., *Kramer Anniversary Volume: Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, AOAT, vol. 25 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), pp. 315 f.; *is-ḫur ma-a-da* is also attested in two other catalogues; see note on 1.1 6′.

17 The Nineveh version of the Assur Hemerologies (Labat, *HMA*, p. 146 ff.) seems to be extant only in K.3765 (*Babyl.* 4 108) and K.2607+ (= *AMT* 6,6 + *Babyl.* 1 204 f.). See also K.3769 and K.6482 (= *Babyl.* 4 104 ff.).

18 See E. Weidner, "Der Tag des Stadtgottes," *AfO* 14 (1941–44): 340 ff.

19 See the dictionaries s.v. *kammu*.

20 The formulation of the entry (1 MIN [i.e., ÉŠ.GÀR] ^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ "1 ditto [Series] of Gilgameš") does not imply that the whole series was meant. See, for example, 1.5 1 ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu* as opposed to 12 ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu*, 2.2.

21 E. Leichty, *The Omen Series Šumma Izbu*, TCS 4 (Locust Valley, New York, 1970).

22 For example, large portions of *Šumma Ālu* (comprising several tablets in a row) cannot be reconstructed at present. See Sally Moren, "The Omen Series Šumma Ālu" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978), passim.

23 For example, the tablet K.10595, in Babylonian script, was written by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi (see 2.8), as discovered by C. B. F. Walker in June 1980 (I. Finkel, personal communication, 18 June 1980). K.10595 is a copy of *eršemma* lamentations and thus neatly fits with Nabû-balāssu-iqbi's identification as a "priest's son." As pointed out by Finkel, many more tablets in Babylonian script in the Kuyunjik Collection could undoubtedly be identified with the entries in the Records if a serious effort at identification were to be made. However, such an enterprise would require several months to complete and is hence not within the scope of the present article.

Finally, the information the Records provide about the writing-board component of the Ninevite libraries is truly invaluable, since this component has completely perished. It was noted above (§1) that writing-board editions of texts were listed before clay-tablet editions, so they were probably considered more precious or desirable than the latter. They were also available in lesser numbers than the latter (2000:300), even though here one should note that a writing-board could contain much more text than a clay tablet.[24] In any case, the evidence of the Records suggests that the libraries contained, in addition to clay tablets, thousands of writing boards, and this is borne out by other textual evidence as well.[25] Conspicuously, the Records make no mention of copies of texts on papyrus (*niāru*) or parchment (*maškū*), and this can be taken as an indication that traditional literary texts were not copied on such materials (a fact also clear from other evidence).[26] Most texts available on clay also seem to have been available in a writing-board edition, so the two materials seem to have been fully equivalent in terms of their literary acceptability; the only difference probably was in price and practicality. Writing boards were lighter to handle, and whole series could be combined into a single polyptych edition; but they must have been more expensive and difficult to make than clay tablets.

3. *The Private Libraries*

Out of the total of 23 sections into which the Records are divided, the name of the owner of the tablets has been (totally or partially) preserved in 15 instances, and in 9 of these even the profession of the man or his father is known (see table 2). As can be expected on the basis of the technical nature of the literature listed in the texts, all persons whose profession can be ascertained prove to be either scribes or specialists in various branches of the Mesopotamian scientific lore (we have two exorcists [*āšipu*] in 1.4 and 5; three haruspices [*bārû*] in 1.3, 2.2, and 2.3; one scribe [*ṭupšarru*] in 2.6;[27] two sons of scribes in 2.4 and 2.11; as well as a son of a priest [*šangû*] in 2.8), but now for a real surprise: in not one case does the list of tablets indicated for these men include works related to their fields of specialization! The exorcists are cited as possessing tablets containing astrological omens, lamentations, and dream omens but not a single tablet of *āšipūtu*; the haruspices are in possession of various collections of unprovoked omens (*Ālu*, *Izbu*, *Zaqīqu*), medical and exorcistic texts (*bulṭē*, *sakiqqû*, *āšipūtu*), physiognomic omens (*alandimmû*), and rituals relating to offerings to ancestral spirits (*kispē*) but no single text of *bārûtu*; the scribes have exorcistic and anti-witchcraft literature but no omen collections. Since it would be absurd to assume that these men could have practiced their profession without any professional literature of their own, the inevitable conclusion is that the texts listed for them do not represent

[24] See Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing Boards," p. 8.

[25] See H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone*, AOAT, vol. 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968), p. 166 s.v. *le'u* and the passages quoted in *CAD* s.v.

[26] There are no references to papyrus or parchment originals in colophons of Mesopotamian literary texts. Both materials seem to have been restricted to ephemeral use only and served as the writing material only for texts written in Aramaic.

[27] The word for "scribe" also has the technical meaning "expert in (unprovoked) omens," a fact well known from the title *ṭupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*, "EAE scribe" = "astrologer." It is uncertain whether the narrow or broad meaning or both are meant in the Records.

their entire private libraries but rather only that part of it which they did not need in their professional work.

The same conclusion can be reached by observing the number of items derived from each source. Some persons provide large numbers of tablets and boards, others only a single one-column tablet. Thus, Nabû-x [. . . .] provides 435 tablets and 6 complete polyptychs (1.2); Nabû-apal-iddin, 342 tablets and 10 polyptychs (1.8); Nabû-nādin-apli, 188 tablets (2.2); Nabû-šākin-šulmi, [1]37 (or [3]37) tablets (2.3); and Arrabu, 125 tablets (1.5), etc. On the other hand, Aplai, an exorcist from Nippur, and Mušēzib-Nabû, the son of the personal scribe of the king of Babylon, yield only one tablet each (1.4 and 2.4); Tabnî, the scribe of the crown prince's eunuch (2.6), produces only two tablets. It is unthinkable that persons of such standing would have possessed only one or two tablets; hence, the bulk of their libraries is not featured in the lists and very probably remained in their private possession.

TABLE 2

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE OWNERSHIP ENTRIES

1.1	[ ] x
1.2	PAB 4-me-35 [DUB.MEŠ] / ^{md}PA-x [ ]
1.3	PAB 28 DUB.MEŠ / ^{md}UTU-SU ḪAL
1.4	1 DUB PI Ú-*ri* / ^{m}A-*a-a* MAŠ.MAŠ / EN.LÍL.KI-*a-a*
1.5	PAB 1-me-25 DUB.ME[Š] / ^{m}*Ar-ra-bu* MAŠ.MAŠ / EN.LÍL.KI-*a-a*
1.6	[ ]
1.7	[ ]
1.8	PAB 3-me-42 [DUB.MEŠ] / ^{md}PA-A-AŠ [ ] / A ^{m}SUḪ[UŠ-^{d}DN]
1.9	PAB 1-m[e-. DUB.ME]Š / ^{md}[DN-x] x-PAB?
1.10	[ ]
2.1	[PAB] x-*eš* A.BA / [A ^{md}DN]-x-*a-ni*
2.2	PAB 1-me-88 / ^{md}PA-SUM-A ḪAL / [A] ^{md}15-BÀD
2.3	[PAB 3]-me-37 / ^{md}PA-GAR-*šul-me* ḪAL
2.4	1 *e-gír-tu* UŠ$_{12}$.BÚR.DA.MEŠ / ^{m}*Mu-še-zib-*^{d}PA A ^{md}PA-MU-GAR/ A.BA *ša* MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA
2.5	[ ] / [^{md}DN-M]U-DU [ ]
2.6	PAB 2 ^{m}*Tab-ni-i* A.[BA] / *šá* GAL-SAG? A-MAN
2.7	[PAB 1]5 ^{md}PA-MU-AŠ [A.Z]U /A ^{m}*Su-m[a-a-a]*
2.8	[PAB x]+2 DUB.[MEŠ] / [^{md}PA]-TI-*su-iq-bi* / [A ^{md}P]A?-A-AŠ LÚ.SANGA ^{d}[x]
2.9	[ ]
2.10	[ ]
2.11	PAB 8 ^{md}[x]-MU-GIŠ / A ^{m}DUMU-^{d}[15] A.BA / GAL-*kal-lap*? A-MAN
2.12	[ ]
3.1	PAB TA* É ^{m}*I-b[a-a]*
3.2	[PAB 1]8 DUB.MEŠ / PAB ^{m}*As+šur-mu*-GIN-BALA-*iá*

These considerations lead to an important corollary. If the owners did not give up their whole library but kept (or were allowed to keep) for themselves the part they needed themselves, then they very likely were still alive and continued to practice their profession at the time the Records were drawn up. In other words, with the books listed in the Records we are not dealing with literary remains donated to (or appropriated by) the Palace after the death of the owners, as one might be a priori prone to think. Rather, we are dealing with (voluntary or involuntary) *donations made by the owners themselves*. This conclusion is in turn substantiated by the fact that the brother of Assurbanipal who contributed the books listed in 3.2, was still alive as late as 627, more than 20 years after the Records were drawn up.[28] Note also the mention of Nabû-nādin-apli (2.2) among court haruspices in a contemporary text, referred to

[28] See *BRM* 4 50:4.

above. The nature of and historical circumstances surrounding these donations will be discussed in §4.

However incomplete the entries may be in the sense just indicated, they nevertheless provide much interesting information about Mesopotamian private libraries. The first thing to note is the basic fact that private libraries indeed did exist in considerable numbers in this period and that these libraries could be quite comprehensive, containing up to 435 tablets, if not more.[29] This is an important point in that it suggests that excavations in the residential quarters of large first millennium cities are likely to produce many tablet finds comparable in size to major provincial libraries such as the one discovered in Sultantepe.[30] Another important point to make is the fact already noted that the libraries of specialists in a given field by no means consisted of only their professional material but could include hundreds of works outside their field of specialization. This certainly indicates the broad education and, in some cases, deep learning of the individuals in question. Furthermore, the fact that many of the works listed are incomplete (see §2) gives us a clue as to how these private libraries were compiled: their core probably consisted of texts copied by their owners during their education, when they would be required to read (and copy) only selections from a fairly large range of scientific/literary texts. They probably increased gradually whenever there later arose a need to copy additional texts. It is extremely unlikely that any books in these private libraries were purchased.[31]

There is one private library reflected in the present Records which deviates from the pattern just outlined: the Bīt-Ibâ Library (3.1) yielding masses of writing boards on haruspical matters, but this is more appropriately dealt with in the following section.

4. *The Historical Context*

We have seen above that the Records represent accessions to the royal libraries in Nineveh and that the majority of the works listed in them originated in private libraries of individuals still active in their professional work, most of them Babylonians. One major question remains to be answered: was this the normal way the Ninevite palace libraries were enlarged, or do the Records reflect an exceptional situation?

There is solid evidence beyond the Records that private libraries played a considerable role in the formation of the Assurbanipal libraries and possibly even formed the original core of them; one needs only to refer to the numerous tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu in the Kuyunjik material.[32] However, there is also considerable evidence of organized, large-scale tablet production within the Palace itself,[33] the most eloquent

[29] Only a very few private libraries have hitherto been identified with certainty, the best known example being the library of the exorcist Kiṣir-Aššur in Assur (see, for example, Hunger, *Kolophone*, p. 19). This seems to have been a very large one, and it is likely that hundreds of the "religious" and exorcistic texts published in *KAR* originate in it, even though the name of Kiṣir-Aššur is found in relatively few of the texts.

[30] A case in point is the Kiṣir-Aššur library just mentioned, which was discovered in systematic soundings in the residential quarters of Assur.

[31] Note, for example, the Kiṣir-Aššur tablets, whose colophons show that all of them (insofar as ascertainable) were copied either by Kiṣir-Aššur himself or by members of his family.

[32] Cf. Hunger, *Kolophone*, pp. 20 ff. and idem, "Neues von Nabû-zuqup-kēna," *ZA* 62 (1972): 99 ff.; Weidner, "Die astrologische Serie Enûma Anu Enlil," *AfO* 14 (1941–44): 178.

[33] See, for example, *ABL* 447 and *LAS* 318 and 331.

testimony of this being, of course, the beautiful, carefully prepared Assurbanipal editions of innumerable literary texts from Nineveh.[34] Against this background, if one now takes into consideration how many tablets have actually been recovered from Nineveh and the number of tablets listed in the present Records (see above, §2), it becomes clear, I believe, that we must be dealing with a rather unusual situation. Even if it is assumed that the total of some 30,000 *fragments* from Nineveh gives an idea of the original *tablet*-total of the libraries, which seems very unlikely,[35] at the rate of 2,000 tablets in two months (or 1,000 per month) this total would have been reached in a matter of a few years; yet we know that the libraries took many decades to reach their final size.[36]

The key to the issue is furnished by the dates of the Records: Šabāṭu 1, eponymy of Bēlšunu = 28 January 647 B.C. (1); and Addāru 29, eponymy of Bēlšunu = 26 March 647 B.C. (3).[37] The former date hardly postdates by five months the fall of Babylon, marking the end of the bloody civil war between Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šum-ukīn.[38] Prior to that, the Assyrian government had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Babylonia, least of all to lay claim to the private property of her citizens; here, however, we all of a sudden find large quantities of Babylonian literary tablets being channeled into Assyria a few months after the conquest of the country. It seems likely that the Assyrian monarch, well known for his literary interests, was utilizing the situation to add to the collections in his libraries. In other words, part of the works listed in the Records could have been brought to Nineveh as spoils of war, while others may have been confiscated from their owners in accordance with a royal order to this effect. The former explanation seems very likely in the case of the writing boards from Bīt-Ibâ (3.1), a Chaldean "House" in conflict with Assyria during the reign of Assurbanipal because of the ambitious policies of its ruler Bēl-ēṭir;[39] the latter explanation (confiscation) could apply to the majority of the sections in Texts 1 and 2 and is strongly supported by a letter from an Assyrian king (almost certainly Assurbanipal) to the governor of Borsippa, where the confiscation of all kinds of literary works both from temple and private libraries for inclusion in the Ninevite libraries is explicitly ordered.[40] It is quite likely that similar orders were sent to other Babylonian cities as well, not just to Borsippa.

[34] Recognizable by their elaborate colophons, about which see Streck, *Asb.*, pp. lxv ff.

[35] See Weidner, "Die Bibliothek Tiglatpilesers I.," p. 197.

[36] The tablets of Nabû-zuqup-kēnu date to the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C., the texts mentioned in n. 33 above to about 670, 665, and 655, respectively. Other evidence of the long history of the palace libraries could easily be adduced.

[37] For the Julian correlations of these dates see my *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, pt. 2, AOAT, vol. 5/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1983), appendix A; a margin of error of 1–2 days is implicit.

[38] The last legal document from Babylonia dated after Šamas-šum-ukīn bears a date corresponding to Ābu 30, 648 B.C.; see G. Frame, "Babylonia 681–627 B.C." (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980), p. 167.

[39] Bēl-ēṭir of Bīt-Ibâ is calumniated in two unpublished political pamphlets from the reign of Assurbanipal (K.1351 and 82–5–22, 88) as well as in a letter addressed to Assurbanipal (*ABL* 454). The first two texts imply that he had been severely punished by the Assyrians. While it is as yet difficult to establish the exact date of Bēl-ēṭir's clash with the Assyrians, *ABL* 289: 7 f. (compared with K.1351:14 and r. 4, and 82–5–22, 88:2) does suggest that it coincided with the revolt of Šamaš-šum-ukīn. I hope to deal with this problem in greater detail in a future article.

[40] *CT* 22 1.

Some entries in the Records, however, require a different explanation, for it is quite unthinkable that persons of such standing as Aššur-mukīn-palē'a, the kings's brother and the high priest of [. . .],[41] could have been *forced* to surrender parts of their libraries to the Palace against their own will. It would seem that in such cases we are dealing with (semi-)voluntary donations, those possibly responding to an explicit request on the part of the king. In any case, whatever the reasons behind the individual contributions, the Records, in my opinion, bear clear witness to a major drive to add to the royal libraries of Nineveh in late 648 B.C. That this drive was at least in part fueled by the fall of Babylon seems obvious; may one conclude that by focusing his attention on literary matters, Assurbanipal tried to forget his tragic feud with his brother; or is this interest in library matters, so soon after his brother's death, rather an illustration of the cynical disposition of this last great Assyrian ruler?

No. 1 (figs. 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d)
80-7-19,144 (+) 262 = *ADD* 943 (+) 944

Beginning (about 2 lines) destroyed

Section 1

obverse			
col. i	1′	1 *i*[*z-bu*]	1 (tablet of) Izbu,
	2′	2 NA$_4$.KIŠI[B] *ḫal-*⌜*tú*⌝	2 (of) Seal of *ḫaltu* Stone,
	3′	1 UD-*mu* DINGIR URU	1 (of) Day of the City God,
	4′	3 *kam-ma-a-ni*	3 esoteric(?) compositions,
	5′	1 GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD	1 (tablet of) the Chariot of . . . . ,
	6′	1 *is-ḫur ma-a-da*	1 (tablet of) *Isḫur māda*,
	7′	1 ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ	1 (of) the SI-DÙ Series,
	8′	1 MIN ^{d}GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ	1 (of) the Gilgameš Series,
	9′	⌜40? *e-gír-a*⌝-*te*	40 (?) one-column tablets,
	10′	[ ]x	
		Break of about 4 lines	
	11′	[ ]x	

Section 2

12′	[x UD AN] ^{d}BE	[x polyptychs of Enūma Anu] Enlil,
13′	[x ḪAL]-*u-tú*	[x (of) the Exti]spicy corpus,
14′	[1 GIŠ.ZU] ⌜1⌝2 GIŠ.IG	[1 polyptych] of 12 boards,
15′	[U]Š.KU-*tú*	[la]mentations,
16′	1 ⌜3⌝ *kak-ku sak-ku*	1 of 3 (boards), *kakku sakku*,
17′	1 ⌜6⌝ *bul-ṭi*	1 of 6, medical recipes,
18′	PAB 6 GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ	in all 6 complete
19′	*šal-mu-u-te*	polyptychs.
20′	⌜4 GIŠ⌝.IG.MEŠ (end of column)	4 writing boards

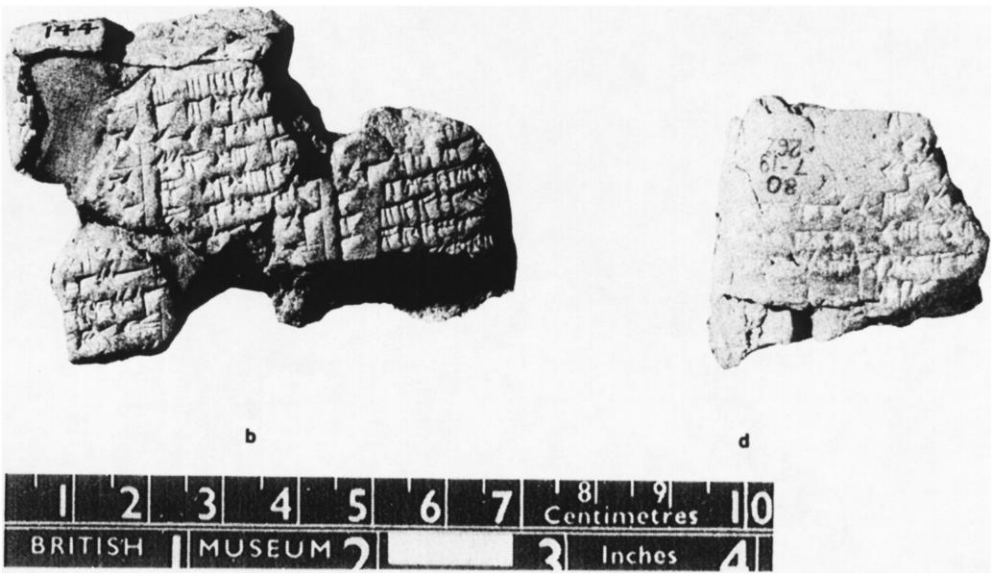
[41] See Streck, *Asb.* 250:6.



FIG 2a.—No. 1, 80-7-19,44, obverse



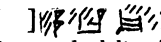
2c.—No. 1, 80-7-19,262, obverse



2b.—No. 1, 80-7-19,144, reverse

2d.—No. 1, 80-7-19,262, reverse. All courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

col. ii Beginning (about 5 lines) destroyed

1′	x[ ]	
2′	[ ]	
3′	[ ]  [ ]	
4′	2 *mu-kal-lim-*[*tú*]	2 (tablets of) commentaries,
5′	PAB 4-me-35 [DUB.MEŠ]	in all 435 [tablets],
6′	^{md}rPA^{1}-  [ ]	Nabû-[ ].

Section 3

Break of about 3 lines

7′	[ ]rx^{1}[ ]x	
8′	6 *a-ši-pu-tú*	6 (tablets of) Exorcists' Lore,
9′	2 *iz-bu*	2 (of) Izbu,
10′	PAB 28 DUB.MEŠ	in all 28 tablets,
11′	^{md}UTU-SU ḪAL	Šamaš-erība, haruspex.

Section 4

12′	1 DUB PI Ú-*ri*	One tablet of . . . . ,
13′	^{m}A-*a-a* MAŠ.MAŠ	Aplai, an exorcist
14′	EN.LÍL.KI-*a-a*	from Nippur.

Section 5

15′	3 DUB.[MEŠ]	3 tablets,
16′	5 r*e*^{1}-[*gír-a-te*]	5 one-column tablets
17′	U[D AN ^{d}BE]	(of) Enūma Anu Enlil.
18′	r2^{1}[ ] (end of column)	2 [ ]

col. iii Beginning (about 13 lines) destroyed

1′	r2^{1} *ka-lu-*r*tú*^{1}	2 (of) lamentations,
2′	1 rÉŠ^{1}.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	1 (of) the Dream Book,
3′	PAB 1-me-25 DUB.ME[Š]	in all 125 tablets,
4′	^{m}*Ar-ra-bu* rMAŠ.MAŠ^{1}	Arrabu, an exorcist
5′	EN.[[L]]ÍL.[[K]]I-*a-a*	from Nippur.

Section 6

6′	1 DUB [ ]	1 tablet,
7′	r1^{1} *e-gí*[*r-tu*]	1 one-column tablet,

Rest (about 6 lines) destroyed

reverse

col. iv Beginning (about 6 lines) destroyed

Section 7

1′	r1^{1} [ ]  [ ]	1 [ ]
2′	PAB 4 UD AN ^{d}BE	in all 4 (of) Enūma Anu Enlil;

	3′ 1 2 SAG.ME.GAR ^{d}ŠUL.P[A.È.A]	1 of 2 (boards), Sagmegar = Šulpaea,
	4′ 2 3-*a-a iz-bu*	2 of 3 each, Izbu,
	5′ 1 5 NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*	1 of 5, Seal of *ḫaltu* Stone,
	6′ [x U]$Š_{12}$ ⌜BÚR⌝.RU.[DA.MEŠ]	[ ], Anti-witchcraft Rituals,
	Rest (about 14 lines) destroyed	

Section 8

col. v	1 [ ]x x[ ]	
	2 3 3-*a-a bul-*[*ṭi*]	3 of 3 each, medical recipes,
	3 1 3 *iz-bu*	1 of 3, Izbu,
	4 PAB 10 GIŠ.ZU.M[EŠ]	in all 10 polyptychs;
	5 45 DUB.MEŠ	45 tablets,
	6 5 *e-gír-a-t*[*e*]	5 one-column tablets,
	7 7 *a-sar-ri*	7 diagrams(?),
	8 [PA]B UD AN ⌜^{d}⌝UTU [*sic*]	all Enūma Anu Enlil(!);
	9 [*bul-ṭ*]*i*	[medi]cal recipes,
	Break of about 5 lines	
	10′ 2 [ ]	2 [ ],
	11′ PAB S[I]	all [ ];
	12′ 37 U[RU? *ina* SUKUD GAR]	37 (of) Ā[lu ina mēlê šakin],
	13′ 6 *mu-k*[*al-lim-tú*]	6 (of) comm[entaries],
	14′ PAB 3-me-42 [DUB.MEŠ]	in all 342 [tablets],
	15′ ^{md}PA-A-AŠ [ ]	Nabû-apal-iddin [ ]
	16′ A ^{m}SUḪ[UŠ-DN]	son of Išd[ī-DN].
	– – – – – – – – –	
	Rest (about 3 lines) destroyed	

Section 9

col. vi	1 [ ]	
	2 4 [ ]	4 [ ],
	3 PAB 1-m[e x DUB.ME]Š	in all 100+[x table]ts,
	4 [DN-]x-PAB?	[ ]-uṣur.
	– – – –	

Section 10

	5 [x x UD AN] ⌜^{d}⌝BE	[x of x (boards), Enūma Anu] Enlil,
	6 [x ḪAL-*u-t*]*ú*	[x of x, Extispicy Cor]pus,
	7 [x]⌜URU *ina* SUKUD GAR⌝	[x of x], Ālu ina mēlê šakin,
	8 [x] *iz-bu*	[ ], Izbu,
	9 [x x]+2 *a-ši-pu-tú*	[x of x]+2, Exorcists' Lore,
	10 [x x]+2 *bul-ṭi*	[x of x]+2, medical recipes,
	11 [ ] ⌜x x x⌝	
	Break of about 2 lines	
	3 lines blank	
	12′ ITU.ZÍZ UD.1.KAM	Šabāṭu day 1,

13′	*lim-mu* EN-*šú-nu*	eponymy of Bēlšunu,
14′	LÚ.NAM KUR *ḫi-in-dan*	governor of Ḫindāna.
	blank	
15′	[ ]x ⌜LUGAL⌝?	[ ] king(?)
	Rest (about 3 lines) destroyed	

No. 2 (figs. 3a, 3b, 3c)
K.4753 + K.5711 + 81-2-4, 268 (+)K.12722 = *ADD* 869 + 980 + unpub. (+) unpub.[42]

Beginning (about 8 lines) destroyed

Section 1

obverse

col. i	1′	[x *alan-dí*]*m-mu-*⌜*u*⌝	[x, Physiogn]omic, Omens
	2′	[x MAŠ.MA]Š-*tú*	[x, Exorcis]ts' Lore,
	3′	[PAB . . .]x-*eš* A.BA	[in all x; PN], scribe,
	4′	[x x A ^{m}x x]x-*a-ni*	[x son of DN]-x-ani.

Section 2

5′	[x *e-g*]*ir-a-te* UD AN BE	[x one-colu]mn tablets, Enūma Anu Enlil,
6′	[x] *iq-qur* DÙ-*uš*	[x], Iqqur īpuš;
7′	[x] GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ	[x] polyptychs,
8′	[x] UD AN ^{d}BE	[x] (of) Enūma Anu Enlil,
9′	[x] URU *ina* SUKUD GAR	[x], Ālu ina mēlê šakin,
10′	[x] *alan-*⌜*dím*⌝*-*[*mu-u*]	[x], Physiogno[mic], Omens
11′	[x] SA.GI[G.MEŠ]	[x], Sympto[ms];
12′	[x] DUB.MEŠ	[x] tablets,
13′	[x] *ki-is-pi*	[x], Funerary Offering(s),
14′	[x] MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú*	[x], Exorcists' Lore,
15′	⌜12⌝ ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	12, Dream Book,
16′	6 *bul-ṭi*	6, Medical Recipes,
17′	PAB 1-me-88	in all 188;
18′	^{md}PA-SUM-A ḪAL	Nabû-nādin-apli, haruspex,
19′	[A] ⌜^{m}⌝^{d}15-BÀD	son of Ištar-dūrī.

(end of column)

[42] K.5711 was identified as a catalogue by W. G. Lambert and joined to K.4753+ by I. Finkel. The other joins to this text were made by me.



a

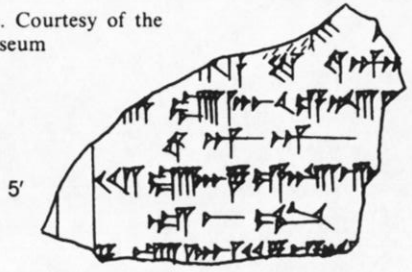
FIG. 3a.—No. 2, K.4753, obverse



b

3b.—No. 2, K.4753, reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum





c

3c.—No. 2, K.12722 (other side destroyed) (scale= 1.3:1)

col. ii Beginning (about 2 lines) destroyed

Section 3

1′	[x GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ *i*]*q-q*[*ur* DÙ]	[x polyptychs, I]qq[ur īpuš],
2′	[x *e-g*]*ir-a-te* UD AN ⌜d⌝[BE]	[x one-colu]mn tablets, Enūma Anu Enl[il];
3′	[2]8 DUB.MEŠ 10 *e-gír-*⌜*a*⌝-[*te*]	[2]8 tablets, 10 one-column tablets,
4′	UD AN d[BE]	Enūma Anu E[nlil],
5′	22 DUB.MEŠ 7 *e-gír-rat* [0]	22 tablets, 7 one-column tablets
6′	URU *ina* SUKUD [GAR]	Ālu ina mēlê [šakin],
7′	⌜4 DUB⌝.MEŠ 85 ⌜*e*⌝-*gí*[*r-a-te*]	4 tablets, 85 one-c[olumn tablets]
	Break of about 4 lines	
8′	[1 *ki-is*]-*pu*	[1, Funerary Offer]ing,
9′	[x MA]Š.MAŠ-*tú*	[x, Exo]rcists' Lore
10′	[x É]Š.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	[x], Dream Book,
11′	[PAB 3?]-me-37	[in all 3]37;
12′	⌜m⌝⌜d⌝PA-GAR-*šul-me* ḪAL	Nabû-šākin-šulme, haruspex.

Section 4

13′	1 *e-gír-tú* $UŠ_{12}$.BÚR.DA.MEŠ	1 one-column tablet, Anti-witchcraft,
14′	m*Mu-še-zib-*dPA A mdPA-MU-GAR	Mušēzib-Nabû, son of Nabû-šum-iškun,
15′	A.BA *ša* MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA	the scribe of the king of Babylon.

Section 5

16′	1 ⌜*e*⌝-[*g*]⌜*ír-tú*⌝ [*i*]*q-*⌜*qur*⌝[DÙ-*uš*]	1 on[e-c]olumn tablet, Iqqur [īpuš],
17′	[[6]] PAB 1 m⌜d⌝-[ ]	in all one, [PN].
18′	6 URU *i*[*na* SUKUD GAR]	6, Ālu i[na mēlê šakin],
19′	2 UD.ME[Š DÙG.GA.MEŠ]	2, [Auspicious] Days,
20′	2 *i*[*z?-bu*]	2, I[zbu],
	Last line of column destroyed	

col. iii Beginning (about 9 lines) destroyed

1′	[A mdDN-M]U-DU [ ]	[son of DN-šu]m-ukīn, [ ].

Section 6

2′	[1] DUB [ ]	1 tablet,
3′	1 *e-gír-t*[*u*]	1 one-column tablet,
4′	MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú*	Exorcists' Lore,

5′	PAB 2 ^{m}*Tab-ni-i* A.[BA]	in all 2; Tabnî, the scri[be]
6′	*šá* GAL.SAG? A-M[AN]	of the crown prince's chief eunuch.

Section 7

7′	1 MUL.SAG.MU	1, The New Year Star,
8′	1 UD.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ	1, Auspicious Days,
9′	1 *iz-bu*	1, Izbu,
10′	1 ÉŠ.GÀR *za-ki-qu*	1, Dream Book,
11′	9 UDU?.[NÍTA?]-MEŠ	9, The Sh[eep],
12′	1 *ki-is-pu*	1, Funerary Offering,
13′	[1] MAŠ.MAŠ-*tú*	[1], Exorcists' Lore;
14′	[PAB 1]5 ^{md}PA-MU-AŠ	[in all 1]5; Nabû-šum-iddin,
15′	[A.Z]U A ^{m}*Su-m[a-a-a]*	[physicia]n, son of Sum[ai].
16′	[ ]x x[ ]	

Rest (about 4 lines) destroyed

col. iv Beginning (about 2 lines) destroyed

Section 8

1′	[PAB x]+2 DUB.[MEŠ]	[In all x+]2 tablet[s],
2′	[^{md}PA]-TI-*su-iq-bi*	[Nabû]-balāssu-iqbi,
3′	[A ^{md}P]A?-A-AŠ LÚ.SANGA ^{d}[DN]	[son of Na]bû-apal-iddin, priest of [DN]

Section 9

4′	[ ]x	

Rest (about 22 lines) destroyed

col. v	1	4 UD AN ^{d}[BE]	4, Enūma Anu [Enlil],
	2	6 URU *ina* SUK[UD GAR]	6, Ālu ina mēlê [šakin],

Section 10

	3	1 *i[z?-bu]*	1, I[zbu],
	4	2 [ ]	2, [ ]

Rest (about 24 lines) destroyed

Section 11

col. vi	1	MAŠ.MAŠ-*u*-*tú*	Exorcists' Lore,
	2	PAB 8 ^{md}[DN]-MU-GIŠ	in all 8; [DN]-šum-līšir,
	3	A ^{m}DUMU-^{d}[15] A.BA	son of Mār-[Ištar] the scribe,
	4	GAL *kal?-lap?* A.MAN	the crown prince's chief *kal-lāpu*.

Section 12

5	1 GIŠ.ZU 8 [GIŠ.IG.MEŠ]	1 polyptych of 8 [boards],
6	*bul-[ṭi*]	Medic[al Recipes];
7	⌜8⌝ D[UB. MEŠ]	8 ta[blets],
8	[x+]1 [ ]	[x+]1 [ ]
	Rest (about 21 lines) destroyed	

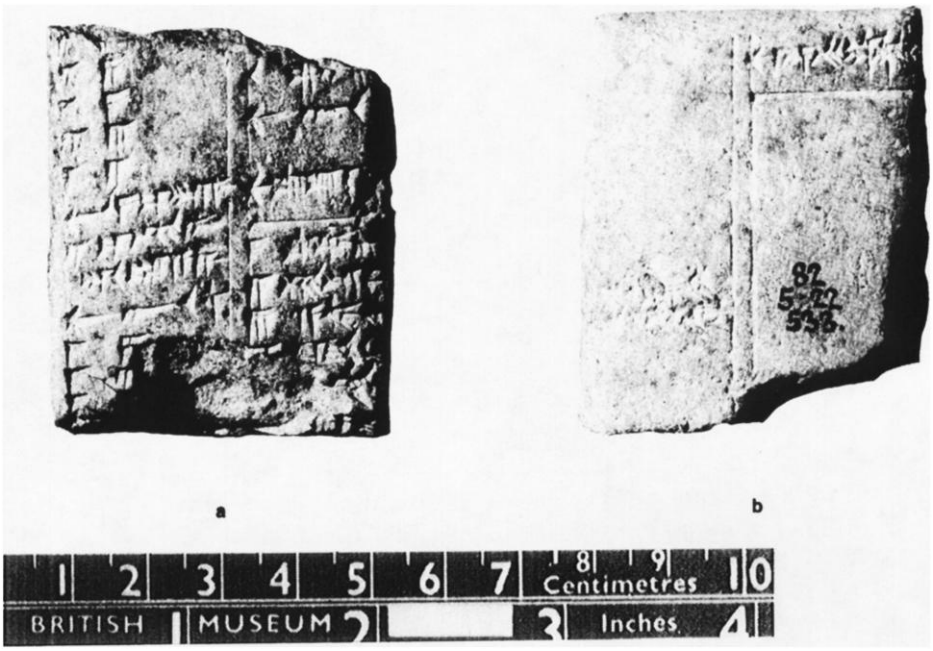


FIG. 4a.—No. 3, 82–5–22 533, obverse

4b.—No. 3, 82–5–22 533, reverse. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

No. 3 (figs. 4a, 4b)
82–5–22,533 = *ADD* 1053

obverse
col. i Beginning (about 3 lines) destroyed

Section 1

1′	2 6 [ ]	2 of 6 (boards),
2′	2 5	2 of 5,
3′	2 4	2 of 4,
4′	3 3	3 of 3,
5′	1 2	1 of 2,
6′	PAB 14 GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ	in all 14 polyptychs,
7′	2 GIŠ.IG.MEŠ	2 writing boards,
8′	*ti-ra-a-ni*	convolutions (of the intestines),
9′	PAB ḪAL-*u-tú*	all extispicy.
10′	1 5[ ]	1 of 5,
11′	1 3[ ]	1 of 3,

	12′	1 ⌜2⌝[ ]	1 of 2,
	13′	PAB [3 GIŠ.ZU.MEŠ]	in all [3 polyptychs]
edge	14′	11? [GIŠ.IG.MEŠ]	11(?) [writing boards]
	15′	*ša*? ḪAL-*u-tú*	of(?) extispicy.

col. ii Beginning (about 4 lines) destroyed

	1′	10 GIŠ.⌜ZU⌝.[MEŠ]	10 polyptychs,
	2′	PAB ḪAL-*u-tú*	all extispicy.
		blank	
	3′	PAB TA* É-^{m}*I-b*[*a-a*]	All from Bīt-Ibâ.

Section 2

	4′	1 *ṣar-rat* AN-*e*	1 (tablet of) Rope of Heaven,
	5′	2 *iq-qur* DÙ	2 (of) Iqqur īpuš,
	6′	6 *a-ši-pu-tú*	6 (of) Exorcists' Lore,
	7′	⌜5?⌝ ÉŠ.GÀR ḪAR-*ra*	5 (of) the Series ḪAR-ra,
	8′	[4 M]ÁŠ.TI.LA	[4 (of) m]áš-tila,
	9′	[PAB 1]8 DUB.MEŠ	[in all 1]8 tablets,
reverse col. iii	1	PAB ^{m}*Aš+šur-mu*-GIN-BALA-*iá*	all (of) Aššur-mukīn-palē^{3}a.

Rest of column uninscribed

col. iv blank space of about 10 lines

	1′	ITU.ŠE UD-⌜29⌝-KAM*	Addāru, day 29,
	2′	*lim-mu* ^{m}EN-*šú-nu*	eponymy of Bēlšunu.
		Rest uninscribed	

COMMENTARY

1.1 2′ NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*: also attested as a title of a composition in *AMT* 66, 4 r.(!) ii 7′ ([*pir-su reš-tu*]-⌜*ú*⌝ NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-ti*), a collection of medical rituals and incantations pertaining to pregnant women. Cf. *KAR* 194 = *BAM* 237, colophon not preserved, which contains similar rituals pertaining to pregnant women suffering from hemorrhage (note NA_4 *ḫal-ta* obv. i 6 and rev. ii 39), *RA* 18 162:2 (NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*, a Lamaštu ritual), and *KAR* 213 = *BAM* 376, a list of amulet stones (passim). On the basis of this evidence, it seems that the title *kunuk ḫalti* was a common denominator for medical rituals involving the use of this amulet stone for the protection of pregnant women. As the writing-board edition of this work consisted of as many as five boards (1.7), the clay-tablet series may have been much more extensive than suggested by the present passage.

3′ UD-*mu* DINGIR URU: see above, p. 7 with n. 18. Possibly also referring to a tablet listing omens observed on "the day of the city god," such as *TCL* 6 9.

4′ *kam-ma-a-ni*: the references to tablets identified as *kammu* quoted in *CAD* K s.v. *kammu* B include several different types of texts, viz. a tablet in obscure Sumerian (Streck, *Asb.* 256 i 17), the Erra epic, a hymn to Šamaš on behalf of Assurbanipal (*KAR* 105), and a hemerological and menological compendium (*KAR* 177). What connects all these texts (and the obscure text *LKA* 35) is that they are all, in one way or another, elaborate and/or difficult. Thus, *kammu* could be a general term for "esoteric compositions." This would agree with the fact that in Igituh I 52, *kammu* is listed immediately after *ṣâtu*, "commentary (for difficult or obsolete words)."

5′ GIŠ.GIGIR ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD: judging from the context, this would seem to be a literary composition, perhaps an epic or a myth, but the identity of the text (and indeed, the reading of the name(?) ^{m}IB-*nu*-UD) remains obscure. It is hardly the bilingual hymn to the chariot of Marduk.[43]

6′ *is-ḫur ma-a-da*: this composition is also listed in the catalogue Rm. 618, r. 8[44] and in Text no. 4 below, obv. 13 but remains unidentified to date. In Rm. 618, it occurs between the Etana and Sargon legends, so probably an epical/mythological text is in question. For lack of context, it is at present not clear whether the signs *is ḫur* are to be read as *is-ḫur*, "he toiled (much)," as assumed here, or as GIŠ.ḪUR/*uṣurtu* "design."

7′ ÉŠ.GÀR SI-DÙ:[45] only one tablet out of the total of 35 +[x] tablets making up this composition has been identified to date (K.1870).

11′ Possibly to be read [PN A.B]A (or [MAŠ.MA]Š). Certainly not [ḪA]L, "haruspex."

1.2 *kak-ku sak-ku*: an unidentified composition, attested elsewhere both as a medical plant and a stone used in medical/exorcistic rituals; see *CAD* K s.v. *kakkusakku*. Since the title occurs here immediately before *bulṭē*, "medical recipes," it is possible that it refers to a medical or exorcistic compendium; cf. above 1.1 *ad* NA_4.KIŠIB *ḫal-tú*. Note, however, the following passages suggesting a different interpretation: "I read inscriptions on stone from before the Flood, *ša kak-ku sa-ak-ku bal-lu*, 'which are a mixture of *kakku sakku*'," Streck, *Asb.* 256:18; "the comb and the mirror which are in her hands *kak-ku sak-ku šu-ú* are *kakku sakku*, the likeness of the Corpse Star";[46] and [. . .]x-*nu kak-ku sak-ku šu-ú* : SIG_4 *šu-u*, "the [. . .] is a *kakku sakku*, is a brick," BM 37055:5 (cited *CAD* K 153b). While it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions from these scattered passages, it does seem that the term *kakku sakku* referred to a concrete object of a definite shape, perhaps a mythological weapon (*kakku*), which would also have given its name to the medicinal plant and stone just mentioned. If so, there probably also existed a text describing the *kakku sakku* and its mythological role in greater detail, which accordingly might be the text referred to in the present context.

1.4 DUB PI *Ú-ri*: obscure. Uncertain whether to be read as *ṭuppi ūri*, "a tablet pertaining to the roof/vagina," or as DUB *uzni šamri*, or any of the several other theoretical possibilities.

1.7 SAG.ME.GAR ^{d}ŠUL.PA.È.A: the third tablet of the astronomical compendium Mul Apin, mentioned in the catch-line of VAT 9412 (unpublished, courtesy of H. Hunger).

[43] See W. G. Lambert in M. A. Beek et al., eds., *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 275 ff.

[44] A. H. Sayce, "The Literary Works of Ancient Babylonia," *ZK* 1 (1884): 191 r. 8, there cited as UD *is-ḫur ma-da*.

[45] On this composition, probably a collection of bilingual proverbs, see Lambert, "Late Assyrian Catalogue," pp. 315 f.

[46] J. Epping and J. N. Strassmeier, "Neue babylonische Planeten-Tafeln," *ZA* 6 (1891): 242, line 12.

According to E. Reiner (personal communication) this tablet is actually attested among the unpublished astronomical fragments from Nineveh.

1.8 *a-sar-ri* [*sic*] (collated): the word is attested only here, and the rendering "diagrams" given in the translation is a guess based on the context (a loan-word from Sum. *a/ì-sar?).

2.1 The name of the owner of the tablets listed in this section is most probably to be restored as either [^{md}BE-D]Ù-*eš* (see *CAD* E s.v. *eppēšu*) or [^{m}x-^{d}]30; both restorations are epigraphically possible.

2.5 5′ UD AN BE: this spelling of the astrological omen series Enūma Anu Enlil (omitting the divine determinative before BE) is otherwise attested only in *ADD* 851 i 8, a roster of scholars attached to the court of Assurbanipal ca. 650 B.C. It is not unlikely that this roster was drawn up by the same scribe who wrote down the present records.

13′ *ki-is-pi*: while there is no doubt as to the rendering of the word (see *CAD* K s.v. *kispu*), no texts explicitly identified by their colophons as (*ša*) *kispi* are known to date. This is surprising considering the frequency with which the composition is listed in the present records (cf. 2.3 and 2.7).

2.3 [PAB 3]-me 37: the first digit of the sum-total is broken away, but the restoration is very likely in light of the space broken away and the (very high) totals of tablets listed in the preceding lines of this section.

2.5 [[6]]: a deletion very likely occasioned by the fact that the scribe did not anticipate again listing just one tablet by a single owner. Note the figure 6 on the following line.

2.6 GAL-SAG?: the text appears to read here GAL-SI+MA (for expected GAL-SI+PA).

2.7 MUL.SAG.MU (not MUL.SAG.KUL as copied by Johns): probably a reference to an astrological text, but the text in question has not been identified to date. Cf. DIŠ MUL ^{d}AMAR.UTU *ina* SAG MU, *ACh* Ištar 17:6 and Supp. 2 66:20 ff.; DIŠ *ina* SAG MU 20 *a-dir*, K.12453:1.[47]

8′ UD.MEŠ DÙG.GA.MEŠ: see above, p. 7 with n. 17. Note also the term *ú-tuk-ku* (<Sum. u_4-dùg) as a title of a hemerology.[48]

11′ UDU?.[NÍTA?].MEŠ: uncertain, possibly referring to tablets listing omens derived from the behavior of sacrificial sheep (cf. Appendix, under 4). Instead of LU one could also (perhaps more justifiably) read IB.

15′ [A.Z]U: the restoration is supported by *ADD* 851 (see above, *ad* 2.2), listing a ^{md}PA-MU-AŠ under section A.ZU, "physician" (ii 13).

2.11 GAL-⌜*kal*?-*lap*?⌝: this reading is the best one obtainable fitting the traces; cf. *CAD* K s.v. *kallāpu*. While a *kallāpu* surely was not a person likely to possess a collection of literary/scientific tablets, it is possible to envisage a situation where a son of a prominent scribe like Mār-Ištar (see *LAS* 276 ff. and ibid., App. N 27) could have come to possess such a collection. Assuming tablet damage, one could, of course, also read GAL.⌜SAG(!).MEŠ(!)⌝, "chief eunuch," and the like.

3.1 8′ *ti-ra-a-ni*: cf. *AHw.* 1361, s.vv. *tīrānu*, "Windungen"; *tīru* II; and *tīru* IV. In the present context, *t.* appearing exclusively with *bārûtu*, "extispicy" tablets, it is certainly more

[47] Bezold, *Cat.*, p. 1244.

[48] See P. Hulin, "A Hemerological Text from Nimrud," *Iraq* 21 (1959): 57 and correct *AHw.* 1445a s.v. *uttuku*.

plausible to connect the term with *tīrānu*, "Darmwindungen" (etc.) than *tēru* I, "ein Bauteil."

ii 3′ é ^{m}*I-b*[*a-a*]: see Introduction, p. 11 above with n. 38. The political role of Bīt-Ibâ and its ruler Bēl-ēṭir during the Šamaš-šum-ukīn rebellion is an issue too complex to be taken up in the present context, but I hope to come back to it in a future article.

3.2 4′ *ṣar-rat* AN-*e*: this composition appears to be still unidentified. Cf. A. Goetze editing an Old Babylonian incantation against demons descending from *ṣí-ri-it*/*ṣir-rit*/*ṣí-KU-ra-at šamê*, a locality also identified as MUL *šamê*, "starry sky," in one of the manuscripts.[49] Cf. *Aššur ta-mi-iḫ ṣi-rat* AN-*e*, *OECT* 6 pl. 2:2 (a tablet from Nineveh).

8′ [M]ÁŠ-TI.LA: since listed after ḪAR-*ra*, this would seem to be a lexical rather than an exorcistic (cf. UDU.TI.LA, *BBR* 26 i 21, and passim) text. The identity of the text, unfortunately, remains obscure.

APPENDIX

1. *Further Fragments of Ninevite Library Texts*

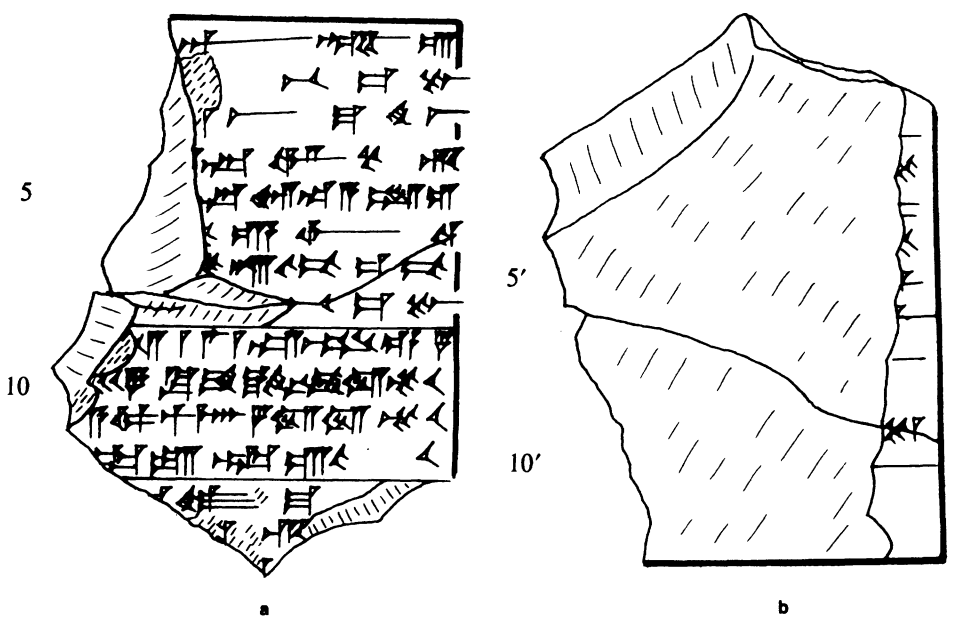


FIG. 5a.—No. 4, K.13280 + K.13818, obverse (scale= 1.3:1)

5b.—No. 4, K.13280 + K.13818, reverse (scale= 1.3:1)

No. 4 (figs. 5a and 5b)
K.13280 + K.13818 (unpub. + Kraus, *Texte* 51)

[49] Cf. A. Goetze, "An Incantation against Diseases," *JCS* 9 (1955): 8 ff.

obverse
1 [UD] AN ^{d}EN.LÍL
2 [ ] BE *iz-bu*
3 [*gu]r-rum ma-ḫi-rum*
4 [BE UD]U.NÍTA PI^{II} *kur-ri*
5 [BE UDU].NÍTA *im-ba-a il-si*
6 [*m]u-kal-lim-tú*
7 [NA]M.BÚR.BI *iz-bi*
8 [ ] BE *iz-bu*

---

9 [1-me]-12 1 LAL 1 URU *ina* SUKUD-*e* GAR
10 [x]+37 ÉŠ.GÀR *alan-dím-mu-u*
11 [ ] *a-di* BAR.MEŠ *níg-dím-dím-mu-u*
12 [K]A.TA.DUG$_4$.GA-*u*

---

13 [*í]s-ḫur ma-[a-da]*
14 [ ] *x ri* [ ]
15 [ ] *x* [ ]
Rest destroyed

reverse Remains of final signs of 8 lines

Commentary

3) This is the incipit of the Izbu Commentary.[50] Note that while neither of the two extant manuscripts containing the incipit match the orthography of the present catalogue, the spelling *gur-rum* is actually found in the Izbu series itself (tablet I 2).

4) "If the sheep has an (anomalously) short ear": unidentified but certainly an incipit of a tablet containing omens derived from the appearance of sacrificial sheep. Cf. BE UDU PI.MEŠ *ar-ra-ak-ka*, *CT* 41 9:1 (and the other omens listed in this tablet and its duplicates); BE MIN (= UDU) PI^{II} *šú ana* KI.MIN (= *ana pān kāribi taršat*), *CT* 31 31:35; BE UDU.NÍTA SI.MEŠ-*šú ana* IGI-*šú it-te-en-mi-da*, *CT* 28 32b:1, etc. See also the following note.

5) Cf. BE MIN (= UDU) *im-ba-a is-si-ma*, *CT* 41 10a:10. It is interesting that this omen, which certainly is the equivalent of the incipit occurring here, does not begin a tablet or even a section in a tablet but is the *last* omen in a section dealing with the behavior of sacrificial sheep. Evidently, the composition in question was circulated in several different versions, as also implied by the orthographic and linguistic differences between the present line and *CT* 41 10a:10. Cf. also [BE UDU *í*]*š-tu kar-bu im*-ME-*a is-si*, *TuL* 42:5, and BE UDU *i-na* SISKUR *is-si*, ibid. 43:4′.

7) For copies of the izbu namburbi found in Nineveh see R. Caplice.[51]

9) According to S. Moren, "as far as is presently known, Šumma Alu consisted of at least 107 tablets .... Whether tablet 107 was the last tablet in the series is unknown."[52] The present passage, which can only be rendered "[1]12 (tablets), one missing (*muṭê*)," shows that at least the edition (or one of the editions) known in Nineveh consisted of 113 tablets. The restoration of [1 me] in the break is virtually certain.

10) It is possible, though unlikely, that one should restore [1] at the beginning of the line, which would put the number of the tablets in the series Alandimmû (together with its non-canonical appendix, and the sister series Nigdimdimmû and Kataduggû) at 97.

50 Leichty, *Izbu*, p. 211, tablet I 1: *gur^{gu-ru}-ru ma-hi-ru/ri*.

51 Caplice, "Namburbi Texts," pp. 125 ff.

52 Moren, "Omen Series 'Šumma Alu'," pp. 19 f.

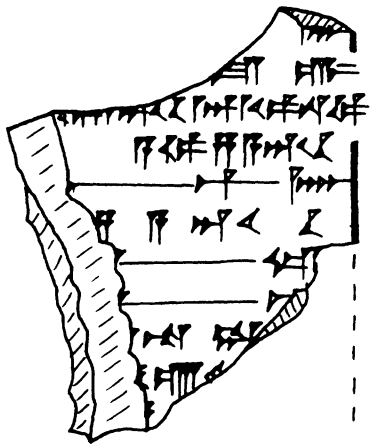


FIG. 6.—No. 5, K.6962 (other side destroyed) (scale= 1.3:1)

No. 5 *(fig. 6)*
K.6962

Beginning destroyed

1′ [ ].MEŠ
2′ [ ]-*su-ú*
3′ [*a*]-ʳ*di ṣa*ˡ-*ti-šú ana* ᵈNER *pa-qa-di*
4′ [ ] *a-di ṣa-a-ti-šú*
5′ [MU.ME]Š BAR.MEŠ
6′ [*a-dī*] *ṣa-a-ti-šú*

7′ [ ] ʳᵈˡU.GUR
8′ [ ] ʳᵈˡx[ ]
9′ [ ] x *na du* [ ]
10′ [ ] x É.ŠÁ[R.RA]
11′ [ ] x [ ]

Other side broken away

Commentary

This fragment is part of the same tablet as no. 4, but it is uncertain whether it belongs to the obverse or the reverse. In spite of many affinities in orthography and manner of listing, both fragments are definitely *not* parts of the catalogue of literary and scholarly texts edited by W. G. Lambert.[53]

3′) *ana* ᵈNER (= *Anunnakī*) *pa-qa-di*: an unidentified composition, probably a mythological text describing a sort of Titanomachia. Cf., "the cup is the cup of [Bēl], because Bēl vanquished

53 W. G. Lambert, "Late Assyrian Catalogue," pp. 313 ff.

Anum, flayed him, and relinquished his corpse to the infernal gods (LÚ.ÚŠ-*šú ana* ^{d}*a-ṇun-na-ki ip-qid*); *TIM* 9 59:14′ f.; $^{r d}$EN$^{\neg}$ MUL.SIPA.ZI.AN.NA *ik-mu-ma* . . . [*a-n*]*a* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ip-qid-su*, ibid 22′ f.; "[The king who] goes to the well . . . is [Ea who] cast his spell on Enlil in the Abyss and assigned him to the infernal gods (*ana* ^{d}*a-nun-na-ki ip-qí-*[*du-šu*])," *CT* 15 44:3. Note also *LKA* 72:3 and duplicate 71:13.

10′) Possibly referring to the "Götteraddressbuch" of Assur.[54]

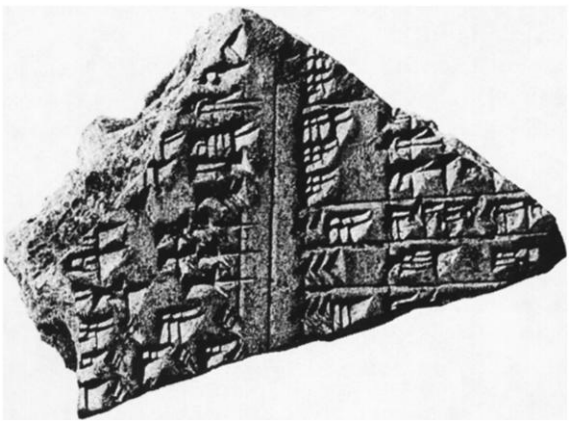


FIG. 7.—No. 6, K.5184. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

No. 6 (fig. 7)
K.5184 (*ADD* 1107)

col. A	1′	b]i	col. B	1′	6 [
	2′	e]n		2′	7 [
	3′	di?].di		3′	8 É[Š.GÀR
	4′	di]r?.diri		4′	7 di x[
	5′	š]à-*bi*		5′	7 ^{d}60 N[A
	6′	]umun.mu		6′	26 NA_4.GÚ.KUG.ME[Š
	7′	ḫU]L-*tim*		7′	30 tu.ra.[kìlib.ba.meš
	8′	ḫ]UL-*tim*		8′	33 ^{r}x x$^{\neg}$ [
	9′	^{r}*a*$^{\neg}$-*na* BE			
	10′	^{r}7$^{\neg}$ MIN 6 MIN			
	11′	^{r}4$^{\neg}$ MIN 4 MIN 4 MIN			
	12′	^{r}2$^{\neg}$ MIN x[ ]			

Rest destroyed

Rest of col. B and other side completely destroyed

[54] As edited by K. Deller in B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Studia Pohl Series Maior 10 (Rome, 1981), vol. 2, pp. T 156 ff.

This fragment resembles in external appearance (color, clay, script, size of signs) the Lambert catalogue commented upon below and may well be part of the same tablet. It does not make a direct join, however.

Commentary

A 1′–6′) Probably titles of lamentations. The suggested restorations are naturally hypothetical.

B 5′) The traces following ^{d}60 seem to exclude reading here ^{d}60 ^{r}d!$^{\urcorner}$ [*A-nu-um*] (cf. A 9′).

6′) Cf. NA_4.MEŠ.GÚ.KUG.MEŠ, Borger, *Asarh.* §93 r.4′, in fragmentary and obscure context along with other exorcistic titles(?).

7′) Restoration based on "Exorcist's Manual" (*KAR* 44), obv. 9: sag.gig.ga.meš gú$^{sag.gig}$gig.ga.meš *u* tu.ra.kìlib.ba.[meš]. To my knowledge, this composition has not been identified as yet. Cf. [tu].^{r}ra.kìlib$^{\urcorner}$.ba = *nap-ḫar mur-ṣu*, *BRM* 4 32:18.

2. *Notes on the Text Catalogue K.11922 (+) K.13684 (+) K.14067 + (AOAT 25 313 ff.)*

I examined and collated these fragments in July 1978 to check the possibility of their being parts of the same tablet as the fragments edited above. As already noted, the result was negative, and, as was to be expected, the collation fully confirmed the accuracy and reliability of Lambert's copies. A few improved readings of secondary importance could, however, be obtained. These readings are communicated below, along with other remarks.

K.14067 + Rm. 150

The blank space on the left margin measures 7 mm in width, the one on the right, 2 mm. The marks on the left-hand margin, not commented upon by Lambert, probably are ditto signs (:) preceded by numerals (cf. line 9′ and K.13684 + ii 4′) and correspond to the tablet-totals found in the Records. Since the numbers in question consistently are surprisingly low (there is hardly space for a numeral higher than [1] in K.14067 +), considering the nature of the texts, the ditto sign hardly referred to clay tablets but more likely to writing boards. Thus the private libraries of the scholars whose names appear in the catalogue, at least one of whom (Adad-šumu-uṣur) was very prominent, would have consisted chiefly of *polyptych editions* of traditional texts. This conclusion is supported by *LAS* 147:8 ff., where Adad-šumu-uṣur refers to a writing-board edition (of Enūma Anu Enlil or Iqqur īpuš) he had consulted in his (downtown) home.

10′) The name is not written ^{m}DUMU+UŠ-*a* but distinctly ^{m}DUMU+UŠ-*ia*. The sign at the beginning of the line is [P]AB.

24′) The sign preceding ZU can be either NIŠ or E]Š; M]U (or the like) is excluded.

K.13684 + Sm. 2137

8′) The beginning of the Cuthaean Legend, tentatively restored by Lambert (on the basis of this line) as *tub-šin-na pi-*[*it-qa-ad-ma*] *narâ šitassi* (p. 317), can now be given confidently as *tupšinna pitēma narâ šitassi*, "open the tablet box and read the stela." The incipit is fully preserved on K.1351, a document aping the Naram-Sin legend to ridicule Bēl-ēṭir of Bīt-Ibâ (see above, introduction, §4), and opening as follows: *tup-šin-na* BAD-*ma* NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ši-ṭ*[*as-si*].

K.11922

1′) [x(x) DI]B(!)-*it be-e*[*n*(!)-*ni*]. This composition is not otherwise known, but *ṣibit benni*, "(attack of) epilepsy," as a disease is well known from Assyrian legal documents and (in the phrase *bennu iṣabbassu*) in medical texts. The beginning of the line could be restored as [NA_4.MEŠ], "amulet stones (against)," or the like.

6′) The second sign actually looks like  .

11′) The fourth sign in ⌜*e*⌝(!) and the title of the composition accordingly la.bar dim_4.e.



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Notes & Essays

ON RECORD-KEEPING AND THE PRESERVATION OF DOCUMENTS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL (1000–587 B.C.E.)

J. Andrew Dearman

Research on the culture and institutions of ancient Israel has produced quite a lot of epigraphic material reflecting the society's activity in the production and preservation of documents. By the end of the monarchical period (587 B.C.E.) many public activities in Israel made use of written materials that are best separated by their function into three categories: monumental, formal, and occasional.[1] The largest share of this material from Israel is formal in nature and a byproduct of state administration and record-keeping on the part of state and private concerns. First of all, this epigraphic material from Israel comes in the larger context of the many discoveries from the Ancient Near East, where excavations continue to yield long-lost libraries, monumental inscriptions, and documents from administrative concerns.[2] On the other hand, the material culture of ancient Israel has a special fascination for modern cultures, considering the important role of the Bible in the development of many later civilizations. The purpose of this article is to provide a summary of those discoveries related to record-keeping and the production and storage of documents from the period of the Israelite and Judaean kings (ca. 1000–587 B.C.E.), that is, the formal epigraphic material, and to make some proposals for interpreting these activities in their cultural context.

Although a state the size of Israel under the rule of David and Solomon undoubtedly needed professional administrators to oversee governmental functions, almost all the formal epigraphic material discovered so far dates not from the tenth century (Solomon died ca. 931 B.C.E.) but from the eighth century B.C.E. and later. Furthermore, unlike several other civilizations of the ancient Near East, no substantial library, major royal archives, or large monumental inscriptions have been discovered from any period of the monarchy in ancient Israel.[3] The discovery, however, of a number of important smaller epigraphic finds does provide several indications of bureaucratic administration and record-keeping.

Ostraca

A first collection of *ostraca* (broken pieces of pottery with writing on them) was discovered early in this century during the excavations at the site of an-

cient Samaria (modern Sebestiye). In a building complex with several (storage?) rooms near the palace area, workers discoverd a collection of *ostraca*. These *ostraca* record shipments in kind to the capital city.[4] Debate continues over their specific purpose, but there is a virtual consensus among scholars that these *ostraca* date to the first half of the eighth century B.C.E. The *ostraca* easily divide into two parts, those dated in the years 9 or 10 of an unnamed king, and those dated in similar fashion but to year 15. Excavators discovered approximately 65 legible and 40 illegible *ostraca* in this building complex, but in an archaeological context that suggests these potsherds were just fill or debris. Each *ostracon* has a few lines written on it with ink as a means of identifying recipient and sender, and any other pertinent information. A translation of an *ostracon* from year 15 will suffice to show their general function:

No. 22

A. year 15
B. from Helek
C. to Asa (ben) Ahimelek
D. Helez
E. from Hazeroth.

The date (A), recipient (C), and point of origin (E) are the most obvious elements of the *ostracon*. In Samaria a certain Asa, son of Ahimelek, received a shipment of some commodity from the town of Hazeroth in the fifteenth year of an unnamed king. Helek (B), which is probably a clan name, sent the shipment to Asa; at least this is the best interpretation of several names on the *ostraca*, since they have parallels with the names of Manassite clans in Numbers 26:30–33, Joshua 17:2–3, and 1 Chronicles 7:14–19. Some *ostraca* provide additionally the name of a specific individual: in this instance his name is Helez (D). Some of the *ostraca* do not name a specific clan or sender or recipient, but most of them (unlike the example above) record the commodity sent to the capital. In the vast majority of those cases wine or oil is the commodity sent to Samaria; when no recipient is named, the logical conclusion is that these commodities belong to the king. It is the *ostraca* dated to years 9–10 that name the commodity. When an *ostracon* records the commodity and a recipient, the further question of interpretation concerns the purpose of the receipt. Perhaps these *ostraca* are tax receipts of goods for the state administration, in which case the recipient is a tax official; or the *ostraca* may record goods from royal estates, in which case the reason for the named recipient is unclear; or they may be records of shipments from royal land grants to government officials who live in the capital but are supported by the produce of these grants. In this last case,

the name of the recipient is crucial for the proper delivery of the commodities. Then there is the question of the *ostraca* with no named commodity but with a clan name (B) and/or a personal name. Perhaps these are the record of a standard commodity that required no enumeration. On the other hand, perhaps the "shipment" in these *ostraca* is named and consists of the workers themselves whose personal names are included along with clan and village names; that is, these particular *ostraca* are records of clan contributions to the corvée system or national draft. In the case of *ostracon* 22, Helez (D) might be either the local official who sent an unnamed shipment of goods from Helek to Asa or, more likely, the name of the person sent to Samaria.[5]

These issues related to the Samaria *ostraca* deserve discussion in any extended review, but for the purposes at hand it will suffice simply to regard them as receipts. Nevertheless, the question of their institutional setting remains. Apparently these *ostraca* are not official records. This conclusion is difficult to avoid from the setting of their discovery. As noted earlier, these *ostraca* were discovered among debris, not in an administrative setting. If the *ostraca* are not official receipts, then they are likely the equivalent of the scratch pad for initial notation. The ubiquitous potsherds in antiquity provide a convenient method to make quick records. We should imagine, therefore, the quick notation on a potsherd as various shipments arrived at a capital storeroom. At a subsequent time and in a convenient fashion, an official would make additional records (on papyrus?) and store them in their appropriate places.[6] If the shipments included people for corvée labor as well as goods in kind, then the location of the official records would be elsewhere than in a storehouse of goods. Finally, there is more to be said about the building complex near the palace where the discarded *ostraca* were found.

Excavators discovered a cache of *ostraca* at Tel Arad, the Iron Age fortress in the Negev, where successive strata date from the Davidic/Solomonic era to the fall of Judah to the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E.[7] These *ostraca* are examples of the record-keeping and administration necessary for a regional fortress/center whose work was integrated with the state bureaucracy in Jerusalem, the capital to the north.[8] The *ostraca* date from the last years or even months before the fall of Judah to Babylon. Among their topics are records of priestly duties (Arad had a worship center complete with a sacrificial altar), records of shipments in kind from surrounding settlements, and directions from Jerusalem to officials at Arad to distribute these supplies among certain named recipients. Several of the *ostraca*, therefore, are letters from the capital city about matters of state and provincial administration and are more than a record of the receipts of goods. The names of certain officials involved in the correspondence are repeatedly used because the letters from the capital frequently require specific actions from them.

For example, the name of Arad's commander was Eliashib. Among the actions most required of the officials at Arad were taking regular inventory, since Arad was a regional center where goods were collected and redistributed,[9] and passing letters from the capital to the next regional center, especially regarding military matters. The obvious advantage of an *ostracon* is its ability to survive the rigors of physical transmission, water, or extended passage of time. This ability of transmission is quite important if some *ostraca* are carried throughout a regional system and then filed for later use. An *ostracon* is not subject to decay as are papyrus or vellum, though the ink can fade unless the message is inscribed with a sharp point on the potsherd.[10]

Not only are *ostraca* capable of surviving the centuries, but they also do not take up much room for storage. They are most frequently discovered in the area of the city gate, long known to scholars as the administrative center for many walled settlements in the biblical period. The gate complexes of walled cities normally had several chambers or rooms associated with them, and it is likely that some of these rooms were used for municipal administration, especially for record-keeping. When decisions were reached, witnessed, and validated through the public procedures in the gates (cf. Ruth 4:1–10), the task of recording or registering the appropriate transactions was often done nearby at what might be called the "hall of records." It seems also that some types of official (state) correspondence were kept in these chambers, including copies of communications sent and received by local officials.

At the excavation of the large site of Tell ed Duweir southwest of Jerusalem, workers discovered several *ostraca* in a storeroom of the gate complex of the ancient city (almost certainly the Lachish of the Hebrew Bible and the Assyrian annals). These letters also date to the last months of the Judaean kingdom before its defeat by Babylon.[11] As at Arad, many of the *ostraca* are correspondence with other regional sites and Jerusalem. Most of them were sent by a certain Hoshaiah, an official at a site in the vicinity, to his apparent commander named Yaush at the larger site of Lachish. There is evidence that letters were forwarded from Lachish to other regional sites and returned to Lachish for filing.[12] So many of the *ostraca* concern the correspondence between Hoshaiah and his superior that it seems as if letters were filed according to officials or related topics, and just this particular dossier (?) or segment of the files survived the assault on the city by the Babylonians and the subsequent passing of the centuries. Historically these *ostraca* are very important because they provide evidence of military strategy (and bickering!) just before the fall of the country to Babylon. Among the most famous of the Lachish *ostraca* are the ones that mention the controversial public activity of an unnamed prophet (nos. 3, 16), who is accused of weakening the resolve of the people; one in which Hoshaiah

states indignantly that he did read a previous letter of his commander (no. 3);[13] and one that reports that the signal fires of the nearby site of Azekah are no longer visible.[14] Historians often take this comment as evidence that the end of Judah was near. An incidental comment in Jeremiah 34:6–7 mentions that Lachish and Azekah were the only two fortified cities left before the fall of Jerusalem.

A final example of this type of document comes from the excavation of the smaller site of Yabneh Yam near the coast of Israel. The excavators found an *ostracon* in a storeroom beside the gate dating to the seventh century B.C.E. that detailed the complaint of a certain reaper to a local official (the term in Hebrew is *śar*).[15] The complaint is probably a judicial appeal to the official for the return of a garment taken by another individual from the reaper. This *ostracon* is quite important because it is evidence of written appeal in a judicial case. Furthermore, the recipient of the appeal has the typical title of a military commander and, as noted above, it is likely that the finding of the *ostracon* in a room of the city gate reflects not only a typical place of storage for documents, but also the location of the office of the local army commander.

Seals and Seal Impressions

Stamped jar handles impressed with royal seals and found throughout the former territory of Judah are an example of another type of bureaucratic record-keeping on the part of the Judaean state.[16] Judah is the name of the territory that remained under the rule of Solomon's son Rehoboam when the kingdom of Israel split after Solomon's death. The great Neo-Assyrian empire overwhelmed Israel (i.e., the state north of Judah) and its capital of Samaria in the last third of the eighth century. Samaria fell to siege in 721 B.C.E. The Judaean king Hezekiah prepared himself and his country for an Assyrian onslaught with several measures, apparently including a system to distribute supplies in kind to points in the realm in the event of war. This occasion of preparation is the historical context for the large collection of stamped jar handles from ancient Judaean sites found by archaeologists working in this period (Iron Age II). The stamps were used to make an impression in the clay of a storage jar before it was fired. The seals themselves are small semiprecious stones distinguished by a two- or four-winged emblem and a brief inscription in Hebrew. The inscription has the term *lmlk* and one of four place names: Hebron, Ziph, Socoh, and a place not yet clearly identified (the Hebrew letters are *mmšt*). The term *lmlk* means "for" or "belonging to the king" and signifies not a royal measure but royal ownership. The four named places could be sites (regional centers?) for the production of the pottery storage vessels or references to property held by the crown and used for the production of the oil, wine,

and/or other commodities shipped in the storage jars that bore the royal stamp, or regional collection centers for the commodities. Well over 1,000 of these stamped storage jars and/or their handles have been found. Like the previously mentioned Samaria *ostraca*, these and other issues concerning the stamped jar handles are still vigorously debated by specialists. Again, for the purposes at hand it is sufficient to briefly examine the administrative issues. At least four different seals were necessary in this administrative setup because the stamps contain only one of the four place names. Furthermore, one assumes the place names themselves must have contributed to the production and/or distribution of the commodities; otherwise their addition to the stamp signifying royal ownership is superfluous. This conclusion also raises the question of the role of the central record-keeping apparatus of the state. These four centers for production and/or distribution presuppose a scribal bureaucracy to plan and record the distribution of the stamped commodities throughout the realm. One should note in passing that a reason so many of the jars and stamped handles have been discovered in excavations is that the Assyrian king Sennacherib assaulted Judah in the year 701; as he put it in his official annals, laying waste to 46 walled cities and countless villages. For accounts in the Hebrew Bible see 2 Kings 18–20 and Isaiah 36–39. While such devastation is bad for recipients, the resulting burn and destruction layers can seal a cultural record securely for centuries.[17]

"Private" seals (seals with the name of an individual that often include his or her title and patronym) provide fascinating glimpses into the administrative and institutional life of ancient Israel.[18] Research on the historical period in question has recovered several hundred of these seals or their hardened clay impressions known as *bullae*. Virtually all of the material dates to the eighth century B.C.E. or later, which strongly suggests a considerable rise in literacy at this time and/or the increasing frequency of the societal roles for people who used personal seals in their activities. Two particular important caches of these impressions (and a few seals) have been recovered in recent years, adding greatly to the knowledge of biblical *onomastica* as well as these other administrative functions.[19] One cache comes from the ancient ruins of Jerusalem,[20] while the other's place of discovery has not been made public.[21] As with the Arad and Lachish *ostraca*, both caches of *bullae* date to the end of the Judaean monarchy. For the purposes at hand, I shall concentrate on the contribution that these discoveries make to the subject of the preparation and preservation of documents.

A particularly striking *bulla* is an impression of one Berechiah, son of Neriah, the scribe.[22] The name and title are virtually identical with the Baruch, the son of Neriah, the scribe (Jeremiah 36:32), who was the secretary and companion of the prophet Jeremiah during the last years of

the Judaean monarchy. The biblical figure and seal owner are almost certainly one and the same. The only difference between the two is that between Berechiah and Baruch, with scholars clearly recognizing in the name Baruch a hypocoristic (abbreviated) form of Berechiah. Berechiah itself is a theophoric name, where an abbreviation of the divine name (*YHWH*, often pronounced Yahweh) is included as an element in a name. In this case the theophoric element is attached to the word for bless (*brk*). The full name, therefore, means "Yahweh blesses."

One of the best places to observe the typical activity of a scribe in compiling and preserving documents also comes from the book of Jeremiah. According to chapter 32, while the prophet Jeremiah is under arrest, his cousin Hanamel asks him to purchase land held by his cousin's branch of the family in Anatoth. Purchase is actually something of a misnomer since it was considered the duty of members of a clan to keep the family's patrimony within the clan, even to the extent that other male family or clan members had the first right of redemption in cases where a family's ancestral property was in danger of being lost to nonfamily members (usually because of indebtedness). While the customary law of the period concerning real estate is quite complicated,[23] one assumes that the language used in this chapter approximates the legal terms necessary for a proper transaction. Hanamel asks Jeremiah to purchase the field, since as a relative, Jeremiah has the "right of [taking] legal possession and legal redemption" (32:8). Jeremiah agrees acquire the property. At the end of the public transaction, after the deeds are drawn up, the money exchanged, and everything witnessed, Jeremiah gives two copies of the deed to Baruch the scribe asking that they be preserved in a clay pot for posterity (32:9–15). It should be noted that two copies of the purchase agreement (deed) were in Jeremiah's possession; one of them was sealed closed and the other was not, but both documents carried identical official seals. The deed itself was written on papyrus or animal skin. Apparently the unclosed copy was for inspection, while the other one had been sealed with clay and certainly stamped with the seal of an official scribe, who handled the public transaction and had stamped the open copy. In this case, the likely official is none other than Baruch, who is the scribe mentioned in the context. The clay jar was for added protection and preservation of the sealed deed over time, while the other copy, with an official seal but open, showed any interested party what the jar and sealed deed contained. Where Jeremiah kept the clay jar is not mentioned, and at the time of the purchase Jeremiah was under arrest in Jerusalem. Certainly this was not the place he kept his official records!

The discovery of two caches of clay *bullae* suggests an answer to the question of what happened to many important documents of the period, regardless of the resting place of Jeremiah's deeds. They were stored in scribal

rooms. One clue comes with the location of the cache of *bullae* from the City of David excavations published by Shiloh. They were found in the fashionable upper section of the city on the floor of a room only partially exposed to the excavators. Just above this "*bullae* house," as the excavators called it, is a fine example of a well-to-do home of the period. Since there were more than fifty *bullae* preserved in just a portion of the room, this room probably functioned as a safe deposit for important documents. This section of the city had suffered the ravages of a fire (no doubt set by the Babylonians upon the successful conclusion of their siege) that long ago consumed any papyrus or vellum documents. The same fire, however, only hardened and helped preserve the clay *bullae* sealed to the documents. Even though the circumstances of discovery of the second and larger cache have not been fully told, the rich collection almost certainly came from another safe-deposit room (library?), even if not from Jerusalem.

Yet one more passage from the book of Jeremiah is significant for this subject. In chapter 36 one reads of Jeremiah barred from preaching in the temple complex a few years before the time of imprisonment narrated in chapter 32. He asks his scribal companion Baruch to compile a copy of his words and then to go and read them before the assembled worshippers at the temple complex. This assignment Baruch eventually carries out, using the office of an important scribe, Gemariah son of Shaphan, as his point of delivery. Gemariah's office, the narrator informs us, was located near the new gate of the upper courtyard of the temple complex (36:10). One can scarcely imagine a more prestigious office setting than Gemariah's room, clear testimony to the importance of Gemariah and also to Baruch's influence. The Hebrew term for Gemariah's scribal room or office is *liskah*, a word that is used elsewhere in the chapter to describe the room in the palace complex where scribes and other state officials work (36:12, 20, 21), and a word used nearly twenty times in Ezekiel 40–46 to describe various rooms around the sacred temple precincts. A certain Elishama is referred to in Jeremiah 36 simply as "the scribe." Certain officials who find out that Baruch has read from a prophetic scroll to the assembled crowds in the temple courtyard are gathered in his room (*liškāh*) in the royal palace-complex. After hearing about the contents of the scroll from Gemariah's son Micaiah, the officials gather in Elishama's *liškāh*, deposit the scroll there (36.21), and then report to the king about Baruch's preaching. This almost incidental detail about depositing the scroll in the scribal *liškāh* is a probable indication of one very important function of these scribal rooms: they were used not only for the production and preservation of documents but for secure record-keeping as well. Since it was the scribe's main duty to prepare and interpret documents, this job required appropriate rooms where documents were securely stored and information quickly retrieved upon need. This point about security and retrieval is basic to the context of

the narrative. Furthermore, it is a reminder of the administrative complex near the palace where the Samaria *ostraca* were discovered. The complex in Samaria had long rectangular halls on one side (storerooms?) with other rooms (offices?) to complete the complex. One suspects that this complex was designed for both the storage of materials and the necessary administrative offices for bureaucratic functions. Perhaps the whole complex, or one of the offices, was a *liškāh*. Those excavations that have uncovered written materials usually find them associated with the gate complex, the shrine/temple complex, or the palace complex. And typically in those larger settlements where written material does not surface, there are buildings or rooms that may have functioned as a *liškāh* (production and storage center for records). In the case of the *bullae* house from the City of David Excavations, it was not located in any of these places; however, the number of *bullae* discovered on the floor of one room strongly suggests that the room, if not the house, had an administrative function like that proposed for a *liškāh*.

One fascinating aspect of the narrative in Jeremiah 36 concerns the scribal officials and their names. Virtually all of their names appear among the names of the seal owners from these two caches of *bullae* previously mentioned. Before asserting identity between biblical figure and seal owner, it is necessary to have agreement between name and patronym in both the biblical text and the *bullae* (as in the case of Baruch). Otherwise, the *bullae* do nothing more than illustrate the popularity of the names in question for this period, though this is something they have done thoroughly as attested by any perusal of the names. Even more importantly, in the Jerusalem cache one finds the *bullae* of Gemariah, son of Shaphan, yet another example where one can identify a seal owner with a person mentioned in the biblical text.[24] This family of Shaphanites was most important in the last years of the Judaean kingdom. Shaphan himself was a scribe, who with another son, Ahikam, was among the high-level officials present with king Josiah at the reading of the recently discovered Book of the Torah (2 Kings 22). Somewhat later Ahikam helped to keep Jeremiah from a trial and certain punishment after a particularly pointed sermon (Jeremiah 26:24). Jeremiah entrusted another son of Shaphan, a scribal diplomat named Elasah, to deliver a latter to the first wave of Judaean exiles living in Babylon (29:3). Ahikam's son, Gedaliah, was appointed governor of Judah by the Babylonians after Jerusalem fell, and Jeremiah was released from arrest and placed in his charge (2 Kings 25:22; Jeremiah 39:11–40:6). Two different *bullae* of a Gedaliah have been discovered, and in my judgment they probably belong to the Gedaliah of the Shaphanite family; but unfortunately neither example preserves the patronym.[25] I myself would even identify this important scribal family (and a couple of others with them) as the circles of scribes who preserved, shaped, and published the book of Jeremiah and the books biblical scholars call the Deuteronomistic History (Deuteronomy,

Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings).[26] After all, in addition to the explicit evidence of their multiple roles in the narratives of these documents (Jeremiah and 2 Kings), it was precisely their official duty to preserve and interpret documents. How better to exercise their professional skills and their religious concerns than in helping to interpret the national history up to the debacle of defeat and exile? Their formal activity in preserving and editing Kings and Jeremiah resulted in the formation of a monumental work designed to educate future generations like the monumental inscriptions of the neighboring states.

One can only hope that future archaeological research will uncover a *liškāh* full of documents from the biblical period and that such a find will be in a state of preservation so that we might learn more about the scribal activity of record-keeping and the preservation of documents in ancient Israel.[27] Until that day we have enough clues for some conclusions and we keenly anticipate what the future will bring.

Notes

1. Alan Millard of Liverpool University proposes these categories in "An Assessment of the Evidence for Writing in Ancient Israel," in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaelogy, Jerusalem, 1984*, ed. A. Biran (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), pp. 301-312. The monumental category includes those public inscriptions on stelae or plastered walls designed for public consumption. Very little of this comes from ancient Israel in comparison with other states in Iron Age Syria-Palestine. The formal category includes writing on *ostraca*, seals (impressions), vellum, and papyrus, and is comparatively well represented, especially by *ostraca* and seals (impressions). The occasional category includes graffiti, practice copies, and abecedaries. Millard provides a map (p. 302) that shows the location of all sites to the date of writing where epigraphic material has been discovered and an appendix with bibliography for the formal and occasional categories of writing. His survey demonstrates that scholars have given relatively little attention as yet to the places where formal materials were stored. In another article Millard provides a lucid discussion of the work of scribes necessary to produce formal epigraphic materials, "In Praise of Ancient Scribes," *Biblical Archaeologist* 45 (1982): 143-153.

2. There is much written material from the Ancient Near East dated earlier than the epigraphic material from Israel. But from this time period of the Israelite monarchy (ca. 1000-587 B.C.E.) perhaps the administrative documents from cities of the Neo-Assyrian empire provide the best examples of comparative material of a formal nature. The documents date from the first half of the eighth century B.C.E. through essentially the seventh century. For an introdution to and analysis of some of these documents, see J. N. Postgate, *New Assyrian Royal Grants and Decrees* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1969); idem, *The Governor's Palace Archives* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1973); idem, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974); J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists: A Study of Men and Administration at the Assyrian Capital in the Eighth Century B.C.* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1973); E. Lipiński, "Les tablettes araméennes de Bruxelles," *Etudes sémitiques*, Actes du XXX^{e} Congrès Interna-

tional des Orientalistes, ed. A. Caquot (Paris: n.p., 1975), pp. 25-29; B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, 2 vols. (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1981). For some suggestions on how these typical administrative documents assist the understanding of property and the records of its administration in ancient Israel, see John Andrew Dearman, *Property Rights in the Eighth-Century Prophets: The Conflict and Its Background* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), pp. 128-131.

3. While such documents have not been discovered (yet?) in an Israelite context, none of Israel's neighbors produced an anthology of documents of the scope and variety of the Hebrew Bible.

4. G. Reisner et. al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), vol. 1, pp. 227-246; André Lemaire, *Inscriptions Hébraiques* (LAPO; Paris: Cerf, 1977), pp. 25-81; A. F. Rainey, "The *Sitz im Leben* of the Samaria Ostraca," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 91-94; Ivan T. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness to Hebrew Writing," *Biblical Archaeologist* 45/4 (1982): 229-239. The last three provide a good survey of the frequently discussed issues related to the *ostraca*. These issues include their specific purpose (taxes in kind/goods from the royal estates/goods from the estates of officials who live in Samaria?), the significance of the personal names (theophoric elements using both Yahweh and Baal), the geographic spread of the clan names, and the possible kings whose years of reign are recorded. Kaufman provides an archaeological plan of the building complex near the palace where the *ostraca* were discovered. A recent article by Shea (note 5 below) offers a major reconsideration of the "unnamed commodities" in the *ostraca* of the fifteenth year.

5. W. H. Shea, "Israelite Chronology and the Samaria Ostraca," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins* 101 (1985): 9-20, also provides a recent review of certain issues related to the *ostraca* and makes the proposal that some of them record the shipment of men as workers or conscripts ("military conscription dockets").

6. Millard, "Writing," p. 304, notes that Egyptian recorders used *ostraca* primarily for quick notations or for temporary records, whereas they used papyrus primarily for official records. The large number of seal impressions from ancient Israel, many with fiber imprints from a papyrus document, leaves no doubt that papyrus or vellum was the primary document for official records. This preference is probably not true for letters, however. I know of only one extant papyrus document from the pre-exile period of Israel and it was reused centuries later. Cf. F. M. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II. The Murabba^{c}at Papyrus and the Letter Found near Yabneh Yam," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 165 (1962): 34-46. Scribes in the Neo-Hittite and Aramaean states to the north and in Assyria often used clay tablets for formal records and letters and papyrus or vellum only occasionally. In using clay tablets, they followed the time-honored tradition of the Bronze Age.

7. Yohanan Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981).

8. This is the most common type of site in which to find *ostraca* outside of the capitals of Israel or Judah. Cf. the list of settlements where *ostraca* have been discovered in Millard, "Writing," pp. 310-311.

9. Not only did the officials at Arad take inventory, but some brief notations on the back of *ostraca* requesting shipment are a type of bookkeeping invoice that records the date(s) of shipment. A few *ostraca* request that Eliashib give certain goods to the *Kittim*, the term for Greek mercenaries employed by the Judaean state. Others warn him to watch for the Edomites, providing historians with evidence that the Transjordanian state of Edom cooperated with the Babylonians in attacking Judah.

10. Some *ostraca* discovered in Israel were inscribed, apparently for this reason; B. Maisler, "Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasile," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10 (1951): 265-267. One *ostracon* records some commodities that belong to the king and the other records a shipment of gold for Beth Horon. Beth Horon is either a reference to a city northwest of Jerusalem by that name or a reference to a shrine (literally, "house") for the worship of a deity named Horon. *Ostraca*, as distinct from a typical potsherd, are difficult to see *in situ*. After the excavators found the first *ostracon* at Arad, the field supervisors began the process of dipping each potsherd quickly in water to see if it contained an inscription.

11. H. Torczyner, *Lachish I: The Lachish Letters* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938).

12. Y. Yadin, "The Lachish Letters—Original or Copies and Draft?" in *Recent Archaeology in the Land of Israel*, ed. B. Mazar (Jerusalem: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1984), pp. 179-186, has recently questioned the consensus of scholars that the Lachish *ostraca* are surviving files of the commander of Lachish. He proposes instead that they are the chance survivals of letters that were copied and filed away or that they are drafts of letters to be sent *from* Lachish. This intriguing proposal has gained few adherents as yet among scholars.

13. F. M. Cross, "A Literate Soldier; Lachish Letter III," *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to S. Iwry* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), pp. 41-47.

14. A convenient translation of a few of the Ahad and Lachish *ostraca* can be found in James B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 321.

15. Joseph Naveh, "A Hebrew Letter from the Seventh Century B.C.," *Israelite Exploration Journal* 10 (1960): 129-139.

16. Peter Welten, *Die Königs-Stempel* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969); A. F. Rainey, "Wine from the Royal Vineyards," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 245 (1982): 57-62; N. Naaman, "Hezekiah's Fortified Cities and the LMLK Stamps," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 261 (1986): 5-24.

17. This grim fact is undoubtedly the reason that much epigraphic material comes from either the last quarter of the eighth century, when Assyria campaigned in Israel and Judah, or from ca. 587 B.C.E. when the Babylonians campaigned against Judah.

18. Nahman Avigad, "The Contributions of Hebrew Seals to an Understanding of Israelite Religion and Society," *Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. P. D. Miller et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 195-208. As Avigad briefly notes, it is becoming more apparent as finds of seals and impressions increase that many so-called private seals belonged to persons involved in public and official duties.

19. The titles found on these impressions include the following: the "son/daughter of the king," the "servant of the king," one "over" or "responsible for the house," one "over" or "responsible for the forced labor," "the scribe," "herald," "priest," "attendant," "officer," "officer" or "governor of the city," and "standard bearer." For these titles, their Hebrew equivalent, and bibliography, cf. A. Lemaire, "Recherches actuelles sur les sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques," *Vetus Testamentum* 38/2 (1988): 220-230. The list of personal names from these seals runs into the hundreds.

20. Yigal Shiloh, "A Group of Hebrew Bullae from the City of David," *Israel Exploration Journal* 36 (1986): 16-38.

21. Nahman Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1986).

22. Nahman Avigad, "Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son,"

Israelite Exploration Journal 28 (1978): 52–56. The script on the impression is clear, but the impression is small and oval in shape, ca. 11 by 13 millimeters in size.

23. Cf. Dearman, *Property Rights*, pp. 62–77.

24. Cf. Shiloh, "Group of Hebrew Bullae," figure 8:1, p. 28.

25. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae*, pp. 24–25. One was found at Lachish and reads "Gedaliah, who is over the house." The other comes from the cache published by Avigad and reads "Gedaliah, servant of the king."

26. I intend to work this proposal out more fully in a context devoted to the academic study of the Bible. Regarding royal scribes and their work, cf. E. Lipiński, "Royal and State Scribes in Ancient Jerusalem," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 40 (1986): 157–164. Scholars are just at the stage now where the epigraphic evidence assists in determining the range of official scribal activity in a way that complements the biblical text.

27. An issue currently debated by biblical scholars concerns the existence of formal scribal schools in Israel. One factor in the debate concerns whether any of the formal or occasional epigraphic material discovered so far comes from an educational setting. A. Lemaire, *Les écoles et la formation de la Bible dans l'ancien Israël* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1981), provides an affirmative argument. E. Puech, "Les écoles dans l'Israel préexilique: Données épigraphiques," *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 40 (1986): 188–203, is more cautious and examines the question of schools specifically from the evidence of the epigraphic material. He finds the material inconclusive for the question.



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Alexandria: Library of Dreams[1]

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MY TITLE does not intend to suggest that the Alexandrian Library did not exist, but it does point to what I regard as the unreal character of much that has been said about it. The disparity between, on the one hand, the grandeur and importance of this library, both in its reality in antiquity and in its image both ancient and modern, and, on the other, our nearly total ignorance about it, has been unbearable. No one, least of all modern scholars, has been able to accept our lack of knowledge about a phenomenon that embodies so many human aspirations. In consequence, a whole literature of wishful thinking has grown up, in which scholars—even, I fear, the most rigorous—have cast aside the time-tested methods that normally constrain credulity, in order to be able to avoid confessing defeat. After sketching briefly the main lines of our ignorance of the Library's history, I shall talk about three types of dreams that have beguiled commentators ancient and modern: dreams about the size of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina; dreams about placing the blame for its destruction; and dreams about the consequences of its loss.[2] But there are some positive lessons as well, as I hope to show.

There is no ancient account of the foundation of the Library.[3] We

[1] Read 10 November 2000.

[2] The bibliography on the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is enormous; I refer to it very selectively in what follows. The following works are cited below by author's name: Mostafa El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria* (Paris, 1990); Rudolf Blum, *Kallimachos, the Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, tr. H. H. Wellisch (Madison, 1991); Lionel Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven, 2001); Diana Delia, "From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Traditions," *AHR* 97 (1992): 1449–67; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1972); K. S. Staikos, *The Great Libraries: From Antiquity to the Renaissance* (London and New Castle, Del., 2000). More extensive references to the ancient sources than are possible here may be found particularly in El-Abbadi, Delia, and Fraser.

[3] Blum, 100, suggests that Callixeinos may have given such an account, and that some of the information in later writers may derive from him. I can see no evidence for this view.

have only brief and glancing references. The nearest thing to even a brief history appears in the preface to a commentary on Aristophanes written by the Byzantine polymath John Tzetzes in the twelfth century. Kinder critics say that Tzetzes "preserves much valuable, though to be sure not always correctly reported, information on ancient literature and cultural history."[4] The less charitable call him "copious, careless, quarrelsome" and "extremely inaccurate. . . . His uncorroborated evidence is accordingly viewed with much suspicion"[5] or "quite unjustifiably conceited about his own attainments."[6] Tzetzes, like the ancient tradition generally,[7] treated Ptolemy II Philadelphos as the king who created the Library. He describes how three men, Alexandros of Aetolia, Lykophron of Chalkis, and Zenodotos of Ephesos, worked with Ptolemy to acquire books.[8]

One might then think that the foundation by Philadelphos was secure. But no. Tzetzes, like other sources, also mentions that Ptolemy collected the books "through" Demetrios of Phaleron. Now this Demetrios, a pupil of Theophrastos and earlier of Aristotle, had ruled Athens for the Macedonian king Cassander for a decade (317–307); after Cassander's death, he fled to Egypt, joining the court of Ptolemy I Soter, the father of Philadelphos, where he certainly contributed much to the royal project of making Alexandria a worthy rival to Athens. He made, however, the strategic miscalculation of supporting as Soter's successor the older half-brother of Philadelphos, and when the latter came to the throne instead, the sexagenarian Demetrios paid for his mistake with internal exile, dying soon thereafter.[9] He is, in short, not a good candidate for collaborator with Ptolemy II.

Demetrios is already present, however, in the earliest surviving text to talk about the Library, namely the curious *Letter to Philocrates*, a work of the second century B.C. that claims to be the work of a courtier of Ptolemy II named Aristeas.[10] As far as we know, there was no such person as this Aristeas.[11] Although some competent modern scholars have been at pains to praise Pseudo-Aristeas's knowledge of the Ptolemaic

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[4] W. O. Schmitt, *Kleine Pauly* 5 (Munich, 1975), 1033.

[5] *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 2d ed. (Oxford, 1970), 1102 (P.B.R. Forbes, Robert Browning).

[6] L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1974), 62.

[7] See Fraser 1:321.

[8] *Prolegomena de comoedia Aristophanis* 2.

[9] The major source is Diogenes Laertius 5.75–85 (F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* IIB [Leiden, 1962], 642–43, no. 228 T1).

[10] André Pelletier, s.j., *La lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (Paris, 1962).

[11] *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* 6 (Leuven, 1968), no. 14588, considers him probably fictitious.

milieu,[12] to the extent that he reflects any reality it is that of the second century, not the third, and the work is full of incredible things.[13] The court detail is, indeed, "merely corroborative detail, intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative," as Pooh-Bah would put it (*Mikado*, act 2). It was Demetrios, according to Pseudo-Aristeas, who persuaded Ptolemy II to commission the translation of the Jewish scriptures that we call the *Septuagint* in order to help complete the royal library's holdings; this story, indeed, is the centerpiece of this piece of Jewish propaganda.

Now most philologists, faced with texts full of misinformation and a flat contradiction such as the juxtaposition between Demetrios and Philadelphos offers, would normally be extremely skeptical, or dismiss Demetrios' role as fiction.[14] Not here, however. Everything reported must be kept in some fashion. So, almost unanimously, the reaction has been to suppose that Ptolemy I was the real founder of the Library, assisted by Demetrios, while Zenodotos was either a subordinate[15] or came to the fore after Philadelphos came to the throne.[16] The only real basis for such a view, other than a desperate desire not to abandon the sources, is a statement of Strabo that Aristotle taught Ptolemy the

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[12] Fraser 1:696–704 gives a detailed discussion, dwelling (699–700) on the author's knowledge of the Ptolemaic court (his picture is clearly that of the second century, after the introduction of court ranks). Fraser dates the work to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.). Other views differ, but a mid-second-century date is plausible. For recent general discussions of "Aristeas," see J.M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Berkeley, 1999 [Edinburgh, 1996]), 138–50 and E. S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, 1998), 207–22, with the discussion comparing them by D. R. Schwartz, *Classical Philology* 95 (2000): 352–54.

[13] For example, Ps.-Aristeas believes that there are still twelve tribes in Judaea, and he claims that Ptolemy liberated a hundred thousand slaves in Ptolemaic possession by purchasing them from their owners. How Fraser (1:700) can think this is a "genuine document" is mystifying, although he is not alone. The text cited as a parallel, *C. Ord. Ptol.* 22, is, despite some verbal similarities (accepted even by the usually skeptical Gruen [above, n. 12], 211), radically different. Captives taken by Ptolemy I to Egypt were, if slaves at all, in precisely the class (slaves sold by the crown) that the ordinance of 260 B.C. left in the undisturbed possession of their owners.

[14] E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library: Glory of the Hellenic World* (Amsterdam, 1952), 83–105, in discussing the foundation and building of the Library, recognizes the weakness of Ps.-Aristeas's evidence and the difficulties with Tzetzes (whom he discusses in great detail), but refuses to give up the information they provide. Staikos, 60–61, also notes the insecurity of the evidence for Demetrios, but by 71, n. 22, he has succumbed to thinking that "the events described by Aristeas cannot be fictitious." Gruen (above, n. 12), 209, is more consistently critical in regarding Demetrios' involvement as fiction.

[15] E.g., Blum, 102.

[16] So Delia, 1460. The latest version of this is Casson's formulation (34): "It was the brainchild of Ptolemy I, even though it may not have come into being until the reign of his son."

formation of a library.[17] This remark, which can hardly be literally true (Aristotle died in 322), is taken to mean that the idea of such a library, broad and scientific in character, was Peripatetic and came to Ptolemy through Demetrios. That is not unreasonable, but it hardly shows that Ptolemy I took any specific action. And, to be sure, Alexander, Lycophron, and Zenodotos, the trio mentioned by Tzetzes, were active during Philadelphos' reign. So much for our lack of precise information about the foundation and early growth of the Library. It must be added that we are hardly in better shape concerning the famous Mouseion, the relationship of which to the Library is also a matter of speculation.[18]

It is to Pseudo-Aristeas also that we owe the earliest surviving figures for the size of the Library. He has Demetrios tell Ptolemy that the Library now has more than 200,000 books, but he hopes to bring it up to 500,000 before long.[19] Tzetzes tells us that the Palace Library contained 400,000 "mixed" (*symmigeis*) books and 90,000 "unmixed" (*amigeis*). He also reports that there was an "external library" with 42,800 books. Although there has been much controversy, it is likely that "mixed" refers to rolls containing more than one work (and perhaps more than one author), "unmixed" to works occupying book-rolls (often multiple rolls) by themselves.[20] Later writers give other figures: Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Att.* 7.17.3) says 700,000 rolls (but some "inferior" manuscripts give 70,000). Seneca (*De tranq. animi* 9.5) reproaches Livy for showing regret at the destruction of 40,000 volumes (an excessive luxury, in Seneca's view) in the Alexandrine War; modern scholars, with a bent for gigantism, have suspected this of being an error for 400,000,[21] on the basis of a figure in the late historian Orosius (*Hist.*

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[17] Strabo 608c. See Fraser 1:320, on the problems of this passage. As careful a philologist as Hugh Lloyd-Jones, in a review castigating L. Canfora (below, n. 49) for uncritical use of evidence, takes the role of Demetrios as a given (*Greek in a Cold Climate* [London, 1991], 115–22; from *New York Review of Books,* 14 June 1990). Similarly, Robert Barnes, "Cloistered Bookworms in the Chicken-Coop of the Muses: The Ancient Library of Alexandria," in Roy MacLeod, ed., *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* (London, 2000), 61–77, without engagement of the literature on the subject. It is true that Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria (more confusedly) indicate Ptolemy Soter as the founder (see El-Abbadi, 79–80), but it is not clear that this rests on any independent tradition; they may simply have recognized the problem of connecting Philadelphos and Demetrios.

[18] See Fraser 1:312–19 and El-Abbadi, 84–90, for accounts of the Mouseion. As with the Library, our accounts of it come mainly from the Roman period. Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 17) correctly reminds us of how much we do not know.

[19] Ps.-Aristeas's account, with figures, is repeated in Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 12.13.

[20] See Fraser 1:329 on this point. Why Fraser (328) says that Tzetzes is "our only evidence as to the number" I do not know. See Fraser 2:474 n. 108, demolishing the view that Tzetzes' figures come from Callimachus.

[21] See, e.g., Delia, 1458 n. 38.

adv. pagan. 6.15.31–32), where once again some manuscripts give 40,000 instead of the majority 400,000. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing of the Serapeum, tells us that it contained a library and that "the unanimous testimony of ancient records declares that 700,000 volumes, brought together by the unremitting energy of the Ptolemaic kings, were burned in the Alexandrine war" (22.16.13). He has of course been reproached by moderns for confusing the Palace and Serapeum libraries—more on this later.[22] It is reasonably obvious that the ancient sources thought the libraries were enormous but had no good figures to work with.[23] In any case, figures in ancient texts were easily corrupted in transmission and often survive in multiple readings.

We have already seen that Pseudo-Aristeas has that least attractive quality in a source: to be trusted only where corroborated by better evidence, and there unneeded. The quality of the rest of the later tradition about the size of the Library is not much better. But let us turn to asking about the inherent plausibility of the numbers. The basic questions we should ask are, how many books probably existed in the early third century, how likely it is that large-scale collecting continued under the later Ptolemies and the Romans, and whether these figures are at all in line with what we know of other ancient libraries.[24]

The computer databank of ancient Greek literature, the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, contains about 450 authors of whom at least a few words survive in quotation and whose lives are thought to have begun by the late fourth century. No doubt there were authors extant in the early Hellenistic period of whom not a line survives today, but we cannot estimate their numbers. Of most of these 450, we have literally a few sentences. There are another 175 known whose lives are placed, or

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[22] See J. C. Rolfe's note in the Loeb Ammianus (2:302 n. 1), confidently and precisely informing us that "at the time of the battle of Pharsalia the total number was 532,800 [i.e., 490,000 in the main library and 42,800 in the Serapeum] and it may have reached 700,000 by the time of the Alexandrine war."

[23] See Delia, 1458–59. Only by collapsing antiquity into a single chronological horizon could one say that "contemporary accounts suggest that they amassed as many as 500,000 texts" (*The Economist*, 8 April 2000, p. 92). Staikos, 70, claims that "there is no doubt that the Library did have a stock of several hundred thousand rolls, and when all the reliable contemporary evidence is evaluated it is reasonable to suggest that the highest figure of all—700,000 rolls—does not sound excessive and may even be an exaggeration." What "the reliable contemporary evidence" consists of is hard to see.

[24] Barnes (above, n. 17), 65, oddly cites the library at Pergamon, for which Plutarch gives the (probably unreliable) figure of 200,000 volumes, as evidence in favor of the high numbers of volumes at Alexandria. On the other hand, he also says "it has been suggested" that Alexandria had only 70,000 different titles in the third century (he does not footnote this statement, but Lloyd-Jones [above, n. 17], 117, cites E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* [Oxford, 1968] for this assertion, without page number; it does not appear in Turner's discussion of the Alexandrian Library on pp. 102–03).

whose births are placed, in the third century B.C. Most of these authors probably wrote what by modern standards was a modest amount—a few book-rolls full, perhaps. Even the most voluminous authors of the group, like the Athenian dramatists, probably filled no more than a hundred rolls or so. If the average writer filled 50 rolls, our known authors to the end of the third century would have produced 31,250 rolls. We must then assume, to save the ancient figures for the contents of the Library, either that more than 90 percent of classical authors are not even quoted or cited in what survives, or that the Ptolemies acquired a dozen copies of everything, or some combination of these unlikely hypotheses. If we were (more plausibly) to use a lower average output figure per author, the hypotheses needed to save the numbers would become proportionately more outlandish.[25]

To look at matters another way, just 2,871,000 words of Greek are preserved for all authors known to have lived at least in part in the fourth century or earlier. Adding the third and second centuries brings the total to 3,773,000 words (or about 12,600 pages of 300 words each).[26] At an average of 15,000 words per roll, this corpus would require a mere 251 rolls. Even at an average of 10,000 words per roll, the figure would be only 377 rolls. It was estimated by one eminent ancient historian that the original bulk of historical writings in ancient Greece amounted to something like forty times what has survived.[27] If so, our estimate would run to an original body of 10,000 to 15,000 rolls. This may be too low, but is it likely that it is too low by a factor of thirty or forty, and that only one word in 1,500 or 2,000 has survived? Again, we would be required to believe that we do not even have the names of the vast majority of ancient authors, or that the Library possessed thirty or forty copies not only of Homer but of every single author.

We cannot save the figures by supposing that growth after the third century, or even after the second century, accounts for the difference. For one thing, none of our evidence for book acquisition is later than the third century, and most of it concerns Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III, the latter being the subject of the famous, but probably unbelievable, anecdotes in Galen about seizing books from passing ships and hijacking

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[25] H. Strasburger, *Studien zur Alten Geschichte* 3 (New York, 1990), 178–79, lists 32 historical writers for whom we know exact or approximate numbers of books originally produced but now lost. The average is 28.2; it would fall to 24 if we excluded Aristotle (the city constitutions), an altogether exceptional figure. And historians were relatively long-winded.

[26] These figures are computed from the files of the invaluable Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (Irvine); I am grateful to Maria Pantelia for supplying them.

[27] Strasburger (above, n. 25), 180–81. He works mainly with Teubner pages rather than rolls in his computations, but the results come to much the same thing.

the originals of the tragedians from Athens.[28] It is most unlikely, at all events, that an active acquisitions policy was pursued in the wake of the expulsion of most of the Mouseion's intellectuals in 145 B.C. Moreover, if we are to give any credence to these numbers, why should we not be consistent in our credulity and believe that Demetrios of Phaleron already had amassed 200,000 volumes in the first decade of the third century B.C., as Pseudo-Aristeas says?

An amusing sidelight to such reflections is provided by a block of granite, in the top of which is a hollowed-out space measuring 19.5 by 23 centimeters and 8 centimeters deep. Found in 1847 and now in Vienna, it has the legend "Dioskourides, 3 rolls" inscribed on its face. It has generally been seen as a storage container for three papyrus rolls; because it was found near where the Library is thought to have been located, it was quickly identified as part of the Library's equipment.[29] Although others rejected this identification, almost everyone has agreed that it was indeed a book-storage device. A library of a half-million rolls would have required 166,667 of these containers. It is not easy to imagine a structure and shelving system in which such granite containers would have stood; there is no lid, either. No wonder one scholar hastily assures us, although without any evidence, that "only rare manuscripts would have required such custom-made stone bins for their preservation."[30] Actually, there is no reason to think that it held papyrus rolls at all. Its traditional depiction in drawings (Fig. 1) no doubt helped encourage such ideas, but a sober look at the real thing (Fig. 2) shows that only a small fraction of the block consisted of this hollow space.[31] It was in fact surely a base for a statue or bust.

In sum, the ancient figures for the size of the Library or the number of volumes lost in the Alexandrine War do not deserve any credence.[32]

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[28] These are quoted in every treatment of the subject; cf., e.g., El-Abbadi, 73–102; more briefly, Barnes (above, n. 17), 65–66. Hardly anyone has ever suggested that they might not be factual.

[29] The actual location in the palace quarter is unknown, but it has been argued that it was in the area near the modern Nabi Daniel Street and north of Horreya Avenue. For the history of the question, see Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz, "A Review of the Archaeological Evidence Concerning the Cultural Institutions in Ancient Alexandria," *Graeco-Arabica* 6 (1995): 317–32.

[30] Delia, 1455.

[31] For a comprehensive bibliography, see now E. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque* (Cairo, 2001), 167–69, no. 65, but even he merely reprints a drawing of the nineteenth century. I am grateful to Dr. Alfred Bernhard-Walcher of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung, Vienna, for the photograph printed here and access to the original in April 2002. I discuss this object in detail in an article forthcoming in the *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie.*

[32] Blum, 107, is one of the few scholars to doubt the ancient figures.

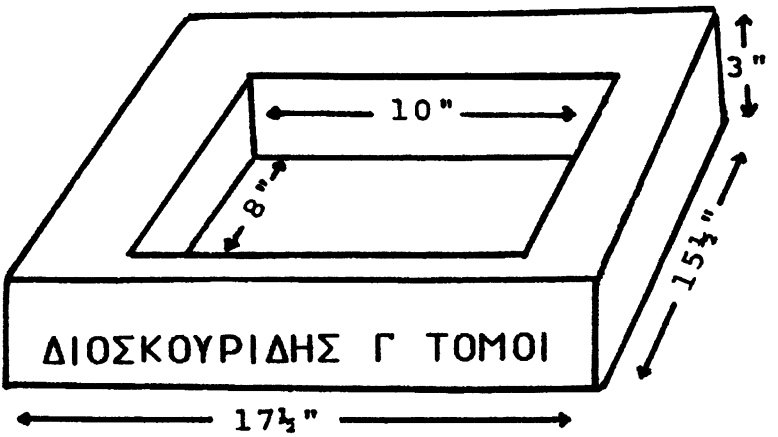


FIGURE 1. Drawing of granite block (from Delia)

They do not appear to rest on any good ancient authority, they were repeated from author to author, and when their consequences are examined, they lead to impossibilities and absurdities. The actual numbers were probably lower, perhaps by as much as one order of



FIGURE 2. Photograph of granite block (photograph courtesy Vienna, Antikensammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

magnitude.[33] The Library of Alexandria, however comprehensive for its time, was not on a scale comparable with the great research libraries of the twentieth century.

Indeed, how could it have been? One has only to imagine the difficulties involved in cataloging such a collection. Book-form catalogs, even with all the advantages of the large codex, ceased to be useful when modern libraries started to reach the kinds of middle six-figure sizes imagined for Alexandria, and had to be replaced by the card catalog, unknown in antiquity. My own university's library grew from 20,000 volumes in 1856 to 100,000 in 1889 and 362,000 in 1903.[34] Even the giants did not reach the middle six digits until the middle of the nineteenth century, precisely the point at which the card catalog started to come into use. The British Museum had only some 200,000 volumes in 1830, reaching a million a third of a century later.[35] Callimachus's famous *Pinakes*, a systematic listing of genres, authors, and works in 120 books, could not have held the information necessary to catalog hundreds of thousands of rolls.[36]

Nothing in the Library's history has quite inflamed the imagination so much as its destruction. But how was it destroyed? This is a murder mystery with a number of suspects, each at least with opportunity and means. The most popular candidate has been Julius Caesar, whose operations in 48 B.C. in the harbor of Alexandria are often blamed for setting fire to the library near the shore. The turbulent political history of the third century of our era also offers some possibilities, including the emperors Caracalla, Aurelian, and Diocletian, all of whom did significant damage in Alexandria. The anti-Christian party insists that it

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[33] Cf. Andrew J. Carriker, *The Library of Eusebius of Caesarea* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1999), 32, remarking that "a library that was a tenth of this size [sc. the 500,000 in Ps.-Aristeas] would still have been very large in antiquity," and collecting figures for ancient libraries.

[34] James H. Canfield, in *A History of Columbia University, 1754–1904* (New York, 1904), 437–41.

[35] See Allen Kent and Harold Lancour, eds., *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* 4 (New York, 1970), 295, for the British Museum's growth; 4:277, on the rise of the card catalog, which was dominant in the U.S. by 1893.

[36] The *Pinakes* were not themselves the library's catalog (see Fraser 1:453), but were certainly based on it. If its books were standard rolls of 20 sheets, and if they used relatively narrow columns (yielding 27 columns to a roll) and were written in small letters (44 lines to a column), they will still have contained no more than 142,560 lines. As much of the work was biographical, only part of that total is available for listing works. Of course some works had multiple books, but Callimachus seems to have listed some works (like Pindar) poem by poem and argued points about them; a number of entries per book-roll will have resulted, balancing the multi-roll works. If two-thirds of the space was used for titles and on average each line represented a title (both assumptions probably too favorable to the number of books), the total would still not have reached 100,000 rolls.

was the mob of monks responsible for the destruction of the Serapeum in 391, who wiped out classical learning. The pro-Christian, anti-Muslim sentiment can believe the stories that blame instructions given by the caliph to Amr, the Arab conqueror of Egypt, to feed the books to the fires in 642, but these originate centuries after the fact and are surely fiction.[37]

Passions still run high on this matter. When Glen Bowersock first invited me to present this paper, I hesitated because of a traumatic early experience. I wrote an article on the Alexandrian Library on commission for a short-lived magazine called *The Dial*, published for Channel 13. The editor did not like my caution about the accounts of the destruction of the Library and, without telling me, rewrote the article to blame everything squarely on the Christians.[38] Whether he hated Christianity or just liked a simple story line, I do not know.

The matter is, truth to tell, not so clear.[39] The subject has been endlessly debated by modern scholars, but with little result. There was certainly still some substantial library in Roman Alexandria. This is evident from Suetonius's life of Domitian (20), where we learn that he replaced books lost to fire in Roman libraries in part by sending scribes to Alexandria to copy manuscripts there.[40] And some of the scholarly work that went on in the Roman period in Alexandria is difficult to imagine without a substantial library. As the Museum was certainly still operative in the Roman period, belief in a Caesarian destruction of the Library requires the uneconomical assumption that the Library was destroyed in the fire but the Museum was not. Recently there have been signs of a consensus in formation that the most likely date of

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[37] See El-Abbadi, 167–72. A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 2d ed. by P. M. Fraser (Oxford 1902, 1978[2]), 401–26, already pronounced the story a fable, although not all of his arguments are persuasive. See also Fraser's addenda to Butler, pp. lxxv–lxxvi, and Delia, 1465–67.

[38] "Lessons of the Alexandrian Library," *The Dial* 1.2 (Oct. 1980): 96–100.

[39] Matters are made worse by the failure of our best source, Strabo, to speak clearly on the matter. In his *Geography* 17.1.8, he says that "the Mouseion is also part of the palaces, possessing a *peripatos* and *exedra* and large *oikos*, in which the common table of the *philologoi*, men who are members of the Mouseion, is located. This *synodos* has property in common and a priest in charge of the Mouseion, formerly appointed by the kings, but now by Caesar." (I have kept technical terms in transliteration.) Why does Strabo not mention the Library? His odd allusiveness in 2.1.5 has also aroused suspicion: "For Eratosthenes takes all these matters as actually established by the testimony of the men who had been on the spot, having encountered many *hypomnemata*, with which he was well furnished, having a library such as Hipparchos himself says it was." Was it no longer such in Strabo's time? And yet, it looks as if the palace quarter had been unscathed by the fires, to judge from the overall tenor of Strabo's report.

[40] On what basis Staikos (83) thinks this episode might indicate the existence of Latin works in the Library, I cannot see.

major destruction for the Palace Library is 273, with Aurelian's recapture of Alexandria from the Palmyrenes the occasion.[41] But there is no direct evidence concerning the Library in the ancient sources for this; the argument, rather, is that the palace area was devastated at this time and the great Library was probably a victim of this larger destruction.

The argument is even more complicated, however, because it is generally thought that there were multiple libraries in Alexandria. John Tzetzes, you will recall, speaks of an outer library. He does not tell us where it was. Modern scholarship has uniformly filled in the gap with the statement of a Christian writer, Epiphanius, the bishop of Salamis best known for his compendium on heresies, to the effect that "later another library was built in the Serapeum, . . . which was called the daughter of the first one."[42] Other Christian writers echo this information. Archaeological work at the Serapeum has shown that there were spaces that could have housed books, but that is as much as excavation has revealed.[43] The age of this library is unknown, although it is usually thought, on not much evidence, to go back to the time of Ptolemy III's construction at the Serapeum. Neither Caesar's fire nor Aurelian's destruction would necessarily have affected the Serapeum; thus a library *could* have survived in Alexandria until the destruction of the Serapeum itself.

What is less commonly recognized[44] is the existence of what a film about brittle books some years ago called "slow fires." Papyrus is a good material, acid free and highly durable. It can last for hundreds of years under good conditions. But Alexandria hardly represented ideal conditions. It has a Mediterranean climate, not a Saharan one, with humidity enough to be detrimental to books. No papyri have survived there from antiquity to the present day, unlike in drier desert areas in Egypt. Books deteriorate also with use, and who is to say that there were no mice or insects in the great library? These certainly were

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[41] Most recently, Casson, 47, adopts this view.

[42] Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.* 11, quoted along with Tertullian, *Apol.* 18, in Fraser 2:478 n. 132. See Fraser's discussion, 1:322–24, citing in footnotes the other evidence.

[43] And even there, we find little comfort. M. Rodziewicz (above, n. 29), 321, points out that the colonnaded spaces usually thought of as a possible location in the Serapeum were "destroyed in the early Roman period," so that the later Roman library's "location in the temenos remains unknown until now."

[44] An exception is my colleague Alan Cameron, quoted in the *New Yorker*, 8 May 2000, p. 97. The notion put forward by the author of that article, that parchment is more "stable" than papyrus, is, however, fiction. James O'Donnell, *Avatars of the Word* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 52, also points out that recopying into codices would have been essential to survival. (His statements that Menander was not copied into codex form and that parchment predominated over papyrus in codices, however, are erroneous.) Staikos, 89, also concludes finally that deterioration was the culprit.

present in archives even in drier parts of Egypt. We have plenty of evidence for papyrus rolls remaining in use for a century, and some for survival as long as two or even three hundred years.[45] But that is about the limit, as far as we can see. The likelihood is that by the reign of Tiberius relatively little of what had been collected under the first three Ptolemies was still usable.

Even without hostile action, then, the Library, or Libraries, of Alexandria would not have survived antiquity. Indeed, any library almost certainly would have been a sorry remnant well before late antiquity, unless its books were constantly replaced by new copies, with the rolls being supplanted by codices in the fourth century. The ancients already were aware of this necessity: Jerome reports that the library at Caesarea founded by the theologian Origen was restored in the mid-fourth century by the copying of the books onto parchment.[46] But there is no evidence that any such replacement went on in Alexandria, nor any indication that the imperial Roman government provided any book acquisition budget to the Library. That does not mean there was none, but it is not likely to have been on the scale needed to maintain a truly great library.

It is hard to give up villains, but it looks as if we must abandon the search for some individual or small group to blame. The disappearance of the Library is the inevitable result of the end of the impetus and interest that brought it into being and of the lack of the kind of sustained management and maintenance that would have seen it through successive transitions in the physical media by means of which the texts could have been transmitted. It is idle, given this reality, to indulge in such Gibbon-like reflections as the following claim of Hugh Lloyd-Jones: "If this library had survived, the dark ages, despite the dominance of Christianity, might have been a good deal lighter; its loss is one of the greatest of the many disasters that accompanied the ruin of the ancient world."[47] This is to get things backward. It is not that the disappearance of a library led to a dark age, nor that its survival would have improved those ages. Rather, the dark ages—if that is what they were, and in the Eastern Roman Empire we may doubt the utility of such a concept—show their darkness by the fact that the authorities both east and west lacked the will and means to maintain a great library. An unburned building full of decaying books would not have made a particle's worth of difference.

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[45] For references, see Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974), 60–61, with addenda in *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity: A Supplement* (Pap. Brux. 23, Brussels, 1989), 32–33.

[46] See Carriker (above, n. 33), 22–23, citing Jerome, *Ep.* 34.1 and *De viris ill.* 113.

[47] Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 17), 117.

Indeed, no more books would have survived antiquity if the Library had not been destroyed (deliberately or accidentally) than did so anyway. The destruction simply is not important. This may seem like a bleak assessment, but it need not be so. It suggests that we should turn our attention away from the dramatic single event and toward the forces and personalities that create and sustain cultural institutions, for it is their absence in the Roman period, not the presence of some destructive force, that decided the fate of the books of Alexandria. Why should anyone be disillusioned by the realization that creative achievements survive only if we foster a cultural milieu that values them? Most books existed in multiple copies, and it is the failure of most to survive that is most important. The rarities of the Alexandrian Library too owe their disappearance as much to omission as to commission.

I have devoted quite a bit of time to showing that those who have written about the Library of Alexandria have used dubious methods to arrive at improbable conclusions, pursuing what I believe to be false dreams. But Alexandria is also a library of valid dreams, and I shall close by evoking a few of them. First, and most directly, the Library and Mouseion sustained for the first time a philological enterprise, in which scholars tried to establish correct texts and to think about the art of doing so. Their earliest efforts were not terribly sophisticated by our standards, but they laid the foundations for all that has followed. This work had tangible results: In the literary papyri from Egypt, we can see the point—starting about 150 B.C.—at which the messy, unstandardized tradition of Homer's text was replaced by the standard text that we owe to Aristarchos of Samos, which lies at the root of the entire Homeric textual tradition since the second century B.C.[48] Although our copies of classical literature today are not those of the Library of Alexandria, most of them undoubtedly owe their quality, if not their survival, to the scholars of the Mouseion.[49]

Second, the Library served as the base for a wide range of other scholarly activities, scarcely possible without its rich array of texts. I cannot evoke here anything like the full range of intellectual pursuits

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[48] See most recently Johannes Kramer, "Die Geschichte der Editionstechniken und die literarischen Papyri," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 46 (2000): 19–40 at 22–23, putting the Alexandrian work in the context of the entire history of critical editing.

[49] Luciano Canfora, *The Vanished Library* (Berkeley, 1990), 197, concludes by minimizing the importance of the Library of Alexandria in this regard, claiming that "what has come down to us is derived not from the great centres but from 'marginal' locations, such as convents, and from scattered private copies." Actually, much of what has survived comes to us through Constantinople, wherever it ultimately wound up; Canfora's claim is thus spurious. But even if it were not, it ignores the impact of Alexandria (and other great centers) on the transmission of the texts that wound up in more remote locations. Cf. the half-hearted rejoinder of R. Barnes (above, n. 17), 75.

supported by the Library's collections, but they included many attempts to compile systematic information about different subjects.[50] One example is geography, where Eratosthenes was able to make decisive progress in creating the mathematical foundations of that subject and in enabling the development of cartography.[51]

Third, and probably most important of all, the Library of Alexandria bequeathed the image of itself, the idea of a large, comprehensive library embracing all of knowledge. As James O'Donnell has put it, "the library at Alexandria has long loomed as a chimera of power and mystery on the horizon of our culture."[52] The sources tell us that this reach extended beyond Greek culture to the literature of its neighbors, ranging from the Jews to India. They probably exaggerate, but it is still significant that already within a century or so of its founding the Library had become a symbol of universality of intellectual inquiry and of the collection of written texts.[53] Even if Pseudo-Aristeas's story of the creation of the *Septuagint* is fictitious, it shows us that inclusion in the Library was a kind of universally recognized validation to which people would aspire. The Library was so far beyond anything else antiquity had known up to that point that it embodied these aspirations and appealed to the imagination of all who wrote about it. Its grip on the minds of all who contemplated it was already in antiquity as great as it was later, and it hardly mattered what fanciful numbers they used to express its greatness. Although the authors whose works survived antiquity told posterity little of any concrete substance about the Library, they transmitted its indelible impression on their imaginations.

This image was passed on to the Renaissance and the modern world, and every one of our great contemporary libraries owes something to it. By way of example, the paper of my colleague Carmela Franklin (below, p. 372) describes how a Vatican librarian of the fifteenth century wrote a Latin version of Tzetzes' potted history of the Library in the margin of a manuscript of Plautus. The contemporary attempt to create a new universal library in Alexandria itself, which has received enormous press coverage, is only the latest representative

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[50] Fraser 1:447–79 gives a survey of "Alexandrian scholarship," but many other sections of his book are also relevant.

[51] See on this point Mostafa El Abbadi, "The Ancient Library and its World-wide Connections: The Making of a World Map," *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Bibliotheca Alexandrina Symposium, 17–19 October, 1998* (Alexandria, n.d.), 22–26. For a general discussion of geography in Alexandria, see Fraser 1:520–52.

[52] O'Donnell, *Avatars* (above, n. 44), 33.

[53] The widest claims, however, come in late Christian sources and may be no more than embellishments on Ps.-Aristeas; cf. Barnes (above, n. 17), 67. They are, however, quoted without challenge by most authors; cf., e.g., Lloyd-Jones (above, n. 17), 116–17.

of this tradition. Many aspects of this project have been criticized, perhaps with reason,[54] but we will have the right to denigrate the aspirations it embodies only when we become willing to give up our own pursuits of the Alexandrian dream. Thankfully, I see no signs of such renunciation. Although it is too late to recover much of the reality of the Ptolemaic library, its dream is very much still with us.[55]

[54] The most serious problem at present being the lack of a coherent collection development policy and funds to carry it out. The beautiful working space in the library, however, is a worthy successor to the Muses' bird-cage.

[55] Thanks to Glen Bowersock for the invitation to deliver this paper; to Alan Cameron, Carmela Franklin, G. N. Knauer, and Maria Pantelia for various comments and references; and to Mostafa El-Abbadi for offprints of rare publications and a visit to the new Alexandrina in January 2001.

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Tradition's Destruction: On the Library of Alexandria

DANIEL HELLER-ROAZEN

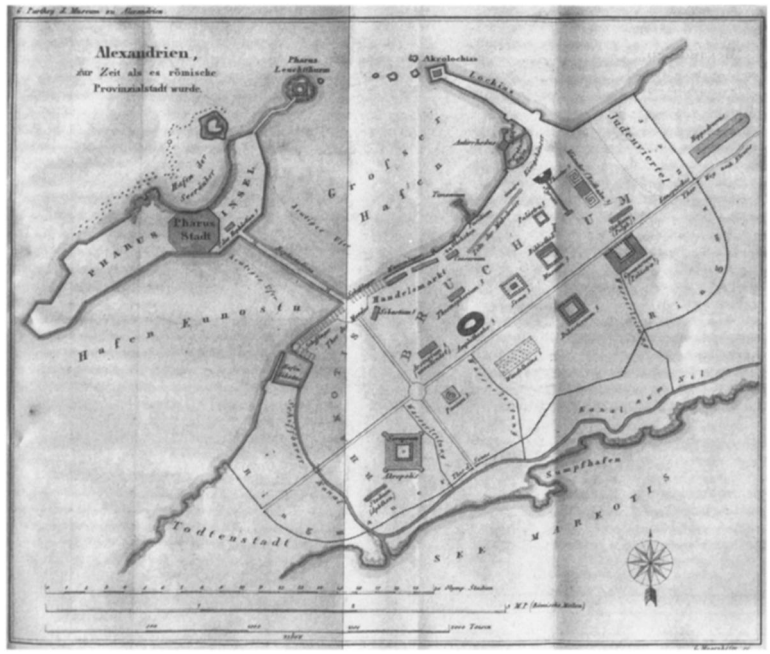
Recapitulating Disasters

"I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library," Edward Gibbon writes in the fifty-first chapter of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.[1] The historian resolves, with these words, to remain silent about that which distinguishes the Alexandrian library above all else: its "disasters." But it would be rash to conclude that Gibbon, therefore, simply fails to address the calamities that he so clearly avoids. With the characteristically double gesture of a disavowal, he at once invokes and distances them. His discussion of the institution and posterity of the library cannot but call to mind the destructions that he passes over in silence; it frames, without recounting, the very "disasters" that it will not "recapitulate."

Gibbon's words, in this way, register the singular status that the Library of Alexandria still occupies today: that of an institution in which the conservation and the destruction of tradition can hardly be told apart, an archive that, in a vertiginous movement of self-abolition, threatens to coincide entirely with its own destruction. The pages that follow consider the structure and sense of this singular archive. The form they take is less that of the modern scholarly article, which aims at the formulation and demonstration of a novel argument, than that of the "memory notices," "textual remarks," and "commentaries" (ὑπομνήματα) of antiquity, which sought to recall and explicate certain decisive aspects of the texts that preceded them.[2] In this case, the remarks and commentaries, which refer to a corpus of classical and late ancient works that is at once literary, historiographical, scientific, and philosophical, recall precisely that which Gibbon excluded from his monumental *History*: the many "disasters" that the Library of Alexandria, in its life and afterlife, simultaneously remedied, incited, and suffered.

1. Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. David Womersely (London: Allen Lane [The Penguin Press], 1994), vol. 5–6, p. 285.
2. On the ὑπομνήματα, see Franz Bömer, "Der Commentarius: Zur Vorgeschichte und literarischen Form der Schriften Caesars," *Hermes* 81 (1953), pp. 210–50, esp. pp. 215–26; Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 48–49.

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The Cage of the Muses

Ancient visitors to Alexandria often remarked that it bore the form of a chlamys, the mantle worn by Macedonian and Thessalian hunters and soldiers and, later, Greek and Roman warriors.[3] Like the chlamys, whose length was double its width, the city founded by Alexander in 331 B.C. was roughly rectangular in shape, bordered by the Mediterranean to the north and by Lake Mareotis to the south. Any reconstruction of the topography of the city must rely principally on Strabo, who arrived in Egypt on a military campaign in the entourage of Prefect Aulius Gallus in 24 B.C., remaining in Alexandria, as he tells us, for "a long time," before describing the Ptolemaic center in detail in the seventeenth book of his Geography.[4] The "long sides" of Alexandria, Strabo explains, "are those that are bathed by the two waters, having a diameter of about thirty stadia, and the short sides are the isthmuses, each being seven or eight stadia wide and pinched in on one side by the sea and on the other by the lake."[5] Alongside the Great Harbour, which stretched across the north-eastern coast from the promontory of Lochias to the causeway that joined the city to the island of Pharos, lay the region Strabo calls "the Palaces" (τὰ βασιλεία), which acquired the name "Brucheion" in Roman times. Composing a third or fourth of the ancient city, this area housed the royal grounds and gardens as well as the offices of government and public institutions.[6] It was also home to the most celebrated of all

3. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 5–11; Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, 1, 8.
4. P. M. Fraser reckons Strabo's stay in Alexandria to have lasted four years. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 12–13, n. 23.
5. XVII, 1, 8; the text cited here is that of *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 33.
6. Strabo, XVII, 1, 8. On Strabo's account and the topography of the city, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic*

Map of ancient Alexandria at the time at which it became a Roman colony.

Alexandrian inventions, the Ptolemaic Μουσεῖον, "shrine of the Muses," or "Museum," which constituted the largest center of learning in the ancient world.

Among classical sources there exist two accounts of the foundation of the Ptolemaic Museum. One tradition, whose earliest source lies in the *Letter to Philocrates* of the second century B.C.,[7] identifies it as the creation of the second Ptolemaic monarch, Ptolemy Philadephus, who ruled in Alexandria from 285 to 246 B.C.[8] This explanation of the origin of the Museum can be found again in a number of later writers, such as Philo, Josephus, Athenaeus, Epiphanius, and the Byzantine scholiast Tzetzes.[9] A second tradition instead attributes the foundation of the Museum to Ptolemy Soter, "the first of the Macedonians to establish the wealth of Egypt," as Tacitus calls him.[10] The sole document supporting this tradition dates from the second century A.D., when Irenaeus offers the following account of the institution of the library within the Alexandrian Museum: "Ptolemy the song of Lagos [that is, Ptolemy I] had the ambition to equip the library established by him in Alexandria with the writings of all men as far as they were worth serious attention."[11] Since the classical authors who attribute the foundation of the Museum to Ptolemy Philadephus err in their accounts of the administrative history of Alexandria, relating that the second Ptolemaic king was counseled by a scholar who in fact had been exiled at the start of the king's reign, it is generally accepted today that Ireneaus's account is the most probable, and that the fabled "shrine of the Muses" of Alexandria dates back to the time of its first ruler after the death of Alexander, at the very beginning of the third century B.C.[12]

Strabo devotes two sentences to the workings of the Museum in his account of Alexandria, and they furnish us with the fullest and most detailed account of its nature and organization. "The Museum," he writes, "is a part of the Palaces,"

> has a walkway [περίπατον], an arcade [[ἐξέδραν], and a large house, in which there is the eating hall for the men of learning [φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν] who share the Museum. They form a community with property in

Alexandria, vol. I, "Foundation and Topography," pp. 3–37.

7. On the *Letter*, see its most recent English edition, in which it appears as *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*, ed. and trans. Moses Hadas (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951). Fraser *(Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. I, p. 696) dates the letter "as early as about 160 BC"; for Fraser's reasoning, see Ptolemaic Alexandria, II, pp. 970–72, n. 121.

8. *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 9–10, *apud* Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*, VIII, 1. It is worth observing, however, that unlike many later texts clearly founded on it, the *Letter* discusses not the Museum but solely the Alexandrian Library.

9. See Mostafa El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria* (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1990), p. 79.

10. Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 831.

11. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, III, 21, 2, *apud* Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, vol. 8, 11–15.

12. On the inconsistency in the *Letter of Philocrates*, see Hades's editorial remarks to the relevant passage (*Aristeas to Philocrates*, pp. 96–97); on the time of the foundation of the Museum, see Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, pp. 321–22), who indicates that the *Letter*'s identification of Demetrius of Phaleron as the first Librarian of the Museum is at odds with its ascription of the foundation of the Museum to Ptolemy II, since Demetrius, the advisor of Ptolemy I, was immediately exiled upon Philadephus's rise to the throne.

> common and a priest in charge of the Museum, who was formerly appointed by the kings but is now appointed by Caesar.[13]

Strabo's few lines leave no doubt that the Museum was modeled, in its form and function, on the two great centers of learning of classical Athens, the Platonic Academy and the Aristotelian Lyceum.[14] Demetrius of Phaleron, whom classical authors credit with the establishment of the royal library,[15] had been a pupil in the Aristotelian Academy before ruling as tyrant of Athens for ten years, being expelled in 307 B.C., and arriving in Egypt some ten years later; and the structure of the "shrine to the Muses" he is thought to have instituted under Ptolemy Soter bears the traces of the Attic center at which he studied. We know from Diogenes Laertius that the Academy contained a "shrine to the Muses" (μουσεῖον) and, like the Alexandrian Museum, had "arcades" (ἐξέδρας) in addition to the famous "walkway" (περίπατον) from which the Peripatetic school drew its name.[16] And the rules of the Lyceum, as we learn from Theophrastius's will, stipulated that its members were to "not to alienate their property or devote it to their private use," but maintain their institution as a "temple," just as the Alexandrian Museum, in Strabo's account, housed a "community with property in common and a priest,"[17] becoming a secular institution only long after its founding, at the time of the Roman Empire.[18] Certain questions about the Ptolemaic Museum, to be sure, remain. Were there private quarters, or (as one might infer from Strabo's term for their "community," σύνοδος) did the scholars admit no individual property? Was there teaching in the Museum and, if there was, what was its form, and where did it take place? The classical sources suggest no clear answers.

More can be said about the activity and achievement of the "men of learning" (φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν) who dwelt and worked in the Museum. Their profession could not be better expressed than by the epithet that Strabo attributes to Philitas of Cos, perhaps the first great Hellenistic literary figure: "at once poet and critic" (ποιήτης ἅμα καὶ κριτικός).[19] They were not only dedicated to the composition of literary works; at the same time, they also formulated the principles and practices of the first textual criticism in the West. Their scholarship took the form of a massive project aimed at the conservation and, more radically, the "emendation" and "rectification" (διορθοῦν) of the works of the classical Greek authors: it is here that the many forms of textual criticism still employed by modern literary and historical

13. Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, 1, 8. Translation modified. See Gustav Parthey's comments on this passage in *Das alexandrinische Museum* (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1838), pp. 51–56.
14. See El-Abbadi's helpful remarks, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*, pp. 84–90.
15. On Demetrius, see the *Aristeas to Philocrates*, pp. 9–10; Plut., *Apothegms of Kings and Generals*, 189; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, III, 17; and Diogenes Laertius, V. 77–80, where a list of Demetrius's works is given.
16. See the account of Polemon, who ran the Academy from 314 to ca. 276 B.C., in Diogenes Laertius, IV, 19: "He would withdraw from society, confining himself to the garden of the Academy; his scholars remained in small cells nearby, living close to the shrine of the Muses [μουσεῖον] and the arcades [ἐξέδερα]."
17. Diogenes Laertius, V, 51–52.
18. As Fraser remarks, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, p. 313.
19. Strabo, *Geography*, XIV, 657.

scholarship, from the purification of diction to the practice of marginal annotation and the division and ordering of metrical sequences, are invented and refined.[20] The history of the Alexandrian Museum may well be regarded as the history of the development of classical scholarship as such, from the time of its first "learned man," Zenodotus of Ephesus (ca. 285 to ca. 270 B.C.), who was not only an early lexicographer of literary Greek but also the first critical editor of Homer, to that of its last great figure, Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 204 to 189 B.C.), who has been called the "founder of Greek punctuation"[21] and is largely responsible for the fundamental definition of the metrical and prosodic units of poetry (παράγραφος, στροφή, ἀντίστροφος, and ἐποδός) accepted by all subsequent readers of classical literature.[22]

Not all the contemporaries of the Museum appreciated the activity that transpired behind its walls. In two of the hexameters of his *Silloi*, Timon of Phlius, a student of Pyrrhon the Skeptic who lived in the third century B.C., expressed a view of the institution that was hardly flattering:

> βιβλιακοὶ χαρακῖται ἀπείριτα δηριόντες
> Μουσέων ἐν ταλαμῳ.
>
> Many are feeding in populous Egypt, scribblers on papyrus, incessantly wrangling in the bird-cage of the Muses.[23]

It is difficult, however, not to read Phlius's reference to the "scribblers" (χαρακῖται) of the Museum (which archly alludes to the Greek term for the pen behind which rare birds were kept, χάραξ)[24] as a document of the prominence and importance of the very institution it mocks. After the "scribbles" of the many birds "feeding in Egypt," classical letters would never be the same. Works would henceforth be produced and reproduced, throughout the Greek and Roman world, in the form they acquired in Alexandria: introduced by a summary statement (ὑποθέσις) describing their content, accompanied by critical marginal signs (σημεῖα) explaining obscure or doubtful passages, their lines (κῶλα), if they were in verse, clearly separated and numbered, the papyrus scrolls on which they were copied bearing the thin strip of parchment (σίλλυβος, later called *index* or *titulus* by the Romans) that recorded their name and author.[25] The "cage of the Muses" would not leave even that most minimal element

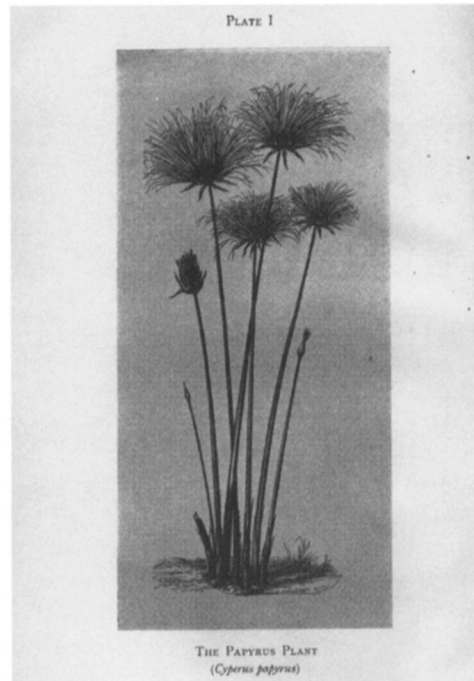
20. See Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 87–209. On διορθοῦν and διωρθώσις in particular, see ibid., pp. 215–33.
21. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 179.
22. On Zenodotus, see "Zenodotus and His Contemporaries," Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 105–22; on Aristophanes, see "Alexandrian Scholarship at Its Height: Aristophanes of Byzantium," in ibid., pp. 171–209.
23. Fr. 12 Diels (= 60 Wachsmuth); on Timon's verses, see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 97–98.
24. Luciano Canfora, *La biblioteca scomparsa* (Palermo: Sellerio Editore, 1998), p. 45.
25. See Giorgio Pasquali's incisive remarks on the importance of the Museum for classical letters in his entry "Biblioteca," which appears in the *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere e arti* (Milan and Rome: Bestelti & Tumminelli, 1930), vol. 6, pp. 942–47.

of writing, the letter, intact: classical paleographers have observed that, during the age of the Museum, the Greek script underwent a series of radical alterations, determining the form it would retain until long after the fall of the Roman Empire.[26]

The Cosmic Library

The treasure of the Museum, of course, was the Library. Its fame in the ancient world was such that when Athenaeus discussed Ptolemaic book collections in the second century A.D., he could dismiss the subject of the Library itself, asking: "What reason is there for me even to speak of the number of books, the establishment of libraries, and the collection in the Museum, considering how they are in the memories of everyone [πᾶσι τούτων ὄντων κατὰ μνήμην]?"[27] It is precisely on these matters, however, that memory fails us today. The very question of the relation of the Museum to its Library, which no account of either institution can avoid, remains difficult to resolve with any precision. It has been observed that, by virtue of "an unusual coincidence,"[28] none of the classical texts that have been transmitted to us ever mentions the two Ptolemaic establishments at once. In the third century B.C., the poetry of Herodas, like that of Timon, alludes to the Museum, but not to the Library;[29] later, the *Letter of Aristeas* discusses the formation of the Library in some detail, without ever naming the Museum itself; and when Strabo, in the passage we have examined, describes the scholarly center of Alexandria, he omits any reference to its Library. The Greek and Latin terms for "library" (βιβλιοθήκη, bibliotheca) are of little assistance in these matters, for they are defined by classical and late ancient sources as signifying simply "repository of books" (*nam* βιβλιοθήκη *librorum* θήκη *reposito interpretatur*, we read in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville):[30] "shelf," "box," or "cupboard," as well as "archive" or "papyrus-roll collection" could translate the ambiguous term invoked by the works that refer to the Alexandrian holdings.[31] It is impossible, for these reasons, to establish whether the Library constituted a building of its own and, if it did, whether it was physically separated from the Museum; but the lack of any explicit ancient identification of the "repository of books," as distinct from the "shrine of the Muses," suggests that the Library most probably coincided, to a greater or lesser degree, with the Museum itself.[32]

26. See C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), xv; see diagrams 1–5.
27. Athenaeus, V, 203 E.
28. El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*, p. 90.
29. Herodas, Mimes, I, vv. 26–33.
30. Isidore, *Etymologiae sive Originum*, VI, 3, 1.
31. On the term and concept of "library" in Greek and Roman antiquity, see the *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, ed. Georg Leyh, vol. 3: *Geschichte der Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955), pt. 1, ch. 2: Carl Wendel and Willi Göber, "Das Griechisch-Römische Altertum," esp. pp. 52–24; see also Canfora, who recalls that the primary meaning of βιβλιοθήκη is simply "shelf" (*La biblioteca scomparsa*, p. 86).
32. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, p. 324.



The classical sources provide only the most cursory accounts of the Library.[33] The *auctor* to whom we must turn for a detailed account of the Alexandrian institution is neither Hellenistic nor Roman but, rather, Byzantine, the twelfth-century commentator and scholiast Johannes Tzetzes, whom the great philologist Richard Bentley, anticipating the judgment of many modern scholars, once dubbed "a Man of much rambling Learning."[34] Two pages of Tztetzes's *Prooemium*, his introduction to the study of Aristophanes, contain the fullest known discussion of the operation of the Library, which, although immediately based on late ancient grammatical treatises and literary digests, is thought to reach back "ultimately to some Alexandrian sources of the Ptolemaic period."[35] The text itself has been transmitted to us in three Greek editions, a Humanist translation, and in the form of a Latin scholium to Plautus, attributed to a certain "Caecius," which was discovered in the first half of the nineteenth century.[36] The versions of the text, broadly speaking, concur in all important matters. In each case, the description of the Library opens with an account of the scholarly activity without which it would not have been imaginable. "Under the royal patronage of Ptolemy Philadephus," Tzetzes tells us, "Alexander of Aetolia edited [διώρθωσαν] the books of tragedy, Lycophron of Chalcis those of comedy, and Zenodotus of Ephesus those of Homer and the other poets."[37] The work of "editing" (the verb to which Tzetzes has recourse, διορθοῦν, indicates at once textual comparison, rectification, and edition) thus lay at the foundation of the Alexandrian collection; the Ptolemaic archive collected above all restored works, texts assembled for the first time, far from the time and place of their production, in their totality and purity. At this stage of its development, the acquisition and ordering of the books

33. See the fragments assembled by Friedrich Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1922), pp. 8–15. Schmidt fails to record the passage from Irenaeus cited above, which should also be considered in this context: Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, III, 21, 2, *apud* Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, 8, 11–15.

34. *Dr. Richard Bentley's Dissertations upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and Upon the Fables of Æsop*, ed. Wilhelm Wägner (Berlin: S. Calvary and Col, 1874), p. 85.

35. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, p. 321; see Fraser's note on this subject, II, p. 474, n. 108.

36. The Greek texts are published in Georg Kaibel's *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, auctore Udalrico de Williamowitz-Moellendorf collecta et edita*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), pp. 17–34; an English translations and a commentary, which is not always reliable, may be found in Edward Alexander Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library: Glory of the Hellenic World* (New York: Elsevier Press, 1952), pp. 106–21.

37. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1, 28, pp. 31–32.

The Papyrus plant. From F. W. Hall, A Companion to Classical Texts *(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).*

was therefore overseen by a director who was at once an editor of texts and a bibliographer of works, a "Librarian" whom Tzetzes refers to as βιβλιοφύλαξ, literally, "guardian of books" (a term that in Ptolemaic Egypt acquired the acceptation of "keeper of archives"[38]) and whom the tenth-century Byzantine lexicon *Suda* calls simply προστάτης, "director." The history of the Library, as Tzetzes presents it, is largely the tale of the succession of its directors, from Zenodotus, at the beginning of the third century B.C., to Aristarchus of Samothrace, who is thought to have resigned from his position in 145 B.C.[39] In most cases, little is known of the librarians that does not concern the Alexandrian collection itself. Vitruvius left us the following portrait of Aristophanes of Byzantium, in which the life of the man can hardly be separated from that of his archive: "Every day," Vitruvius writes, "he did nothing other than read and reread all the books of the Library, for the whole day, examining and reading through [*perlegere*] the order in which they were shelved."[40]

Tzetzes relates that the Alexandrian holdings were collected in two separate Libraries, one outside the Palace and the other within it.[41] Epiphanius, a source from the fourth century A.D., tells us more: the first Library, he writes, was situated in the Brucheion and was the larger and more important of the two; the "outer library" was founded later, located in the temple of Serapis, and called the "daughter" (θυγάτηρ) of the principal collection.[42] According to Tzetzes, the "outer library" contained 42,800 papyrus rolls, which he simply calls "books" (βίβλοι). He is more precise in his description of the holdings of the royal collection, which, he reports, consisted of 400,000 "composite rolls" (συμμιγεῖς) and 90,000 "single rolls" (ἀμιγεῖς).[43] Everything, of course, depends on the sense of the bibliographical terms employed here. The most likely interpretation of the Hellenistic expressions is that the "composite" books (συμμιγεῖς) were rolls containing several works, while the "single" books (ἀμιγεῖς) instead consisted of one work alone.[44] Together, the holdings of the two Alexandrian collections were to represent the entirety of the literary tradition, gathered, Tzetzes

38. See Fraser's comments on the Alexandrian nomenclature, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, p. 322.

39. El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*, pp. 93–94. In addition to the editions of Tzetzes, an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P. Ox. 1241) provides important information about the succession of the Alexandrian librarians.

40. Vitruvius, *De architect*, VII, prooem. 8–9.

41. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Pb, sec. 20, p. 19; Mb, sec. 29, p. 29. On ms. Ma, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2, pp. 477–78, n. 130.

42. Epiphanius, *De mens. et pond.*, 166 B (12, 24ff. Dind), reproduced in Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos*, pp. 11–12.

43. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Pb, section 20, p. 19; the corresponding passage in Mb (in ibid., section 29, p. 31) gives the same account.

44. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, p. 329, who, following Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen* [Leipzig: 1882], pp. 486–90), rejects the reading of the terms suggested by Friedrich Ritschl in his *Die alexandrinischen Bibliotheken unter den ersten Ptolemäern und die Sammlung der Homerischen Gedichte durch Pisistratus nach Anleitung eines Plautinischen Scholions* (Breslau: G. P. Aderholz, 1838), pp. 21–34. See also Luciano Canfora, "Le biblioteche ellenistiche," in *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1989), pp. 5–24, esp. pp. 12–13. Cf. the remarks of Rudolf Blum, who follows the same interpretation, in *Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, trans. from the German by Hans H. Wellisch (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 107.

writes, "from everywhere" (ἀπανταχόθεν, *ubique terrarum* as we read in the anonymous Humanist translation)[45] for the purposes of study and critical attention.

The sources of the collection became, already in the ancient world, the subject of much discussion. Many of the works housed in the Alexandrian collections, to be sure, would have constituted reproductions of texts that would not have been difficult to obtain during the centuries of its operation. But books also arrived in Alexandria by more circuitous routes. Galen, who was himself intimately familiar with the textual history and criticism of the Hippocratic corpus and who often commented on the Library, furnishes us with two striking accounts of the procedures by which the Ptolemaic rulers and librarians acquired the works they wished to collect. Explaining how the copy of the *Epidemics* that once belonged to the physician Mnemon of Side came to be housed in Alexandria, Galen recounts that the Ptolemies issued an edict ordering all ships arriving at the port to be searched for books that might be aboard them. If any were found, they were to be immediately confiscated and copied; the originals were then to be added to the collection, while the duplicates were to be returned to the owners. Such books, Galen remarks, were marked as such in the Library, where they bore a specific label: "from the ships"(ἐκ πλοίων).[46] The Ptolemaic acquisitiveness also turned, in a more dramatic case, against the state whose own production constituted the greatest part of its holdings. The Athenian authorities granted Ptolemy III permission to borrow the manuscripts of the dramatic works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, to reproduce them in Alexandria; once transcribed in Egypt, the copies were then sent back to the Athenian state archives, while the originals joined the Ptolemaic collection.[47]

All of the sources, classical and postclassical, attribute the same aim to the Alexandrian accumulation of books: to constitute an archive in which the totality of literary works would be meticulously ordered and secured. The terms by which Greek and Roman authors explain the Ptolemaic project differ, but these are variations on a theme; the purpose of the monumental collection, in each case, remains unchanged. "To collect . . . all the books in the world" (τὸ συναγεῖν . . . ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία),[48] explains the *Letter of Aristeas*, the oldest document that bears witness to the existence of the Library. The explanations offered by the later sources are, in some sense, only echoes: the Library was meant "to collect all the books of the inhabited world," writes Flavius Josephus, in the first century A.D.;[49] it sought to constitute "a collection of all men's writings," aiming to "assemble the writings of all men," recount Justin and Irenaeus, a hundred years later; its creators wanted nothing else, affirms Saint Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century, than "to collect books that were in every place."[50]

45. In Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos*, pp. 9–10.
46. *Comm. in Hipp. Epidem.* iii (xvii a 606–7) (=*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 10, 2, 1, pp. 78ff.).
47. In *Hpp. de Natura Hominis* I, 44–105 (=*Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, vol. 5, 9, 1, p. 55).
48. *Aristeas to Philocrates*, p. 9.
49. *Antiquitates Judaicae*, XII, 12, 14.
50. *Adv. Haer.*, III, 21, 2.

The nature of the Alexandrian holdings, in the accounts of the classical and medieval sources, thus remains constant, despite—or, rather, because of—the alterations and discrepancies in the classical and medieval descriptions of their exact contents. The *Letter of Philocrates* tells of the dedication of the Ptolemaic authorities to the project of translating barbarian works into Greek, the subject of the epistle itself being precisely the redaction of the Septuagint; and subsequent discussions of the Library, both pagan and Jewish, stress the inclusion of biblical as well as Greek works in the collection.[51] By the time of Epiphanius, however, the consistency of the collection's contents has changed: the works "from everywhere" now include not only the works of Greek writers ("poets and prose writers, orators, and sophists, physicians, professors of medicine, and historians") and not only those of peoples represented in the Hebrew Bible ("the Elamites and Babylonians, the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and the Syrians"), but also those of the peoples with whom the fourth-century Hellenistic world of Epiphanius was in contact ("the Romans, Phoenicians, Indians, and Persians").[52] In the *History of the Wise* of Ibn al-Qifti, a twelfth-century Arabic historian who discusses the history of the Library and its fate after the Arab conquest of Egypt, the tale of Ptolemaic bibliomania is again recounted, in terms that owe much to the Aristean *Letter.* No reference to the Hebrew holdings of the collection remains in this account of the Alexandrian archive, but by now the scope of the Ptolemaic collection has nevertheless swelled again, to include works not only of "India, Persia, and Babylonia," but also of the peoples (in fact unknown, of course, to the Alexandrians themselves) of "Jurjan" (Georgia) and "Arman" (Armenia).[53]

No term could better characterize the simultaneously altering and immutable object of the Alexandrian archive than the one that, at the time of the Library's foundation and growth, acquires a novel significance as a *terminus technicus* of philosophical parlance: "the world" (ὁ κόσμος). The concept lay at the center of Stoicism, the "School of the Porch" that flourished as never before in Alexandria and that, for this reason, could be defined, above all, as a doctrine of the world. For the ethical and political philosophy of the Stoa taught nothing if not that the multiplicity of peoples, "united among themselves in one society and commonality" (*quasi civili conciliatione et societate coniunctos*),[54] formed a single "great city" (μεγαλόπολις, *magna urbs*) ruled by a one law.[55] The Library, the crowning achievement of Ptolemaic Egypt, was the archive of this "megalopolis";

51. See Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata,* I, 22; Anatolius, *apud* Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica,* VII, 32, 17; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica,* VIII, 1; St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lect. Cath.,* IV, 34; Chrysostom, *Hom. super Matth.,* V, 2.

52. Epiphanius, 166 Bff.

53. Ibn al-Qifti, *History of the Wise Men,* cited in El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria,* pp. 168–69. On the Library of Alexandria in the Arabic literary tradition, see Pierre Casanova, "L'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie par les arabes," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1923* (Paris: A. Picard, 1923), pp. 163–71.

54. Cicero, *De nat. deor.,* II, 78, in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* ed. Hans von Arnim (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905), 3 vols., vol. 2, fr. 1127.

55. See ibid.; Philo, *Quaest. et solut. in Exodum* I, 1 (=von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* vol. 2, fr. 584).

and the form in which it collected works "from everywhere," arranged according to a single order, mirrored that of the Hellenistic "world," defined by the Stoics precisely as one organized "society [or republic] of all" (πολιτεία τοῦ παντός).[56] The cosmic Library could only be Alexandrian.

Pinacography

Novel in its size and scope, the Alexandrian collection demanded a new form of writing: a guide was needed for the registration, identification, and summary of the many rolls, Greek and barbarian, prose and verse, contained in the shelves of the Library. It was not long before one was invented. Shortly after the time of the constitution of the collection under the direction of Zenodotus, its first director, Callimachus, "both poet and scholar" (ποιητής ἅμα καὶ γραμματικήν), as Strabo calls him,[57] and perhaps the greatest of the Hellenistic literary figures, produced a work unlike any before it, which lies at the origin of the technologies of the catalogue, the bibliography, and the biobibliography: the *Pinakes*, literally "Tablets" or "Tables," which aimed to record the totality of classical letters in a summary abbreviation.

No trace remains of the complete *Pinakes*, and any understanding of their form and contents must, as a result, involve a certain work of reconstruction, based upon classical and medieval testimonia and ancient citations of the "Tables." Two medieval texts furnish us with information concerning the title and time of production of the *Pinakes*. The first can be found in a biographical entry of Suda, which may once have formed the introduction to an edition of Callimachus's poems. Here we read that Callimachus composed a work that bore the title *Tables of All Those Who Were Eminent in All Kinds of Literature and of Their Writings in One Hundred and Twenty Books* (Πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν, ἐν βιβλίοις κ ' καὶ ρ ').[58] The second, later, and less reliable account of the *Pinakes* is that of Tzetzes, who informs us that, after a thorough "critical revision" (ἀνόρθωσις) of the books in the Library, Callimachus made "Tables" of them.[59] Scattered remarks among classical sources, however, allow us to define the characteristic traits of the genre created by Callimachus; and here we may also make use of those fragments from the *Pinakes* transmitted in texts of later Greek and Roman authors.[60]

The "Tables" appear to have been divided into sections, defined by genre, and subsections, composed of lists of works of individual authors. Within each sec-

56. Dio Chrysost., *Or.* XXXVI, sec. 37 (=von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, vol. 2, fr. 1129).
57. Strabo, XVII, 3, 22.
58. See Suda, Καλλίμαχος (= Call. test. 1).
59. Tzetzes, in Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Frgamenta*, Pb. 19, section 20. On Tzetzes's remarks on the *Pinakes* and the various versions in which they are preserved, see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 127–28.
60. See Rudolf Blum's analysis of selected classical passages in which the text of the *Pinakes* is partially quoted (*Kallimachos*, pp. 152–54). On the principles of ordering that can be attributed to the *Pinakes* on the basis of the classical and medieval sources, see Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos*, pp. 46–98; Carl Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung, verglichen mit der des Vorderen Orients* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1949 [Hallenische Monographien, 3]), pp. 24–79; and Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 128–34.

tion, authors were classified alphabetically, and each entry included a short biographical sketch followed by the enumeration of the author's works, defined in turn by their opening words, their titles (where they had them: certain works of oratory and lyric poetry posed specific problems here),[61] and an estimate of the number of lines of which each work consisted (in στίχοι, if it was in prose, and in ἔπη, if it was in verse). Extant sources name as generic sections "oratory" (ῥητορικά), "laws" (νόμοι), and "other writings" (παντοδαπά συγγράμματα); but the references to the "Tables" among classical writers suggest that the Pinakes were also composed of classes including the works of epic, lyric, tragic, and comic poets, as well as the those of philosophers, historians, and physicians.[62] The form of such "Tables," to be sure, inevitably gave rise to certain technical difficulties: where, for example, to list an author such as Prodicus, who wrote on oratory and philosophical subjects, and where to place Theodectes, who was by all accounts "both rhetorician and tragedian" (ῥήτορικά καὶ τραγικός)? Yet despite these limitations, the "Tables," once composed, proved invaluable; and it was not long before Callimachus's work was transcribed and disseminated throughout the Hellenistic world. Supplements, such as the treatise "On [or Against: Πρός] the *Pinakes* of Callimachus"[63] by the later scholar, Aristophanes of Byzantium, only confirmed the indispensability of the original.

Hovering between the forms we would today call catalogue, biography, and bibliography, the "Tables" were what no other work before them had been: a single repertory of all literature, which at once introduced, identified, and summarized the totality of writing in the compressed and ordered space of the index. Its design was soon imitated: the "Tables" of the holdings at Pergamon, the anonymous "catalogue of Rhodes" of the first century B.C., and the collections of ancient biographies, from Hermippos of Smyrna to Diogenes Laertius, all follow in the wake of the Alexandrian *Pinakes* and would not have been possible without them.[64] The influence of Callimachus's "Tables," more broadly, has been traced not only through the Western Middle Ages, but even to the masterpiece of classical Islamic literature that is the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim, the tenth-century Iraqi belletrist, who defines his work in terms that strikingly recall the form and purpose of the Alexandrian "index": "this is a catalogue," al-Nadim writes, in his introduction, "of the books of all peoples, Arab and foreign, existing in the language of the Arabs, as well as of their scripts, dealing with various sciences, with accounts of those who composed them and the categories of their authors, together with their relationships and records of their times of birth, length of life, and times of death, and also the localities of their cities, their virtues and faults, from the beginning of the formation of each science to this our time, which is the year three hundred and seventy-seven after the Hijrah."[65]

61. See Blum's remarks on this subject, *Kallimachos*, p. 156.
62. See Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 128–29; Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos*, pp. 49–57.
63. The Greek title is ambiguous, as Pfeiffer has noted (*History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 133).
64. On post-Alexandrian forms of pinacography, see Blum, *Kallimachos*, pp. 182–225.
65. The *Fihrist of al-Nadim: A Tenth-Century Survey of Muslim Culture*, ed. and trans. Bayard Dodge, vol.

Like every technical advance in the forms of writing, the *Pinakes* marked a rupture in the tradition from which they emerged, and Callimachus's monumental and unprecedented attempt to conserve the past could not but alter it forever. The works listed in the 120 books of the "Tables" could be inscribed in the archive of "all kinds of literature" (πᾶσα παιδεία) only by being transcribed in a new form; they were transmitted in being transformed. "Pinacography," in short, did not leave that which it absorbed intact. In the moment in which it was recorded on the "Tablets" of the Callimachian index, each work was inevitably set in a new and foreshortened shape: indicated by a title that would henceforth name it, attributed to a figure from whose life it would now be said to spring, identified by an estimated number of lines that would establish its proper length, its text, finally, drastically reduced, *pars pro toto*, to the words of its *incipit*. The works registered in the *Pinakes* thus became, by necessity, what they had until then never been: figures, ciphers, mere names of themselves. Such was the price each work paid for its admission to that miniature archive within the Ptolemaic archive: it would be remembered only in being dismembered, placed in the history of letters in being extracted from the fabric of its production and summoned, as the emblem of itself, for future use. For the Alexandrian "Tables" were not a repetition of the past, but their summary recapitulation,[66] and, like the Library itself, the *Pinakes* conserved what went before them to the very degree that they destroyed it. Only in this form did the past of writing, contracted into the discontinuous continuity of the index, become at last "citable in all its moments."[67]

Fakes and Cheats

The *Pinakes* represented, in a characteristically abbreviated fashion, the complex relation to history that defined the very institution of the Library of Alexandria. Before being recorded on the "Tables" of the Alexandrian catalogue, the works gathered in the Ptolemaic collection had already, in many cases, suffered certain alterations; in its own "museum," past writing had acquired a new form, and within the walls of the Library the tradition of letters was already reproduced, refigured, and, at the limit, radically rewritten. For the archive in which "the writings of all peoples" were collected, ordered, and conserved was also the one in which those very writings, more or less perceptibly, more or less dramatically, were amended, distorted, and, in the most extreme cases, falsified. The era of the first textual scholarship, criticism, and bibliography was also, as Richard Bentley once recalled with severity, the age of innumerable, incorrigible, "Clumsie Cheats."[68]

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1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 1–2. On the *Pinakes* and *al-Fihrist*, see El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*, p. 102.

66. On the concept of recapitulation, see Giorgio Agamben, *Il tempo che resta: Un commento alla Lettera ai Romani* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2000), pp. 74–76.

67. Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974), p. 694.

68. Wagner, ed., *Bentley's Dissertations*, p. 79.

The "Cheats" of Alexandria were many, and of different types. Certain distortions in the Ptolemaic editions of texts were the inevitable and unintentional results of the principles that defined the organization of the collection. John Philoponus recounts that the very effort to classify and identify works allowed them to be mistaken for others; the homonymy of authors and the titles, he tells us, often led the librarians astray, as when they ascribed a number of works to Aristotle that the Stagirite himself never composed.[69] The causes of the falsification of texts, however, were often less benign. Olympidorus, Elias, and Ammonius all stress the profit that could be made at Alexandria from the forgery of works.[70] The acquisitive ambition of the Library inevitably inspired the avarice of the forger, for it produced and sustained a market for any works apparently penned by the great authors of classical antiquity. This, Ammonius suggests, in contrast to Philoponus, was the real reason for the erroneous Alexandrian attribution of works to Aristotle. His commentary to the *Categories* presents the matter as common knowledge:

> It is said that Philadephus, wanting to make a collection of all Aristotle's works, as well as all works in general, gave great encouragement to anyone who would bring him books by the philosopher. Some, wanting the money from the monarch, therefore attributed Aristotle's name to the writings of others.[71]

Modern scholars, in a similar vein, have noted that it is surely no accident that the large pseudo-Platonic corpus also emerges precisely at the time of the Library.[72] The prestige of the Alexandrian collection was at stake, and the Ptolemies could not forego the possibility of any advance over their rivals. "It was when the Attalids and the Ptolemies were in competition over their own libraries," Galen explains,

> that the recklessness [or "thoughtlessness," ῥαιδουργία] of forging books and titles began. For there were those who, to increase the price of their books, attached the names of great authors to them and then sold them to the nobility.[73]

Galen elsewhere suggests that this thoughtless accumulation of books at Alexandria was the result of competition with the Library of Pergamon;[74] Olympidorus, by contrast, cites the "king of Lebanon" as the great rival of the Ptolemies.[75] Yet although the classical sources differ in their specifications of the

69. Philoponus, *In Categ.* (CIAG xiii. 1), p. 7, cited in Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2, p. 482, n. 151, ii.
70. Olymp., *Proleg.* (CIAG xii, 1), p. 13; Philop. *In Categ.* (CIAG xiii, 1), p. 7; Elias, *In Categ.* (GIAG xviii, 1), p. 128, cited in Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2, pp. 481–82, n. 151.
71. Ammonius, *In Arist. Categ.* (Venice, 1546), 10.
72. Alfred Gudeman, "Literary Frauds Among the Greeks," in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1894), pp. 52–74, 62.
73. Galen, *Corpus medicorum Graecorum*, IX, 1, p. 57 (= Kühn XV, 109) (Greek text in Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2, p. 481, n. 150, ii.).
74. Galen, *CMG* V, 9, 1, pp. 54–5 (=Kühn XV, p. 105).
75. Olymp., *Proleg* (*CIAG* xii, I), p. 13. (in Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II, 481–2, n. 151, i.)

cause of the Alexandrian acquisitiveness, they concur in identifying its effects: by virtue of the very structure of its institution, they make clear, the Library of Alexandria facilitated the falsification of the tradition it aimed to conserve.

The destructive force of the Museum was so clear to those who lived at the time and in the aftermath of the Library that Galen, in a striking assertion, was able to locate the very origins of forgery and faulty attribution as such in the archives of Alexandria and its rival at Pergamon: "Before the monarchs of Alexandria and Pergamon began competing in their own collections of ancient books," he writes, in decisive terms, "no work had ever been falsely attributed" (πρὶν γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαν τε καὶ Περγάμωι γενέσθαι βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ κτήσει παλαιῶν βιβλίων φιλοτιμηθέντας, οὐδέπω ψευδῶς ἐπεγέραπτο σύγγραμμα).[76] Scholars have long treated Galen's claim as a simple error: "Which assertion," Bentley comments, "taken strictly and without a candid allowance, is strictly false";[77] in the most important modern work on the Museum, Ptolemaic Alexandria, P. M. Fraser limits himself to noting that Galen's remark is "wrong."[78] It is doubtless true that examples are not lacking of pseudepigraphy and contested attributions long before Alexandria: debates over authorship and its falsification are as old as Greek literature itself, and the definition of the Homeric corpus, the first in the tradition, is already the subject of a clear difference of opinion between Herodotus and Pindar.[79] It is difficult to imagine that Galen, whose own work took the form of textual commentary achieved through careful comparison between editions of the Hippocratic text, was simply ignorant of the notable history of forgery in the classical world. His words are perhaps mistaken if they are understood too literally. They define less the particular place and time of the invention of falsification than the structural conditions of its occurrence. These conditions, Galen makes clear, are none other than those of the archive itself: works may be falsified only when they are copied, and their transcription and reproduction constitute the sole occasions for their forgery. The Library made it possible to betray the past in the very gesture by which it aimed to remain faithful to it, and—with the most implacable inevitability—it exposed its own texts to the chance of being ruined the moment it acquired them.

The Conflagration

In the history of the Alexandrian Library, every break with the past, every rupture in the transmission of texts, anticipates the final catastrophe of tradition that already in the ancient world invariably accompanied any account of the Ptolemaic

76. *Commen in Hipp. De Nat. Homin.* i 44 (*CMG*, IX, 1, p. 55=Kühn XV, 105).
77. Wagner, ed., *Bentley's Dissertations*, p. 82.
78. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1, p. 325.
79. Bentley (Wagner, ed., *Bentley's Dissertations*, p. 82) remarks that Herodotus denies that "Cypria" is Homer's (II, c. 117), whereas Pindar claims it is (fr. 189). On literary forgery in classical Greece and the ancient world more generally, see Wolfgang Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, Erste Ableitung, Zweiter Teil* (Munich: Beck, 1971); Eduard Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig-Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1912, rpt. Zürich: G. O. Olms, 1990); Hermann Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst:*

institution: the fire that, in one stroke, consumed the monument to classical learning. It is, of course, this "disaster" that Gibbon is reluctant even to name in the body of his *History* and that he relegates instead to a footnote, where he remarks in passing, with a tone of apodictic and emphatic certainty: "The *old* library of the Ptolemies was *totally* consumed in Caesar's Alexandrian war."[80] And yet in the history of this archive, in which tradition and its loss can rarely be told apart, even the tale of final destruction is difficult to establish with any certainty; there is reason to believe that it, too, may well be something of a falsification, itself the perfect example of the breach of tradition the archive both sought to remedy and exacerbated.

Caesar relates in a passage of Cicero's *Bellum Civile* how he intervened in an Egyptian political struggle in 47/48 A.D., siding with Cleopatra against her younger brother, Ptolemy XIII. Once in Africa, he soon found himself, we read, in a difficult position: at land his troops had no access to drinking water, and at sea his ships were outnumbered. He presents his strategic solution to the problem, in the third person, with great pride:

> The battle was fought out with such violence as is the case when one side sees in it a speedy victory, the other that its only salvation depended on it. But Caesar retained the upper hand, and set fire to all those ships and to those that lay in the dockyards; for with his small fleet he could not hope to safeguard so wide an area. He then immediately landed his troops on the island of Pharos.[81]

In the *Pharsalia*, Lucan, a contemporary, offers a fuller account of the fire: "it did not fall upon the ships only," he writes, "but spread into the other quarters of the city. . . . The buildings close to the sea caught fire; the wind leant force to the powers of disaster; the flames . . . ran over the roofs like meteors through the sky."[82] Seneca, who died in 65 A.D., reports (basing himself on a text of Livy's now lost to us) that the rolls of the archive could not be saved: "forty thousand of the books of Alexandria," he tells us, "burned" (*quadrigenta milia librorum Alexandriae arserunt*).[83] At the end of the first century, Plutarch writes of the same event and identifies it as the immediate cause of the destruction of the Library itself: "When the enemy tried to cut off his [Caesar's] fleet," he writes, "he was forced to repel the danger by using fire, and this spread from the dockyards and destroyed the great library [ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην

Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im Klassischen Altertum (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1911); Kurt von Fritz, ed., *Pseudepigrapha I: Pseudepigrapha, Lettres de Platon, Littérature pseudépigraphique juive, Entretiens Hardt 18* (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1972); and Norbert Brox, *Falsche Verfasserangaben: Zur Erklärung der frühchristlichen Pseudepigraphie* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975 [Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, 79).

80. Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 9, ch. 51. Gibbon's italics.
81. Cicero, *Bellum Civile*, III, 111.
82. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, X, 440ff; 486–505.
83. Seneca, *De Animi tranquilitate*, IX, 5. There is some debate as to the numerical figure itself, as the manuscript reads *quadraginta* (forty thousand), but later sources, such as Orosius, imply that it was perhaps originally *quadringenta* (four hundred thousand). See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 2, p. 484, n. 224.

βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον διέφθειρε]."[84] The account of the fire is repeated, its consequences rendered even greater, among later sources: in the second century Aulus Gellius thus reports that almost "seven hundred thousand rolls burned in the sack of the city in our first war in Alexandria";[85] Dio Cassius, in the third century, writes that the fire "reduced to ashes . . . the storehouses of grain and of books [τάς ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βιβλίων]";[86] Ammianus Marcellinus refers in the fourth century to "the burning down of a priceless library of seven hundred thousand books during the Alexandrian war";[87] and Orosius in the fifth century speaks of the burning of "four hundred thousand books."[88] From the "burning of forty thousand books" to the fire in the "storehouses," the destruction of the "great Library" and its entire collection of "seven hundred thousand books," the tale of the disaster of the archive is not only echoed, but retold and amplified in its gravity.

If one examines the sources carefully, however, a number of questions remain. Many witnesses of the period discuss the war as well as the fire, yet refrain from even mentioning the destruction of the Library: in his history of Rome, Florus thus recalls Caesar's use of fire, but not its effects on the Museum,[89] and in Appian of Alexandria's own *Civil Wars* we read of the "various battles around the palace" but nothing of flames that destroyed the archive.[90] Such silence about the annihilation of the greatest library of the ancient world is, at the very least, curious. It has been noted, moreover, that Seneca, Dio, Gellius, and Orosius, who do discuss the effects of the fire on the collection, speak of the burning not of the Library but simply its "rolls";[91] and it has also been pointed out that the destruction of the collection's "storehouses" (ἀποθήκαι) does not necessarily imply that of the archive itself.[92] It seems a fair supposition that the integral destruction of the Ptolemaic collection would have meant the end of Alexandrian scholarship; but the tradition of textual criticism in the Museum continued well after the time of the civil war, and the contributions of later scholars (such as Didymus, Tryphon, and Theon) are such that Fraser has written that "it would be wrong to attribute to the fire any decisive importance in the history of Alexandrian scholarship."[93] Strabo's invaluable description of the "men of learning" in the Ptolemaic center is, in its own way, itself a powerful testament to the absence of any catastrophe in 47/48: it reflects a visit to the Museum that took place less than a quarter of a century after the battle between Caesar and

84. Plutarch, *Caes.* 49.
85. Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, VII, 17, 3.
86. Dio Cass., 42, 38, 2.
87. Amm. Marc. XXII, 16, 13.
88. Oros., VI, 15, 31–32.
89. Luc. Ann. Florus, *Epitome bellorum omnium annorum,* II, 13.
90. Appian of Alexandria, 'Emfulivwn, II, 13, 90.
91. Canfora, *La biblioteca scomparsa,* p. 147. Plutarch, Canfora notes, is alone in his assertion that it is the "great library" itself that is consumed.
92. On the history of reflection on the Alexandrian ἀποθήκαι, their precise location, and their relation to the Library itself, see Canfora, *La biblioteca scomparsa,* pp. 140–41.
93. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* vol. 1, p. 335.

Ptolemy XIII, and it makes no mention of any loss recently suffered by the Alexandrian center.

Many modern scholars have for these reasons been led to a conclusion that, at first glance, could not be more surprising: the Library, it has been suggested, did not burn. Alongside those classicists (from Gibbon to Mommsen, Susemihl, and El-Abbadi) who maintain that the archive was utterly destroyed in the fire of the civil war, there is by now a substantial tradition of scholars (from Ritschl to Parthey, Pasquali, and Canfora) who deny that the Library could have been seriously affected by the flames from the harbor.[94] In a discrete, pointed, and altogether exemplary article, Bertrand Hemmerdinger furnishes powerful evidence for the survival of the Library well beyond Caesar's mythical flames.[95] The literary evidence for its afterlife, he recalls, is strong: Strabo remains silent about the fire in his report on the Museum twenty-two years after the war; Suetonius, born ca. 69 A.D., bears witness to the existence of the Alexandriae Musio under the reign of Claudius (41–54 A.D.);[96] and *Suda* makes references to a member of the Museum in the time of Theodosius I, who died in 395.[97] Hemmerdinger also cites the publication in 1948 of a nonliterary document of singular weight, an Oxyrhynchus papyrus recording the sale of a boat on March 31, 173 A.D. It is addressed to none other than a certain "Valerius Diodorus, vice-Librarian, member of the Museum" (Οὐαλερίῳ Διοδώρῳ, γενομένῳ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ, ἀπὸ Μουσείου, καὶ ὡς χρηματίζεις).[98] Any number of events, Hemmerdinger notes, could have ultimately caused the destruction of the Alexandrian Library: given that the reign of Theodosius marked the beginning of the exposure of the city to vandalism, the possibilities are many. The only one to be excluded, on both documentary and literary bases, is that of the great "disaster" that is too well known to be "recapitulated," "the involuntary flame that was kindled by Caesar in his own defense."[99]

One might be tempted to suggest that, had there not been a fire to consume the Library, one would have had to be invented: What fate, after all, could await the universal archive other than its destruction? Real or imagined, the conflagration remains the supreme emblem of the Alexandrian archive itself, which sheltered the works of the past in exposing them to disaster, constituting and conserving its history in threatening it with its own destruction. For the very life of the Library, like that of the fire, was to nourish itself on what it consumed, to allow writing to live in outliving itself,

94. See Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidman, 1854–56); Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1891-92); El-Abbadi, *The Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*; cf., for the opposing view, Friedrich Ritschl, *Die alexandrinischen Bibliotheken*; Parthey, *Das alexandrinische Museum*; Pasquali, "Biblioteca"; Canfora, *La biblioteca scomparsa*.

95. Bertrand Hemmerdinger, "Que César n'a pas brulé la bibliothèque d'Alexandre," *Bollettino dei classici* 3, no. 6 (1985), pp. 76–77.

96. Suetonius, *Claudius*, 42, 5.

97. See Suidas, "Θέων."

98. Hemmerdinger, p. 76 (the papyrus in question, published by Sir Harold Idris Bell, is *P. Merton* 19). Hemmerdinger also notes that this "Diodorus" is discussed in another Oxyrhynchus papyrus, P. Oxy. 2192.

99. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Womersely, vol. 5–6, p. 285.

bearing witness, in this way, to the catastrophe of the past in the present, the destruction of a tradition grown as "totally, eternally transient"[100] as nature itself.

Philology

The Library of Alexandria, in any case, did not vanish without a trace. It left behind it the art both invented and perfected within the walls of the Museum, which was, many centuries later, to lay claim to the title of the master discipline of the humanities as a whole. Philology is, in every sense, the final legacy of the Ptolemaic archive. This is so not only in that it was in Alexandria that the term "philologist" (φιλόλογος), alongside "critic" (κριτικός) and "grammarian" (γραμματικός), first acquired a technical sense that approaches that of its modern equivalent,[101] nor only in that it was the "men of learning" of the Museum who created, developed, and refined so many of the techniques of *emendatio* and *coniectura* that would one day be central to the critical activities of the Humanists and, still later, to the constitution of the modern academic scholarly disciplines of literature in the wake of the scientific methods of Lachmann and Bédier.[102] The Alexandrian inheritance of criticism runs deeper. For philology, before constituting a means of inquiry or even a discipline unto itself, delimits the space of a singular experience of which the Library is, even today, perhaps the most powerful figure: the experience of history as catastrophe.

Philology, which today occupies a position among the historical disciplines that is often spectral at best, knows only one concept of the past, and that is a past that is essentially suspect, distorted, and, in the final analysis, corrupt. There could be no philology were tradition not broken, no field of textual interpretation, criticism, and study were the transmission of texts not already obscure, altered, and interrupted: the immediacy and transparency of understanding would forbid the constitution of a discipline of the study of the language of the past. Philology nourishes itself on the erosion of history; it erects itself over the grave of that which it recovers, dwelling, with necrophilic enthusiasm, on everything in its past that has grown opaque and can no longer present itself as it once was. Hence the assiduity with which criticism, since its emergence in Alexandria, dedicates itself to the identification and definition of the forms of textual corruption. For the falsification that the philologist takes it upon himself to identify is the very cipher of a past that is no longer itself. It is significant that the technical lexicon of which the critic makes use is above all one of fraud: from the

100. Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Tiedemann and Schweppenhäuser, vol. 2, pt. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), p. 204.

101. On the semantic history of the terms φιλοωλογός, φιλολογία, and φιλολογεῖν, see Gabriel R.F.M. Nuchelmans, *Studien über* φιλοωλογός, φιλολογία, *und* φιλολογεῖν (Nijmegen: N. V. Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1950); Heinrich Kuch, *FILOLOGOS: Untersuchungen eines Wortes von seinem ersten Auftreten in der Tradition bis zur ersten überlieferten lexikalischen Festlegung, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 48 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965); and Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship*, pp. 156–160.

102. See Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Genesi del metodo di Lachmann* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1963); cf. the "critical history" of the subject by Bernard Cerquiglini, *L'éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989).

general rubrics of "faulty attribution" (ψευδεπίγραφα) and "plagiarism" (κλοπή or λογοκλοπία), to the many forms of "interpolation," "contamination," and "unconscious borrowings," to "illegitimacies" (νόθος, a *terminus technicus* for a counterfeit work, means literally "bastard," in distinction to γενήσιος, "legitimately born"), and all manner of textual "inauthenticities," both certain (ἀθετεῖν, ὀθετεῖν, ὀβελίζειν, κατ-αψεύδεσθαι) and suspected (ὑποπτεύειν, ἀντιλέγειν, ἀναφέρειν, φέρειν, ἐπισφέρειν, ἀμφιδοζεῖν, ἀμφιβάλλεσθαι).[103] If the philologist is indeed, as Anthony Grafton has suggested, "entangled with the forger like Laocoon and his serpents,"[104] then it is because he can vindicate the past as his object to the very degree to which he can demonstrate its "monstrosity"; he may speak of the tradition that precedes him only in exposing its corruption.

The past that a philologist seeks to restore, therefore, is one that is lost from the outset. The very protocols of textual criticism assure that it could not be otherwise. Any edition has as its condition of legitimacy that the text it presents, if it has not yet appeared in print, be hitherto inaccessible and yet in need of publication; it must consist of a work that only a break in the transmission of texts has until then concealed. If the critical edition is but the latest in a series, it must, by contrast, presuppose that all preceding ones be, more or less, for one reason or another, inadequate; a new edition, as the scholar and the publisher know well, is justified only as long as it takes the place not of the text itself, but of its most recent distortion. The apparatus of the critical edition takes the faults of its predecessor as its own point of departure; its very edifice is constructed on the destruction of the one that went before it, without which it would itself be nothing. Despite the role that it has often been assigned and that it has itself at times adopted, philology is thus in no sense the handmaiden of tradition and the guarantor of an unbroken patrimony, whether linguistic, cultural, or national: it cannot assure the continuity of a history except by breaking it. Not without reason has criticism been defined precisely as "the mortification of works":[105] philology may speak of its subject matter only once it has registered its very loss, and it can give itself its object only on condition of having destroyed it first.

Considering the origins of literary scholarship in Alexandria, Nietzsche, reflecting on the discipline that had once been his, made the following remark, which he placed, with a number of other notes of 1875, under the unmistakably ironic heading "We Philologists": "Reverence for classical antiquity . . . is an enormous example of quixoticism; and that is philology at its best. . . ." "One imitates something that is purely chimerical," Nietzsche wrote, "and one chases after a wonderland that never existed" (*Man ahmt etwas rein Chimärisches nach, und läuft einer Wunderwelt hinterdrein, die*

103. See Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum*; Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur*; Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst*; von Fritz, ed., *Pseudepigrapha I*; Brox, *Falsche Verfasserangaben*; and, for a useful overview, Mario Untersteiner, *Problemi di filologia filosofica*, ed. L. Sichirollo and M. Venturi Ferriolo (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1980), pp. 109–37.

104. Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 6.

105. Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Tiedemann and Schweppenhäuser, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1974), p. 357.

nie existiert hat).[106] No words could better characterize the singular object of philological activity, whose absence and evanescence must be secured to be studied at all. The history that moves the scholar to his insensate passion is precisely the one that would not exist without him, a "wonderland" (*Wunderwelt*) that must in each case be summoned anew by the efforts of historical and critical construction. It is difficult not to hear the tone of disdain that here accompanies the identification of this search for a world "that never existed," which becomes quite explicit only a few sentences later, as Nietzsche specifies that the essential "quixoticism" of philology dooms it to an "imitation" (*Nachahmung*) that can produce nothing: "a culture that chases after that of the Greeks," we read, "can adopt customs, thoughts, and so forth through imitation, but it cannot *engender* anything [*sie kann nichts* erzeugen]."[107] The philosopher's condemnation of the "fantastical" philologist is clear, and in the end Nietzsche's remark is not altogether unlike that of the Pigeon who, "in a tone of the deepest contempt," demands explanations from that other traveler in wonderland, Alice, for her obstinate attachment to make-believe: "'Well! What are you?' said the Pigeon. 'I can see you're trying to invent something!'"[108]

Here, however, Nietzsche seems to misinterpret his own insight. For the pursuit of the chimerical, by definition, cannot be a matter of "imitation": where the original is a world "that never existed," there is nothing to copy, and the philosopher's denunciations of the sterility of reproduction touch the philologist as little as the Pigeon's exclamations halt Alice on her voyage through wonderland. Rejecting the false alternative of a choice between the noble but unattainable origin and the base but facile simulacrum, the good philologist follows the principle once expressed by Karl Kraus in the maxim that "origin is the goal" (*Ursprung ist das Ziel*), conscious at all times that the "origin" is not the presupposition of his work but its sole and final product. He is not the dutiful scribe who records what has been said but the critic who "reads what was never written" and who knows, like Alice, that he has "invented" not only something but everything, leaping into the past that never was just as the fearless little girl pops down the rabbithole "without once considering how in the world she was to get out again."[109] For only in such a leap does historical scholarship establish a relation to the past that is neither forgetful nor conservative, neither simply oblivious nor merely restorative. And only in such a leap does philology, saving the past in destroying it, succeed in the task that the archivists of Alexandria left as their legacy to criticism: not to "increase the burden of the treasures piled upon the back of humanity," but to "shake them off," so that they may fall at last into its own hands.[110]

106. Friedrich Nietzsche, "Wir Philologen" 7[1], in *Sämtliche Werke: Kritische Studienausgabe*, ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, vol. 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter-Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, p. 121.
107. Ibid. Italics in original.
108. Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass and What Alice Found There*, ed. Roger Lancelyn-Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 48.
109. Ibid., p. 10.
110. Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Tiedemann and Schweppenhäuser, vol. 2, pt. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1977), p. 478.



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THE MAINTENANCE OF ANCIENT GREEK PUBLIC LIBRARIES

A recently published inscription (Louis Robert, *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*, LIX [1935] 421–25), presumably from the island of Cos, and dating *ca.* 200–175 B.C., has perhaps sufficient general interest for librarians to deserve a brief note. It runs:

"The following subscribed to the library: Diokles the son of Apollodoros and Apollodoros the son of Diokles [that is, father and son] subscribed the library [building] and 100 books. Hekataios the son of Simias 200 drachmas. [. . . .] mos the son of Epigeris 200 drachmas and 100 books"; and then some eight or nine other persons are listed (before the stone breaks off), who severally contributed either 200 drachmas, or that sum in addition to 100 books.

The uniformity of the amounts contributed suggests that we have here what was equivalent to a kind of voluntary levy (known as the *Epidosis*) upon certain of the richer citizens, divided into three classes according to their assessed wealth. The institution of the *Epidosis* was widespread in Greece, but its details known best, of course, from Athens. Here the state might open a subscription list at a meeting of the popular assembly, often with a fixed maximum and minimum, although larger gifts were gladly accepted. Subscriptions could be received immediately, or made afterward to the Senate or the Board of Generals. The list was then engraved upon a tablet, accompanied with expressions of gratitude, and, in the case of foreigners who had made considerable contributions, there might even be the award of honorary citizenship.

Small portions of a similar inscription from the same period in the neighboring island of Rhodes have also been preserved. The following fragmentary words and phrases of the preamble show the general drift clearly enough: "according to the decree of the folk. . . . . let them make them [the subscriptions, presumably] to the officials. . . . . whoever intend to contribute [books?] . . . . let them record [the names?] . . . . for the library." Then follow in larger letters: ". . . . on the 8th of Panamos . . . . [have contributed?] to the library . . . . there being many who . . . . that, therefore, there may be many. . . . ."; after

which comes a list of men and women, no doubt the contributors, honored by this public acknowledgment.

Interesting fragments of a book catalog (dating from the early years of Cicero, when Rhodes was the great center of instruction in rhetoric), perhaps from the same library, have also been preserved in a separate record. From the predominantly rhetorical character of the titles one might conjecture that it was a list of books from the library of a rhetorician, and that the donor (either the original owner, or his executor) had been honored by the same kind of official recognition. Similar is the list of books, this time mostly of a philosophic character, from the third century A.D., published by U. Wilcken in his *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Vol. I, Part 2, No. 155.

In default of other testimony regarding the maintenance of public libraries in classical antiquity, it might very well be that the institution of organized subscriptions just described was not uncommon, inasmuch as it harmonizes with other closely related methods for supporting community enterprises.

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ARISTOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM ON THE PINAKES OF CALLIMACHUS

W. J. SLATER

THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER is to illustrate some of the problems of cataloguing faced by the great Alexandrian scholars, the methods they used to solve them, the strife to which those methods gave rise; and most important the difficulties facing those who try to interpret the remaining evidence and find consistent pictures in it. If the reader is not convinced by the thesis in the following pages, at least he will be warned not to accept the testimony of grammarians at face value. It is not unusual even in these days to find that one grammarian cannot accurately summarize the views of another, when he is bent on refuting him, and in antiquity the problem was much worse.

Photius *Lex.* 32.12 εὐθὺ Λυκείου τὸ εἰς Λύκειον· ὅθεν Ἐρατοσθένης (fr. 46 Str. = XL Bern.) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑποπτεύει τοὺς Μεταλλεῖς (Pherecr. 110K = 2, p. 306M) καὶ Εὐριπίδης οὐκ ὀρθῶς (*Hipp.* 1198) τὴν εὐθὺς Ἄργους κἀπιδαυρίας ὁδόν. The gloss comes originally from a Plato Lexicon,[1] cf. *Lex. Tim.* p. 71R, to which has been appended (ὅθεν . . .) a learned note, which summarizes a grammatical argument not stated. Meineke (*Quaest. Sc.* 2.33) read εὐθύς since εὐθύ + gen. would not call for comment, whereas εὐθύς + gen. was considered a solecism by the grammarians; since the manuscripts of Plato *Lysis* 203a still have mostly εὐθύς, Meineke will be right against Naber. That Kock, and Rutherford, who wishes we had the rest of the line, (*The New Phrynichus* p. 223), seem to think that the opening words of the *Lysis* are a comic fragment, is an odd oversight, since Ruhnken had already shown the provenance of the Timaeus gloss.

Harpocration 126, 23B: μεταλλεῖς . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ δρᾶμα Φερεκράτους Μεταλλεῖς, ὅπερ Νικόμαχόν φησι πεποιῆσθαι Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν ζ′ περὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας (fr. 93 Str. = XXXIX Bern.). So too it was probably Eratosthenes who attributed the *Cheiron* to Nikomachos (Ath. 8. 364a). Scholars have rightly combined these two glosses, and deduced that one of the reasons why Eratosthenes took away the *Metalleis* from the ἀττικώτατος Pherecrates[2] was that he had there found an offense against

[1] So L. Cohn, "Platon-Scholien," *Jb.f.Kl.Phil.*, Suppl. 13 (1884) 795; but Dr K. Alpers tells me that Georg Wentzel in his unpublished notes did not agree.

[2] Therein following the precept concerning determination of authenticity as formulated by Schol.Dion.Thrax 472, 3H: κρίνει δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὀρῶν εἰς τὴν λέξιν, εἰ συνήθης ἐστὶ τῷ ποιητῇ . . . .

We may incidentally deduce that for many dramas there existed no documentary evidence of authenticity in the Alexandrian library, when a scholar with the historical expertise of Eratosthenes was reduced to dubious linguistic rules in the determination

PHOENIX, Vol. 30 (1976) 3.

the grammatical canons concerning εὐθύς, εὐθύ, εὐθέως; in this case, if Photius' source is to be trusted, the *Metalleis* had εὐθύς + gen. used of direction, when εὐθύ + gen. was held to be the correct form despite Euripides, though it is possible that Euripides was cited by a later authority as an exception to the normative canon.[3]

So far the picture is deceptively clear. Now comes the evidence reconstructed on the basis of *cod. Par. supp. gr.* 1238 by Prof. Nickau[4] (I omit the very complex apparatus): εὐθὺς καὶ εὐθὺ καὶ εὐθέως διαφέρουσιν. εὐθὺς μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κανών, εὐθὺ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἀντὶ τοῦ κατ' εὐθεῖαν τοῦ γυμνασίου, ἢ εὐθὺ τὸ κανόνιον. τὸ δ' εὐθέως ἀντὶ τοῦ χρονικοῦ ἐπιρρήματος. ὁ οὖν ἐναλλάσσων ἁμαρτάνει, καθὰ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Δυσκόλῳ (50.52)·

τί φής; ἰδὼν ἐνθένδε παῖδ' ἐλευθέραν
ἐρῶν ἀπῆλθες εὐθύς; ⟨εὐθύς;⟩ ὡς ταχύ.

καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς Πίνακας Καλλιμάχου περὶ Ἀντιφάνους διαστέλλει τὴν λέξιν. τινας μέντοι τῶν ἀρχαίων φησὶ καὶ τῷ εὐθὺς ἀντὶ χρονικοῦ κεχρῆσθαι. φησὶ γοῦν κατὰ λέξιν· "δεῖ δὲ τὸ μὲν εὐθὺ λέγειν ἐπί τινος εὐθέος, οἷον ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ θῆλυ τὸ ὄνομα "ἡ εὐθεῖα ὁδός," "ἡ εὐθεῖα βακτηρία," ἐὰν δὲ ἄρσεν "εὐθὺς ὁ κανών," ἐὰν δὲ τὸ οὐδέτερον καλούμενον "εὐθὺ τὸ ξύλον." οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι ἐνίοτε τὸ εὐθὺ ἐτίθεσαν τὸ ἐφ' ὁδοῦ τῆς τεινούσης ἐπί τινα τόπον· εὐθὺ τῆς στοᾶς (cf. *FCG* 4 p. 601 M.), "εὐθὺ τῶν ἀρωμάτων" (Eupolis 2 p. 550 M., fr. 304, 2K. = Edm.). τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, οἷον

γήμαντος αὐτοῦ δ' εὐθὺς ἔσομ' ἐλεύθερος

(*FCG* 4 p. 601 M., *com. fr. ad.* 582 K. = Edm.), καὶ

ὡς τοῦτ⟨ο δ⟩' εἶδεν, εὐθὺς ἦν τἄνω κάτω

(*ibid.* M., *com. fr. ad.* 583 K. = Edm.)." Ammonius[5] here, with some initial confusion of his own, gives his opinion that εὐθύς and εὐθέως are not to be confused: A. εὐθύς, εὐθύ are adjectives but εὐθύ + gen. of direction is in order; B. εὐθέως is used for the adverb of time, and εὐθύς as adverb of

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of authorship. In view of the little we know about the cataloguing procedures, we are entitled to suspect that it was much less scientific than we are normally led to believe.

[3]Cf. Barrett's explanation *ad loc.*, though we must reckon with the likelihood that exceptions to the doctrinaire rules have been emended away in our MSS.

[4]The text as here quoted is that reconstructed by Prof. K. Nickau in *Rh M* 110 (1967) 348–349. It supersedes the text of gloss 202 in his valuable edition of Ammonius, Leipzig 1966.

[5]What we call Ammonius is a compilation of essentially similar works by Ammonius, Erannius or Herennius Philo, and Ptolemaios of Askalon, which exists in various MSS. under these names and in different editions. I do not believe that gloss 202 can be assigned to any particular scholar. Note the use of κατὰ λέξιν: since the authority for the quotations is missing, we must assume a certain epitomization here, since it seems to have been the habit of Aristophanes always to give the source of his quotes.

time is a solecism, as it is in Menander. Then he paraphrases Aristophanes of Byzantium for the following view: (a) yet some of the ancients used also εὐθύς (v. l. εὐθέως) ἀντὶ χρονικοῦ, and he quotes him, (b) εὐθύ (i.e., εὐθύς, -εῖα, -ύ) is a declinable adjective, (c) some of the ancients used εὐθύ + gen. of direction, (d) εὐθύ is not used of time, but εὐθύς ⟨and we have to suppose εὐθέως⟩.

Ammonius' gloss is structured, like a few others, notably 226 Nickau, as rule, quotation of authors offending against rule, διαστολή of a previous grammarian. This gloss differs in that the cited grammarian (a) not only allows exceptions to the rule but (d) flatly contradicts it. In addition the rule that εὐθύς is never to be used meaning εὐθέως is so opposed to the facts that we are not surprised to learn that no other grammarian repeats it. What Ammonius does not say here—though in gl. 204 he has it right—is what all our other sources insist on, that εὐθύ is used of place while εὐθύς is used of time, which is what Aristophanes says. Out of Aristophanes' statement (d) εὐθύ is not used of time but εὐθύς, Ammonius has created the statement (a) some of the ancients use εὐθύς of time; and the rule (b) that εὐθύς should never be used of time. This does not make sense, and though Ammonius is often too doctrinaire, I do not believe he produced either the rule or the argumentation (a) because the rule is so patently at variance with facts: (b) because no other grammarian gives this rule: (c) because the grammarian he cites flatly contradicts his rule, and this happens nowhere else in Ammonius: (d) because the statement that εὐθύ is not to be used of time is in his source, but missing in his rule. Valckenaer[6] tried to solve the difficulty by emending the text of Menander to suggest that Ammonius was condemning εὐθύς + gen. of place; but the papyrus of the *Dyskolos* is against this. We either have to accept the nonsense as we have it, or attempt to fit it into a larger and more sensible framework.

The normal doctrine is a simple one. The only correct usages are εὐθύς or εὐθέως of time and εὐθύ + gen. of place; εὐθύ of time (and εὐθύς of place) are wrong, or to be precise are not found. This doctrine of the atticists was already known to Eratosthenes, who used it as *Atticismi accuratus observator*[7] to suspect the authenticity of certain plays. In an unfortunately confused passage he is said to have spoken of *pseudattici*, i.e., those

[6]Ammonius, *De differentia adfinium vocabulorum* (Leipzig 1822) *Animadversiones* p. 70 = p. 90 of the original edition.

[7]The phrase is that of Carl Strecker, *De Lycophrone, Euphronio, Eratosthene comicorum interpretibus* (diss. Greifswald 1884), which is still the main work on Eratosthenes' non-scientific achievements. Though Wilamowitz (*Lysistrate* p. 1) praises the work—Strecker was his pupil—my own view is that most of the attributions are scarcely justifiable, and like his later work on Erotian take too simple a view of the complexity of Alexandrian scholarship.

who smuggled improper attic usages into texts,[8] and we are justified in thinking of him as one of the first atticists. It then appears that Aristophanes felt compelled to define in detail the use of the word εὐθύς in his discussion of the catalogues of Callimachus in regard to the comic poet Antiphanes. In our miserable remnants of that poet there is an example of εὐθύς that could suggest difficulty,[9] and there seems to have been question in antiquity concerning at least one of the dramas attributed to him (Athen. 9.409d). The resulting doctrine then passed into the later atticists as dogma.

The doctrine is wrong, and there are other factors that arouse suspicion, though none of them is absolute evidence, that Aristophanes did not mean what Ammonius says.

1. We would have to believe that Eratosthenes set up the false atticist doctrine in criticizing the cataloguing of Callimachus, and then that his successor Aristophanes came along and defined in detail exactly[10] the same doctrine in criticizing the same catalogues.

2. Whereas we have no evidence of doctrinaire atticism on the part of Aristophanes except for this one fragment, which is reported by a doctrinaire atticist, we have a large amount of evidence that he attacked such linguistic dogmatism. In particular the *Concerning Suspected Words* indicates that he was in the habit of dredging up grammatical and morphological oddities,[11] and proving that words occurred in senses that had been suspected (as unattic?) by his predecessors. In short, this work was

[8]Schol.Ar.*Ranae* 1263 = fr.149 Str. The term became a favourite insult among grammarians, and is explained by, e.g., Phrynichus *Ecl.* gl.41, 54 Fischer.

[9]Fragment 166, 4K = *CAF* 2, 79 from the *Neaniskoi*, where the intrusive εὐθύς in line 3 can be explained as a gloss or correction of εὐθύς (originally εὐθύ ?) in line 4. The metre allows both, but if εὐθύ was the original reading, whether Antiphanes wrote it or not, then we should have an example of εὐθύ temporally used. This seems to be a use that becomes commoner in Hellenistic times. The atticist rules, like most others, were designed to prevent writers doing what came naturally to Hellenistic Greeks. If fr. 166 is not the one dealt with by Aristophanes, we should have to give Antiphanes a new fragment εὐθύ. At Euripides fr. 1040 N² Lobeck read εὐθύ because of Porson's Law.

[10]I am assuming that if Eratosthenes said that εὐθύς of place was wrong, he also said that εὐθύ of time was wrong, since he would be discussing the difference between them.

[11]Nickau, *RhM* 110 (1967) 347 note → Latte, *Hermes* 50 (1915) 373 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* (Munich 1968) 612 ff. Lossau, *Untersuchungen zur antiken Demosthenesexegese* (Palingenesia 2, Berlin 1964) 97 manages to get wrong every single fact. There are not 21 glosses but 36; and Homer is practically not noticed. Aristophanes wrote γόμος not γόμφος. Lossau's arguments are as odd as his facts. Pfeiffer makes a division of the glossary into two parts (*History of Classical Scholarship* [1968] 199): I cannot find evidence for this. Pfeiffer further propagates the notion that it was part of a larger work called Λέξεις. This is a common error, but there was no such work. The title of the Paris epitome ἐκ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους περὶ λέξεων διαλαβόντος is due to the epitomator, who suppressed the titles of the three works he abbreviated.

a polemical *anagraphe*,[12] and we find, even in the mutilated epitome of it that we have, sufficient evidence of such a tendency, e.g., the accusation of ἄγνοια[13] and the criticism of Megakleides for too strict a definition of the word Ἀθηναία.[14] But we would have to believe that in this one instance he accepted at length a similar overly strict doctrine, that was false.

3. In the whole of ancient lexicography there is only one place where the standard doctrine is contradicted, viz., in the corrupt pamphlet which Ruhnken called the *Antiatticist*.[15] There we read the eccentric doctrine (96,8B): εὐθύ·ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθέως—i.e., εὐθύ· ἀντὶ τοῦ χρονικοῦ., and Lobeck[16] demonstrated that this view is odd but defensible, against the views of Phrynichus gl.113 Fischer, Ammonius, Timaeus, Moeris, Photius, and the *Synagoge* (*Su* ε̄3523 + 4Ad). Now it has been known since Nauck that the Antiatticist is indebted for his massive learning to none other than Aristophanes himself, and of the thirty-six glosses that can safely be attributed to *Concerning Suspected Words*, no less than fourteen reappear with approximately the same explanation in the Antiatticist,[17] and glosses from other works of Aristophanes also are present. Even where Aristophanes wrongly[18] attempted to defend the ending *-οσαν* by quoting

[12]cf. Gudeman *RE* 2A *s.v. Satyros*, p. 234 for the term, and G. Arrighetti, *Satiro, Vita di Euripide* (Pisa 1964) 31.

[13]Eustath. *Comm. in Od.* 1827, 47; Antiatt. 96, 12 = fr.LXVII N.

[14]Ael. Dion. ᾱ 43 Erbse gives an idea of what has to be added to Nauck p. 213. The many pages of discussion that survive from antiquity over the question of the proper appellation for an Athenian woman derive probably from a passage like Plato *Laws* 1.626d (cf. M. Goebel, *Ethnica* [Warsaw 1915] 1); but the discussion really begins with a fatuous explanation by the peripatetic Megakleides (in the fourth century) in his work on Homer. This valuable discussion is the only one that survives to show who were the opponents of Aristophanes, against whom he wielded his massive learning. In the original work there can be little doubt that every gloss was preceded by an indictment of the person who claimed to have suspected that this or that word or usage was not found and so suspect. (It is clear from the discussion that Hesychius gl. 1575 L should be corrected ⟨ἀστή· Μεγακλείδης⟩ and not as Latte prints.) It is because of this epitomization that we cannot trace most of the quarrels of the Alexandrians back to the Athenian peripatetics, and show the continuation of the trends that are already to be seen in the Derveni papyrus.

[15]See Latte's article cited in note 11. For the influence of the Antiatticist on Phrynichus see Fischer, *Die Ekloge des Phrynichos* (Berlin 1974) 39 ff. Of course Phrynichus polemises against the antiatticist, whereas the antiatticist followed Aristophanes.

[16]Lobeck, *Phrynichi Eclogae* (Leipzig 1820) 144–145.

[17]But Aristophanes' view that ἐπιστάτης meant no teacher other than παιδοτρίβης may be contradicted by the Antiatticist 96,12, who says it can mean a διδάσκαλος. Ammonius gl. 144N denies this. We cannot be sure that the gloss belongs to *Suspected Words* or if there is a definite contradiction.

[18]So it would appear from the testimonia, but perhaps the Antiatticist 91,14 suggests that Aristophanes' doctrine has been corrupted, for there we read that the ending is used by the Alexandrians. It is improbable that Aristophanes considered it a genuine Attic usage on the basis that it occurred in Lycophron alone. If he considered it to be a

Lycophron (*Alex.* 21), we find the Antiatticist following. But we are asked in this instance to believe that the Antiatticist can produce a doctrine that is not only eccentric but confutes Aristophanes.

4. In a discussion of the dining habits of the ancients, Aristophanes violently criticized his predecessors for not observing the distinction between κατὰ χειρός—before meals, and ἀπονίψασθαι—after meals; this is the only other certain fragment from his work on Callimachus' catalogues, and presumably also had to do with determining authenticity. It so happens that this distinction was also treated by Ammonius, by Tryphon, by Polemon, and in a long disquisition by Athenaeus 408f ff., as well as by many of the atticists following. One thing is clear: that Ammonius contradicts Aristophanes, by stating that κατὰ χειρός is used before and after meals (gl.68 Nickau). Clearly the contradiction is deliberate, as we can see from Athenaeus 410c, where the same view is cited without author or evidence but with a reference to Aristophanes' doctrine. There is in fact no evidence known to us against Aristophanes' distinction, and I should be inclined to think that some scholar had quoted Homer against him (cf. Athenaeus 409a) when Aristophanes himself was patently talking of Attic authors only; the absence of citation in Athenaeus suggests that the criticism of Aristophanes was unjustified. Now although Eustathius *Comm. in Od.* 1.137, p. 1401,42 reports the view of Tryphon who agrees with Aristophanes, his words refer to later times (κατὰ χειρῶν for χειρός,[19] νίψασθαι for ἀπονίψασθαι) so that we can not use this evidence. More interesting is the note that Polemon had dealt with the problem (fr. 62 Pr.); there follows in Athenaeus 410c the only known fragment of the comic poet Demonicus (*CAF* 3 p. 375), which proves only that Boeotians were so lacking in manners that they put off the elementary decency of washing their hands till after mealtimes. One can however believe that the polemical Polemon might have cited it to contradict Aristophanes, but since the two are contemporaries that is not demonstrable. But it does look as if Ammonius is following a source that opposed Aristophanes in the long and doubtless acrimonious debate over dinner customs. Of the two certain fragments of Aristophanes' catalogue work Ammonius followed him as an authority in one and specifically rejected him in the other.

Euboean usage as Eustath. 1761,30 suggests because he found it only in Lycophron, that would be typical of the thinking of all early glossographers and is methodologically a reasonable procedure (K. Latte, "*Glossographica*," *Philologus* 80 [1925] 164 ff.). But since the fashionable dating of the *Alexandra* is after Kynoskephalai in 197, the author would have to be a younger contemporary of Aristophanes, and Aristophanes elsewhere cites no poet later than Menander and new comedy, not even the great Alexandrians. A *non liquet* seems in order, before we condemn the great scholar, but clearly some Alexandrian believed that Lycophron of Chalcis wrote the *Alexandra*.

[19] Itself an error, as the atticists rightly pointed out. See Nauck p. 251 ff.

5. The paraphrase of Aristophanes arouses suspicion. Did Aristophanes in fact say "that some of the ancients use εὐθύς temporally"? Surely anyone who glances through the comic fragments, let alone someone who is supposed to have edited them all, ought to know that not "some" but "all" the ancients use εὐθύς temporally. Similarly the words "οὐ λέγεται" we are accustomed to find in the later atticists meaning "is not found in the best authors".[20] If, as I suspect, the point of Aristophanes' remarks was to apply his rule to a comic text, e.g., to emend Antiphanes fr.166,4 to εὐθύς from εὐθύ, he must have had more to say than simply that "εὐθύ of time is not found." For the one place where it is found and guaranteed by metre is Callimachus *Hymn* 2.103,[21] and Callimachus wrote nothing ἀτέκμαρτον, if we are to believe his own words,[22] and we can suspect that Alexandrians knew it.

I am led to believe that the words of Aristophanes have been distorted by omission of the relevant exceptions, for he could not have taken sides in what was obviously an ongoing argument by simply repeating an atticist canon. Whether the words "is not found" are the words of Aristophanes paraphrased by the source of Ammonius, or whether a part of Aristophanes' explanation has been omitted, it is impossible now to say. If we consider the antiatticist picture of Aristophanes I have painted, the natural progress of the argument would be that Callimachus gave the play to Antiphanes, Eratosthenes took it away from him on the basis that εὐθύ was wrongly used, and Aristophanes dealt in greater detail with the text, possibly emending it to suit Eratosthenes. But if we follow the Antiatticist, he must have indicated passages where the doctrine of Eratosthenes was broken, and we cannot accept everything that Ammonius has to tell us at face value.

It may be worth adding that ἁρμοῖ is also cited from the *Metalleis* by Erotian, who is also much indebted to Aristophanes of Byzantium via Bakcheios of Tanagra and Artemidoros ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος,[23] but the word is also cited by Theon, son of Artemidoros, from Kallimachos (fr. 274Pf). It occurs among the other Alexandrian poets, but in Attic writers only at Aesch. *PV* 615. This doric gloss too is the sort of word that would be held to be unattic and defended by Aristophanes of Byzantium.

Yet another gloss among many others that may belong to Aristophanes

[20]E.g., Phrynichus, *Ecl.* gl. 87 Fischer. The phrase does not recur in the remains of Aristophanes or Ammonius.

[21]Also Theocritus 26.15.

[22]We should, in view of the parallels adduced by Norden on *Aen.* 6.264. For this kind of linguistic joking ⟶ Erbse, "*Homerscholien und hellenistische Glossare bei Apoll. Rhod.*," *Hermes* 81 (1953) 163 ff.; Giangrande, "Arte Allusiva," *CQ* 17 (1967) 85 ff.

[23]M. Wellmann, *Hippokratesglossare, Quellen u. Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwiss. und d. Medizin* 2, 1931, 19 ff., against Strecker's oversimplification in *Hermes* 26 (1891) 262 ff.

of Byzantium is Antiatt. 78, 32: *ἀλήθειν· οὐκ ἀλεῖν* (cf. 109.23: *νήθειν οὐ μόνον νεῖν*). This gloss, before being epitomized to meaninglessness, meant: not only is *ἀλεῖν* found but also the rare *ἀλήθειν*.[24] The citation is missing, but may well have been Pherekrates 74K, where Edmonds has emended *ἀλήθει* into *ἀλεῖ*, a banalization of the type Aristophanes sought to prevent.

If my analysis is right, Aristophanes' *ἀναγραφὴ πρὸς τοὺς πίνακας τοῦ Καλλιμάχου* consisted not only of possible corrections to the details there given but also of notes concerning other scholars' attempts to criticize them. We can also see that arguments concerning atticistic rules grew up around the attribution of works in the library, and the movement can therefore be said to begin at least 230 B.C. Eratosthenes appears as a strict atticist, Aristophanes as a milder follower of the *συνήθεια*.

It is worth adding that the reason that Eratosthenes was so vehemently attacked by later scholars including Polemon and Strabo may have been his irascible nature as much as his actual scholarly errors. A man who was not only an extreme sceptic historically but enjoyed coining polemical vocabulary like *βεργαίζειν*, *βιβλιαίγισθος* for his colleagues could scarcely complain if some of them described him as Beta and Pentathlos.[25] That Eratosthenes had attacked Callimachus we knew;[26] it should not surprise us therefore if he himself was criticized by his own successor Aristophanes.[27]

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[24]Its occurrence in Herodas (2.20?, 6.81) would be warning enough to expect it in comedy.

[25]Pfeiffer (above, n. 11) 170, where add Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βέργη and Bekker, *Anecd.* 1.226,12; also Merkelbach, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 261. Aulus Gellius reports grammarians called Insanus and Pleistoneices.

[26]Evidence in P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2 (Oxford 1972) 661 n.89,757 n.61, to which we should probably add Quintilian 11.2.11 = Eratosthenes fr.124 Str. How a gloss of Eratosthenes could get into Ammonius is shown by frr.125–6 Str.

[27]Perhaps the disagreement over the nature of Solon's *κύρβεις* is an example, Nauck, *Ar. Byz.* p. 220, where Ammonius seems rather to agree with Eratosthenes gl.57 Nickau. The evidence concerning the Pinakes is collected by Pfeiffer on frr.429–456 of Callimachus, where he cites the most important literature.

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ANCIENT LITERACY

William V. Harris

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Libraries in the Classical world

1. Hellenistic Royal Libraries

E.g.

- Pliny *HN* 13.70 *aemulatione circa bibliothecas regum Ptolemaei et Eumenis*;
- Galen *Comment. In Hippocrates De Medici Off.* II.128: τοὺς Ἀτταλικούς τε καὶ Πτολεμαϊκοὺς βασιλέας… πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφιλοτιμουμένους περὶ κτήσεως βιβλίων.
- Vitruvius 7 *prooem.* (is V. thinking of Augustus here?)

The Mouseion at Alexandria

1a)

In populous Egypt many cloistered bookworms are fed, arguing endlessly in the chicken-coop of the Muses.

Timon of Phlius frg.12 Diels

1b)

And the city contains most beautiful public precincts and also the royal palaces, which constitute one-fourth or even one-third of the whole circuit of the city; for just as each of the kings, from love of splendour, was wont to add some adornment to the public monuments, so also he would invest himself at his own expense with a residence, in addition to those already built, so that now, to quote the words of the poet, "there is building upon building."

All, however, are connected with one another and the harbour, even those that lie outside the harbour.

The Museum is also a part of the royal palaces; it has a public walk, an Exedra with seats, and a large house, in which is the common mess-hall of the men of learning who share the Museum. This group of men not only hold property in common, but also have a priest in charge of the Museum, who formerly was appointed by the kings, but is now appointed by Caesar.

(Strabo *Geographia* 17.1.8).

2. Romans and Greek libraries/scholars

Captured libraries:

- **Persius:** Isidore *Etym.* 6.5.1; Plutarch *Aem.* 28.11.
  Aemilius Paulus and his sons, both φιλογραμματοῦντες.
- **Aristotle:** Strabo 13.1.54; 13.4.2; Athenaeus 1.3 a-b; 5.214 d-e; Plutarch *Sull.* 26.1; Sallust *Iug.* 95.3; Lucian *Ind.* 4.
- **Mithridates:** Pliny *HN* 25.3.6-7.
  vitaeque ita profuit non minus quam reipublicae victoria illa
- **Carthage:** Pliny *HN* 18.5.22-23.
  Cf. Sallust *Iug.* 17.7. *ex libris Punicis qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur*
  Cornelius Nepos *Hannibal* 13.3; Livy 28.46.16.

2c) Lucullus' library

Plutarch *Luc.* 42 (Loeb translation, 1914):

But what he did in the establishment of a library deserves warm praise. He got together many books, and they were well written, and his use of them was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them. His libraries were thrown open to all, and the cloisters surrounding them, and the study-rooms, were accessible without restriction to the Greeks, who constantly repaired thither as to an hostelry of the Muses, and spent the day with one another, in glad escape from their other occupations. Lucullus himself also often spent his leisure hours there with them, walking about in the cloisters with their scholars, and he would assist their statesmen in whatever they desired. And in general his house was a home and prytaneium for the Greeks who came to Rome. He was fond of all philosophy, and well-disposed and friendly towards every school… Cicero wrote a noble treatise on the doctrines of this sect, in which he has put the argument in support of "apprehension" into the mouth of Lucullus, and carried the opposing argument himself. The book is entitled "Lucullus."

Cf. Cicero *Fin.* 3.7 – 3.10 and the *Hortensius* , set in this library.

3. Early 'public' libraries at Rome

bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare

Suetonius *Iul.* 44

bibliothecas publicavit Pollio Graecas simul atque Latinas

Isidorus *Etym.* 6.5.2

bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est

Pliny *HN* 7.115

Asini Pollionis hoc Romae inventum, qui primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit

Pliny *HN* 35.10

For comparison (libraries at Alexandria):

reges Attalici… cum egregiam bybliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent

Vitruvius *De Arch.* 7.3-7

ταμεῖα…ταῖς βίβλοις, τοῖς φιλοπονοῦσιν ἀνεῳγμένοι φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ πόλιν ἅπασαν εἰς ἐξουσίαν τῆς σοφίας ἐπαίροντες

Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* 12.48 (Rabe 1926)

4. Imperial public libraries: Martial pleads for admission, but there is no place for Ovid.

a) *Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,*
ingenio frueris qui propiore dei
(nam tibi nascentes domini cognoscere curas
et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet),
sit locus et nostris aliqua tibi parte libelli,
qua Pedo, qua Marsus quaque Catullus erit.
Ad Capitolini caelestia carmina belli
grande coturnati pone Maronis opus.

Sextus, eloquent votary of Palatine Minerva,
You who enjoy more closely the genius of the god –
For you are permitted to learn our lord's cares as they are born, and to know our leader's secret heart –
Let there, I pray, be found also for my little books a place
Where Pedo, where Marsus, and where Catullus shall be set.
By the divine song of the Capitoline War
Place the work of buskined Maro.

Martial *Ep*. V.5 (90s AD).

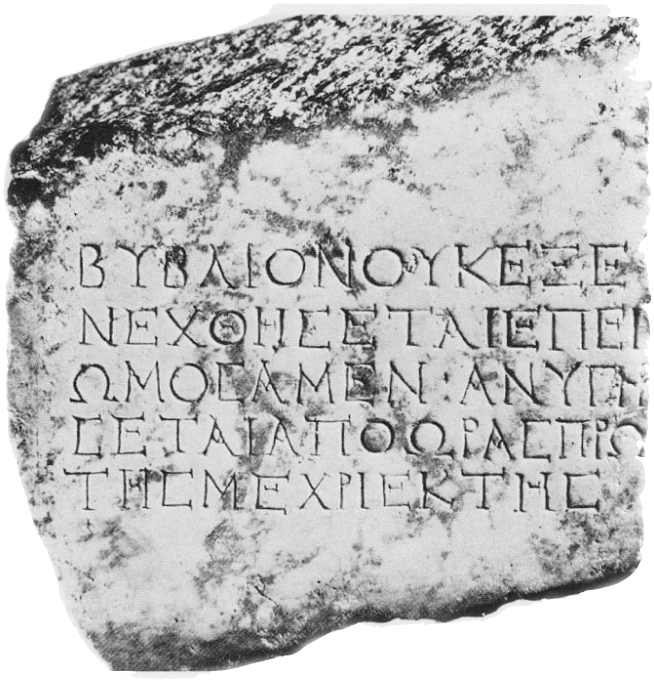
b) *ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei…*

quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.
quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,
quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.
quarentem frustra custos me sedibus illis
praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.
altera templa peto, vicino iuncta theatro:
haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.
nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,
atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.

I (the book) am led to the shining temples of the unshorn god (Apollo)…
What ever men of old or more recent times conceived in their learned hearts
Lies open to be inspected by readers.
I was searching for my brothers, except of course those
Whose own father wished he had never borne them.
The guard placed in charge of those places order me to depart from the sacred spot as I searched in vain.
I make for other temples, next door to a theatre:
These too are not to be approached by my feet.
Nor does Liberty allow me to touch her halls, which were the first to lie open to learned books

Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.60, 63-72. (c.AD12).

5. Library of Pantainos, Athens: inscribed library rules.



6. Some library buildings



Trajan's library in Rome



Celsus library in Ephesus

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"Public Libraries" in Ancient Rome: Ideology and Reality

T. Keith Dix

The late first century B.C. saw the first state libraries in Rome, projected by Julius Caesar and carried out by Asinius Pollio and Augustus. Ancient authors who recorded the establishment of these libraries sounded the theme that works of literature had become "public property" and that libraries lay "open" to all readers. This paper considers in what sense the libraries of Rome were "public" and whether the ideology of public access put forward by Roman authors corresponded to a reality of general access. Several anecdotes offer direct evidence for consultation of the libraries, but they involve authors close to imperial circles who might naturally be expected to have won access to libraries under imperial control. Other evidence includes the use of state libraries as the setting for authors' recitations, the presence of libraries in the great bath-buildings of Rome, and the use of libraries as vehicles for official recognition and for censorship of literature.

Before the end of the Roman Republic there was no "public library" in Rome to which authors or readers might resort for works that they did not possess. With libraries entirely in private hands, and with the book trade an unreliable source, cooperation among those with literary interests was a necessity. Friends with literary interests would borrow books from one another, as Cicero did from Atticus. Aristocrats who owned libraries, like Lucullus, might open them to those without the means or opportunity to acquire their own collections, like Greek men of letters; access to a library became another benefit which a patron might bestow on a client. A large collection of books was an amenity, like other amenities, available only to the aristocracy and its dependents.[1]

Providing those other amenities—comfortable seating at public spectacles, running water, baths, green space, works of art—to urban dwellers had already become an important element in the building programs undertaken at Rome by powerful and ambitious individuals during the late republic.[2] As possession of a library became more common among members of the upper class, it was perhaps inevitable that books would come to be seen as another amenity to be bestowed upon the lower classes. Perhaps it was also inevitable that an aristocrat would make a conspicuous display of his interest in literary culture by founding a "public library."

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Julius Caesar included libraries among his plans for "adorning and building up" the city of Rome. The imperial biographer Suetonius wrote that Caesar intended "to make public (*publicare*) the largest possible Greek and Latin libraries" and that Caesar had assigned the task of obtaining and arranging the libraries to Marcus Terentius Varro, the great Roman polymath.[3] Caesar did not live to see the fulfillment of his plans for a library, but Asinius Pollio, consul in 40 B.C. and one of Caesar's closest lieutenants, established a library between 39 and 28 B.C. in the Atrium Libertatis, a public building which had previously housed a shrine of the goddess Liberty, and Rome's census records.[4] Rome soon had two more libraries, both associated with the building program of the emperor Augustus. To the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, which he had built between 36 and 28 B.C., Augustus added porticoes with a Latin and Greek library. The porticoes and library were dedicated along with the temple in 28 B.C.[5] The Porticus of Octavia also included a library; some ancient authors say that Augustus had the portico and library built in the name of his sister Octavia, while others say that Octavia herself had them built, as a memorial to her son Marcellus.[6] Subsequent emperors had additional libraries built.[7]

The Roman authors who recorded the establishment of these libraries sounded the theme that works of literature had become "public property" accessible to all. The poet Ovid, writing about A.D. 9, carried this theme back to the time of their establishment. He concluded a long list of Greek poets who wrote on the topic of love with the assertion that their works (unlike his own) were to be found in Rome's libraries: "These are mixed in with the memorials of learned men, and made public (*publica facta*), they are accessible through the gifts of the leaders."[8] Pliny the Elder, writing before A.D. 79, described Asinius Pollio as "the first to make the genius of man public property (*rem publicam*) by dedicating a library."[9] Suetonius, writing about A.D. 120, used the verb *publicare*, "to open to the public," in describing Caesar's plan. If we follow the lead of these authors and refer to the Roman libraries as "public libraries," we must understand, of course, that they were not the same as modern public libraries.[10] The remainder of this paper will consider the nature of Roman public libraries and whether the ideology of "public access" suggested by Roman authors corresponded to some reality of access.

The earliest reference to Rome's public libraries comes from the poet Horace, in the first book of his *Epistles*, probably published about 20 B.C. Horace warned his friend Celsus not to rely upon works found in the Palatine library for his inspiration:

> What does my Celsus do? He has been warned and must be warned frequently, that he seek private resources and avoid touching whatever

> writings Palatine Apollo has received, lest, if by chance one day a flock of birds comes to demand back their feathers, his little crow stripped of its stolen colors inspire laughter.[11]

While Horace does not use the term *public* in this passage, his mention of "private resources" (*privatae opes*) certainly suggests a contrast with the "public resources" of the Palatine library.

Celsus, at least, could have consulted the Palatine library, but that need imply nothing about more general access, as Celsus was secretary to the future emperor Tiberius[12] and surely able to enter the library on that account. Furthermore, we need not even assume that Celsus himself was in the library, but only that Horace was warning him against reliance on those works already famous enough to be found there.[13] Perhaps Celsus was to imagine that other readers in the Palatine library would discover his indiscriminate borrowings, or that the works he robbed, the agents of their own revenge in Horace's image of the flock of birds and the crow, would prove his work unworthy of the Palatine library.

In another of his *Epistles*, this one addressed to Augustus, Horace did seem to link the Palatine library and readers:

> Come indeed and give brief attention to these, who prefer to entrust themselves to a reader rather than to suffer the contempt of an arrogant spectator, if you wish to fill with books the gift worthy of Apollo and to give the spur to bards, that they may seek green Helicon with greater zeal.[14]

Horace contrasted the situation of the playwright, who offers his work to spectators, and the situation of the poet like himself, who entrusts his work to a reader. He appealed to Augustus to devote some attention to poets; given the emperor's spur, they would fill the "gift worthy for Apollo," that is, the Palatine library, with books. If the Palatine library was the place for poets who entrusted their works to readers, then it ought to have been a place for readers, as well.

Ovid was the other author from the Augustan age to mention the libraries. Banished to Tomi on the Black Sea in A.D. 8, he continued to write poetry and to send it to Rome. When he sent his poem *Tristia* 3.1 to Rome, the poem speaks first to a "friendly reader" (line 2) and later asks its readers where a book ought to go (lines 19–20). One reader leads the poem to the three libraries, beginning with the Palatine library, where the works of learned men both old and new "lie open for readers" (lines 63–64). This poem fails to win admittance to any public library, and looks in vain for its "brothers," Ovid's earlier poems. Because a "public lodging" has been denied, the poem can only pray to be allowed to hide in a private place

(lines 79–80).[15] For Ovid, then, it seems that the presence of readers made the libraries "public."

Both Horace and Ovid, poets writing in the age when Rome received her first public libraries, implied that these libraries were open to readers. Both seem to have believed that these libraries could have made their own works available to a wider audience. As Horace's words to Augustus suggest, the prospect of a wider readership was one spur to literary production which Rome's public libraries might have provided.

The next group of reference to Rome's libraries comes from the second century A.D. Aulus Gellius, the author of an antiquarian collection entitled *Attic Nights*, mentioned various books he read while in the libraries in the *domus Tiberiana*, the temple of Peace, and the Forum of Trajan.[16] As with Horace's friend Celsus, Gellius's ties to imperial circles may have won him access to the libraries. Gellius counted among his friends Cornelius Fronto, the distinguished orator and tutor in rhetoric to the future emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, and the scholar Sulpicius Apollinaris, teacher of both Gellius himself and the emperor Pertinax.

Gellius seems not only to have read in these libraries but also to have conducted philosophical discussions there with his friends; he recorded a conversation with at least one friend in the library of the Forum of Trajan, and another with Sulpicius and some of their friends while seated in the *domus Tiberiana* library. In these anecdotes, Gellius and his friends appear to be using these libraries as private spaces, as they engaged in an activity usually associated in Latin literature with the dining rooms, porticoes, and gardens of townhouses and country estates.[17] In that connection, the *domus Tiberiana* library seems the least likely of those usually included on the list of "public libraries" to have been accessible to the public, since it was part of the imperial residence. On the other hand, Gellius set several discussions in clearly public spaces, such as baths, temples, and public squares, and even in the *area Palatina*, the reception area of the imperial palace, where a jurist and a philosopher converse in the midst of a crowd awaiting an audience with the emperor.[18]

The *domus Tiberiana* library figures in an episode involving Gellius's friend Cornelius Fronto. The future emperor Marcus Aurelius writes to Fronto that he has just read two orations of Cato the Elder. He anticipates that Fronto will send a slave to the Palatine library to get the books for himself, but warns Fronto that he has taken these books from the Palatine library with him to some residence outside Rome. Therefore, he says, Fronto must "work on" the librarian of the *domus Tiberiana* and bestow something on that librarian to obtain another copy of the orations.[19] That an imperial heir could "borrow" books from the libraries should be no surprise; that even a Fronto had to go hat in hand to a librarian for the same

privilege might also be no surprise, for ancient librarians may have been just as wary of their patrons as are some of their modern counterparts.

One further group of references to Rome's libraries comes in the late collection of imperial biographies known as the *Historia Augusta*. These biographies cover the years from A.D. 117 to 284 and present themselves as the work of six different authors who lived during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine. The authorship, date, purpose, and reliability of the biographies remain matters of dispute.[20] The library references all come from four of the last five biographies in the collection; these five biographies are attributed to "Flavius Vopiscus." This author claimed to have used books from the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*, that is, the library in the Forum of Trajan, and from the *domus Tiberiana*.[21] He made this claim in the second chapter of the biography of Probus, a biography which he began with a citation from Aulus Gellius. Perhaps his reading in Gellius also inspired him to mention the libraries in the Forum of Trajan and the *domus Tiberiana*—two of the three libraries mentioned by Gellius—as his sources. In that second chapter of the biography of Probus, "Flavius Vopiscus" wrote that in his time, books of the *Bibliotheca Ulpia* were in the Baths of Diocletian (a point to which I shall return), while in his other references to that library, he either states outright or implies that the books he used were in the *Bibliotheca Ulpia* itself.[22]

The reliability of the library reference in the *Historia Augusta* has generally been questioned or dismissed.[23] Even if the claims about consulting the libraries are false, however, their purpose must have been to lend verisimilitude and credibility to the biographies. That an author, or at least the author of an emperor's biography, could consult the libraries must have seemed plausible to the intended audience.

This survey of the direct evidence for access to Rome's public libraries reveals the difficulties inherent in the evidence. We turn instinctively to authors for such evidence; but authors in the Roman world, almost by definition, were members of the upper classes who addressed themselves to a readership composed largely of other members of the upper classes. Those authors who praise "public access" to books most likely had in mind a "public" made up of others like themselves. Given the high level of illiteracy in the ancient world, they had no reason to imagine great hordes of readers scurrying to the libraries.[24] One circumstance, however, suggests that we might have found at least a mildly jostling crowd of readers in Rome's libraries. For men like Horace and Ovid, who came to Rome from outlying areas of Italy, literature provided an entree to the highest reaches of the Roman aristocracy.[25] We might expect at least one author to complain about the crush of aspiring authors in the libraries, just as Pliny the Younger mentions the great number of authors' recitations he is expected to attend; but we do not find such complaints.[26]

The available evidence, then, does not encourage us to imagine a crowd of readers. We might, on the other hand, picture a crowd of listeners in Rome's libraries, for they seemed to have served as a setting for authors' recitations of their works, a fundamental form of "publication" in the ancient world. Providing a hall for a reading was one of the traditional responsibilities of an author's patron; making the public libraries available for recitations is one way for the founders to extend their literary patronage, just as the Ptolemies seem to have done in their library at Alexandria.[27] Asinius Pollio, founder of the first public library, seems to have fostered the growing popularity of public recitations. The elder Seneca attributes to Pollio the invention of the practice of public recitations by authors; while that cannot be literally true, Pollio does seem to have established recitations on a more formal basis and may even have presented them in the library of the Atrium Libertatis.[28] The Palatine library also seems to have been the setting for public recitations. Horace provided perhaps the earliest reference in *Epistle* 2.2, probably written in 19 B.C., when he described a competition between a lyric poet (probably Horace himself) and an elegist in an *aedes*, a "temple"; and the practice seems to have continued at least until the second century A.D.[29]

If the founders of Rome's public libraries intended from the outset to use the libraries for public recitations, they must have provided rooms suitable for that purpose within the libraries. In the case of the Palatine library, provisions which may have been made for recitations probably made the library suitable for other kinds of meetings, as well. The emperor Augustus seems to have used the Palatine library as a kind of audience hall, holding meetings of the Senate, revising jury lists, and receiving embassies there, and the Senate continued to meet in the library at least through the reign of Tiberius and probably through the reign of Nero. Suetonius says that Augustus, when older, frequently convened the Senate there, presumably to spare himself the trip to the Forum.[30] The practice, however, probably had begun already in 23 B.C., when Augustus, although far from an old man, became so ill that he was not expected to live. The Senate presumably began to meet in the newly opened library during his convalescence.[31] This practice suggests that the Palatine library was viewed as practically an extension of the house of Augustus; consequently, however great public access may have been to the library on a normal basis, it must have been possible to control physical access to the library building when the Emperor was expected to be present. Paradoxically, then, the use of libraries as audience halls suggests that access to them was, or could be, restricted.[32]

I have devoted my attention thus far to public libraries in the temple, forum, and palace complexes of central Rome, such as the Palatine library, the library in the temple of Peace or in the Forum of Trajan. These libraries

may always have remained the preserves of men like Aulus Gellius and Fronto; the "general public," on the other hand, may have frequented a different group of libraries, those in the great imperial bath buildings of Rome.

The Baths of Trajan (dedicated in A.D. 109), of Caracalla (dedicated in 216), and of Diocletian (dedicated in 305 or 306) all contain rooms identified as libraries.[33] The presence of libraries fits with the general notion that the great imperial baths provided facilities not only for bathing, but for a wide range of athletic, social, and cultural activities, as well. As a recent book on ancient baths points out, however, neither a single inscription nor any ancient author clearly recorded such activities in bath buildings.[34]

One inscription from Rome suggests the existence of libraries in the baths; it commemorates a slave from the imperial household, who seems to have held the position of "maintenance man of the Greek library of the baths" (*vilicus thermarum bybliothecae Graecae*).[35] On the other hand, the inscription may record two distinct positions held in succession by the same slave: "maintenance man of the baths" (*vilicus thermarum*) and "employee in the Greek library" (*a bybliotheca Graeca*).[36] We have already encountered the one reference in Latin literature to libraries in baths, which comes from the *Historia Augusta*. The author of the life of Probus wrote that, in his time, books from the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*, that is, the library of the Forum of Trajan, were in the Baths of Diocletian—a statement that he seemed to contradict in all his other references to the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*, where he either stated outright or implied that the books he used were in the *Bibliotheca Ulpia* itself. Perhaps only some portion of the books from the Forum of Trajan had been moved to the Baths of Diocletian for storage or to establish a "branch library": at any rate, this notice may be taken to indicate at least that libraries were known in baths.[37]

The primary evidence for activities other than bathing in the imperial baths has been the architecture of the bath buildings themselves. In bath complexes as in other buildings, libraries have been identified on the basis of the presence of niches in their walls; these niches are assumed to have been the bookcases. One scholar has now demonstrated that the niches in rooms identified as libraries are sufficiently deep to have contained ancient bookrolls; others, however, have pointed out that very little evidence survives for the construction of either shelving or self-supporting bookcases in the identified examples and that access to the niches, particularly to their upper levels, would have been difficult.[38] In general, then, while the presence of libraries in the imperial baths has generally been taken for granted, caution seems to be in order in the identification of those libraries.

Some further evidence for public access to libraries comes from the cities of the Roman Empire. Once again we meet Aulus Gellius, who consulted

works in the library at Tibur (modern Tivoli) just outside Rome and at Patrae (modern Patras) in Greece.[39] A friend of Gellius found a work by Aristotle in the library at Tibur and actually took the book out from the library to his friends in a villa at Tibur; Gellius copied a passage from the book. As in the anecdotes from Rome, we do not know whether Gellius and his friends enjoyed a special privilege to consult and borrow books from local libraries, due to their connection with imperial circles, or whether they availed themselves of a right extended to all. In Halicarnassus in Asia Minor in the second century A.D., the works of a man honored by the city were placed in the city's libraries at public expense in order to instruct the youth; this provision, while suggesting broad access, was probably of greatest benefit to the children of the local aristocracy.[40] The one explicit statement of regulations comes from the library of Pantainos, which sat beside a very busy corner of the Athenian Agora; it specifies that no book would be taken out, a provision which might be taken as evidence for public access or perhaps as a precaution against theft.[41]

Beyond the issue of access to the public libraries, we can consider one other aspect of their operation which might be described as "public." These libraries held out not only the prospect of wider readership during the author's lifetime, but also that of a more enduring fame. The potential importance of public libraries as vehicles for official recognition of literary merit and for the preservation of authors' works and memories seems to have been recognized immediately, as the remarks of Horace and Ovid indicate. When Ovid said of the Palatine library that "whatever ancient men and modern have drawn from learned breast, lies open to be examined by readers," he described an institution which preserved the great works of the past while placing beside them works of the present to be preserved for the future.[42] Horace foresaw that the encouragement of Augustus, that is, some kind of official recognition of authors, would fill the Palatine library with books. Ovid's poem *Tristia* 3.1 heads straight for the public libraries and settles for a private spot only when rejected. Other authors must have done what Ovid seems to have done in *Tristia* 3.1—sending a copy of his latest work to the libraries. The poet Martial, for example, asked one Sextus, the "eloquent worshipper of Palatine Minerva," to find a place for Martial's books near the works of Catullus and other Latin poets; Sextus was evidently the head of the Palatine library.[43] Thus the libraries could have served as a kind of Roman counterpart to the Library of Congress, an official repository for a nation's literary production.

The exclusion of an author's works from the libraries, on the other hand, could have been a form of official censorship. Suetonius reported one anecdote which suggests that Augustus exercised just such a form of censorship. Augustus ordered Pompeius Macer, to whom he had assigned "the arranging of libraries," not to "make public" certain works by the young

Julius Caesar—that is, presumably, that they not be made available in the public libraries.[44] This anecdote strengthens the case that imperial displeasure at Ovid extended to the exclusion of his poems from the public libraries. The dramatic *damnatio memoriae* of book burning, suffered by Ovid's contemporaries Titus Labienus and Cassius Severus, may have had a quiet counterpart in the banning of books from public libraries.[45]

The evidence for general access to Rome's public libraries may be considered inconclusive. While those who mentioned the libraries and said they used them come from the narrow worlds of literature and the imperial court, other evidence points to at least the expectation of general access. The presence of libraries in the great public baths, in particular, would suggest that many citizens had access to at least a few texts in a public collection. At the same time, given the economic, social, and cultural restrictions which bound most individuals in the ancient world, it seems safe to say that only a very small number are likely ever to have availed themselves of the opportunity to peruse the volumes in a public library.

Whatever the reality of public access to libraries, the ideology of public access remained attractive, at least to donors. The public library seemed to be an institution whose time in Rome had come; the three libraries founded during the Augustan period proved to be just the beginning. The example of the emperors seemed to inspire local benefactors, beginning with Pliny the Younger at Comum, to bestow libraries on cities throughout the empire, from Ephesus in the east to Timgad in the west.[46]

Notes

1. For a survey of the evidence for libraries in Rome, → Anthony J. Marshall, "Library Resources and Creative Writing at Rome," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 252–264, and Lorne Bruce, "Roman Libraries: A Review Bibliography," *Libri* 35 (1985): 89–106.

2. Agrippa, the closest friend and supporter of Augustus, is said to have written an oration *de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis*, "on making public all paintings and statues" (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.9.26). As D. E. Strong points out, Agrippa sounded a note already heard in the Elder Cato's speech *uti praeda in publicum referatur*, "that booty be returned to public use" (H. Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta* [Turin, 1955], no. 98). Cato's concern seems to have been for religious propriety in the display of statues of the gods; Agrippa, on the other hand, wanted works of art to be on public display rather than "in the exile of villas." See D. E. Strong, "Roman Museums," in *Archaeological Theory and Practice*, Essays Presented to W. F. Grimes (London and New York, 1973), 248, 249.

3. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 44.1–3. Suetonius had reason to know the history of the libraries at Rome: he had held the post in charge of libraries in the imperial bureaucracy (H. G. Pflaum, *Les Carrieres procuratoriennes equestres sous le Haut-empire romain* [Paris: 1960–1961], no. 96). Suetonius must have appreciated that his post could be traced back to a scholar of Varro's rank.

4. Asinius Pollio established the library and rebuilt the Atrium Libertatis with

money from the sale of war booty (*ex manubiis*: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.30.115; Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 6.5.1); therefore, it would have been after the celebration of his triumph over the Parthini, an Illyrian tribe, in 39 B.C. The notices that this was the first "public library" in Rome (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.30.115, 35.2.10; Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 6.5.1; Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1.71–72) and that Varro was the only man still living to receive a portrait in the library (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 7.30.115), show that the project must have been carried out before 28 B.C., when the temple of Palatine Apollo with its library (see below) was dedicated and when Varro died.

For the chronology, see F. W. Shipley, "Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome from the Death of Caesar to the Death of Augustus," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 9 (1931): 19, 20; A. B. Bosworth, "Asinius Pollio and Augustus," *Historia* 21 (1972): 462–473.

For the Atrium Libertatis, see S. B. Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, revised by Thomas Ashby (Oxford: 1929) (hereafter cited as Platner-Ashby), s.v. Atrium Libertatis, 56–57; s.v. Bibliotheca Asinii Pollionis, 84; F. Castagnoli, "Atrium Libertatis," *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei* ser. 8 vol. 1 (1946): 276–291; L. Richardson, Jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: 1992) (hereafter cited as Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*), s.v. Atrium Libertatis, 41.

5. Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.3; Dio Cassius 53.1.3. Suetonius's use of the verb *addidit* of the porticoes and library may suggest that they represent later additions to Augustus's original plans for the complex.

For the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Palatine library, see Platner-Ashby, s.v. Apollo Palatinus, Aedes, 16–19; s.v. Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini, 84; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: 1968) (hereafter cited as Nash), s.v. Apollo Palatinus, Templum, vol. 1, 31–32; s.v. Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini, vol. 1, 204–205. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Apollo Palatinus, Aedes, 14; s.v. Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini, 58–59.

6. Suetonius (*Augustus* 29) and Dio Cassius (49.43.8) reported that Augustus had the Porticus Octaviae built in the name of his sister Octavia, while Ovid (*Aras Amatoria* 1.69–70) and others (Strabo 5.3.8 C 236; Plutarch, *Marcellus* 30; Festus 188) claimed that Octavia herself had the portico and library built.

For discussion of the problems surrounding the Porticus Octaviae, including its relationship to the Porticus Octavia, see Platner-Ashby, s.v. Porticus Octaviae, 427; Nash, s.v. Porticus Octaviae, vol. 2, 254–258; M. J. Boyd, "The Porticoes of Metellus and Octavia," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 21 (1953): 152–159; M. G. Morgan, "The Porticus of Metellus: A Reconsideration," *Hermes* 99 (1971), 480–505; T. P. Wiseman, "The Circus Flaminius," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 42 (1974): 3–26; Bjorn Olinder, *Porticus Octavia in Circo Flaminio: Topographical Studies in the Campus Region of Rome* (Stockholm: 197[illegible] L. Richardson, Jr., "The Evolution of the Porticus Octaviae," *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1976): 57–64; Filippo Coarelli, "Il Campo Marzio Occidentale. Storia e topografia," *Melanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome. Antiquite* 89 (1977): 807–846. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Bibliotheca Porticus Octaviae, 59; s.v. Porticus Octaviae, 317–318.

7. Two libraries are attributed to Augustus's successor Tiberius: one in the Temple of the Deified Augustus and another in the *domus Tiberiana*, the portion of the imperial residence on the Palatine which was built by Tiberius. Vespasian's Temple of Peace, built between A.D. 71 and 75, included a library, and Trajan's Forum, built between A.D. 107 and 113, included a pair of libraries.

For the Temple of the Deified Augustus, see Suetonius, *Tiberius* 74; Martial 12.3; Platner-Ashby, s.v. Bibliotheca Templi D. Augusti, 84; Filippo Coarelli, *Roma.* Guide archeologiche Laterza 7 [Roma-Baria: 1983] (hereafter cited as Coarelli, *Roma*), 72–74. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Augustus, Divus, Templum, 45–46; s.v. Bibliotheca Templi Divi Augusti, 59.

For the *domus Tiberiana*, see Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 13.20.1; Cornelius Fronto, *Epistle* 4.5; Platner-Ashby, s.v. Bibliotheca Domus Tiberianae, 85; s.v. Domus Tiberiana, 191–194; Coarelli, *Roma*, 134–136. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Domus Tiberiana, 136–137.

For the Temple of Peace, see Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5.21.9, 16.8.2; Platner-Ashby, s.v. Pax, Templum, 386–388; Nash, s.v. Forum Pacis, vol. 1, 439–445; Coarelli, *Roma*, 119–121. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Pax, Templum, 286–287.

For the Forum of Trajan, see Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 11.17; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistle* 9.16.27; Platner-Ashby, s.v. Forum Traiani, 237–245; Nash, s.v. Forum Traiani, vol. 1, 450–456; Coarelli, *Roma*, 110–115; Carla Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche* (Rome: 1982). Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Forum Traiani, 175–178.

8. *Tristia* 2.419–420: *suntque ea doctorum monumentis mixta virorum / muneribusque ducum publica facta patent.* See L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge: 1955), 307–308.

9. *Natural History* 35.2.10: *primus bibliothecam dicando ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit.* See also *Natural History* 7.30.115: *in bibliotheca, quae prima in orbe ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romae est*; and Isidorus, *Etymologiae* 6.5.1: *primum . . . Romae bibliothecas publicavit Pollio.*

10. The *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* defines the contemporary public library in the United States as a "public institution supported by taxation, one that opens its collections, facilities, and services, without distinction, to all citizens" (Frank B. Sessa, in *ELIS* [1978], s.v. Public Libraries, International: History of the Public Library, vol. 24, 267). This definition, of course, represents an ideal, one which has not always been achieved. In the American South, for example, blacks were forced to start their own libraries in communities where they were not permitted to use the public libraries; Andrew Carnegie gave money to the city of Greensboro, North Carolina, to build separate public libraries for whites and blacks.

The Roman world certainly knew prejudice based on ethnicity; but the more important distinctions were those based on social class and wealth. One could not at a glance have known who was a Roman citizen, and who was not; and in A.D. 212, a decree of the emperor Caracalla conferred Roman citizenship upon all free inhabitants of the empire. For members of the upper classes and their dependents, neither "national origin" nor gender would have hindered their access to Rome's libraries.

11. *Epistle* 1.3.15–20:

> *quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus multumque monendus,*
> *privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere vitet*
> *scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,*
> *ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim*
> *grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum*
> *furtivis nudata coloribus.*

For the date of the *Epistles*, see Augustus S. Wilkins, ed., *The Epistles of Horace* (London-New York: 1888), xiii–xvii.

12. Horace, *Epistle* 1.8.

13. C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: 1915), → F. W. Hall, review of Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome*, in *Classical Review* 36 (1922): 31–32.

14. *Epistle* 2.1.214–218:

> *verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt*
> *quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,*
> *curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum*
> *vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,*
> *ut studio maiore petant Helicona virentem.*

See C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry. Epistles Book II: The Letters to Augustus and Florus* (Cambridge: 1982), 238–240.

15. *Tristia* 3.1:

1–2 *"Missus in hanc venio timide liber exulis urbem:*
da placidam fesso, lector amice, manum;"

19–22 *"dicite, lectores, si non grave, qua sit eundum,*
quasque petam sedes hospes in urbe liber."
haec ubi sum furtim lingua titubante locutus,
qui mihi monstraret, vix fuit unus, iter.

59–72 *inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis*
ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei,
signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis,
Belides et stricto barbarus ense pater,
quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique
pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.
quaerebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,
quos suus optaret non genuisse pater.
quaerentem frustra custos e sedibus illis
praepositus sancto iussit abire loco.
altera templa peto, vicino iuncta theatro:
haec quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.
nec me, quae doctis patuerunt prima libellis,
atria Libertas tangere passa sua est.

79–82 *interea, quoniam statio mihi publica clausa est,*
privato liceat delituisse loco.
vos quoque, si fas est, confusa pudore repulsae
sumite plebeiae carmina nostra manus.

16. The *domus Tiberiana: Attic Nights* 13.20.1; temple of Peace: 5.21.9, 16.8.2; Forum of Trajan: 11.17.1. For these three libraries, see note 7, above.

17. Discussions in townhouses and country estates: at the villas of Herodes Atticus near Athens (*Attic Nights* 1.2.1); at the table of the philosopher Favorinus (2.22.1); at the villa of a friend at Antium (17.10.1); at the country place of a rich friend at Tibur (19.5.1).

18. Discussions in public spaces: in the Titian baths (*Attic Nights* 3.1.1); in the square of the Forum of Trajan (13.25.2); in the park of Agrippa (14.5.1); among the booksellers in the *vicus Sandalarius* (18.4.1); in the shrine of Carmentis (18.7.2); in the *area Palatina* (20.1.2).

19. *Epistle* 4.5.

20. For a summary of the issues, see the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1970), s.v. Historia Augusta, 520–521.

21. *Historia Augusta, Probus* 2.1: "I have used primarily books from the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*, in my time in the Baths of Diocletian, and also from the *domus Tiberiana*" (*Usus autem sum . . . praecipue libris ex Bibliotheca Ulpia, aetate mea Thermis Diocletianis, et item ex domo Tiberiana*).

22. *Aurelian* 1.7 (Junius Tiberianus to "Flavius Vopiscus"): "I will arrange that the linen books be brought out for you from the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*" (*curabo autem ut tibi ex Ulpia Bibliotheca et libri lintei proferantur*).

Aurelian 1.10 ("Flavius Vopiscus" to "Ulpian" [?]): "If you are not content with this work . . . you should also ask for the linen books, which the *Bibliotheca Ulpia* will furnish to you when you want" (*si hoc contentus non fueris . . . linteos etiam libros requiras, quos Ulpia tibi Bibliotheca, cum volueris, ministrabit*).

Aurelian 8.1: "I recently found in the *Bibliotheca Ulpia* among the linen books a letter of the deified Valerian written about the emperor Aurelian" (*Inveni nuper in Ulpia Bibliotheca inter linteos libros epistulam divi Valeriani de Aureliano principe scriptam*).

Aurelian 24.7: "I learned these things from respected men, and I reread them in books of the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*" (*haec ego et a gravibus viris comperi et in Ulpiae Bibliothecae libris relegi*).

Tacitus 8.1: "There is in the *Bibliotheca Ulpia* in the sixth case an ivory book, in which this decree of the Senate has been written, which Tacitus himself has signed with his own hand" (*habet in Bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum, in quo hoc senatus consultum perscriptum est, cui Tacitus ipse manu sua subscripsit*).

Tacitus 10.3: The emperor Tacitus, claiming the historian Cornelius Tacitus as a relative, ordered that ten copies of the historian's works be made each year and that they be placed in all libraries.

Carus, Carinus, Numerian 11.3: the Senate honors Numerian as an orator with a statue in the *Bibliotheca Ulpia*.

23. See E. Groag, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedia d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1917), s.v. Iunius (no. 184): 1108–1109; E. Hohl, "Über den Ursprung der *Historia Augusta*," *Hermes* 55 (1920): 3[illegible] Lorne D. Bruce, "A Reappraisal of Roman Libraries in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *Journal of Library History* 16 (1981): 551–573.

24. In a recent study of ancient literacy, William Harris makes this estimate: "The likely overall illiteracy level of the Roman Empire under the principate is almost certain to have been above 90 percent" (*Ancient Literacy* [Cambridge, Mass.: 1989], 22).

25. See Raymond J. Starr, "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *Classical Quarterly* 37 (1978): 213–223.

26. Pliny the Younger, *Epistle* 1.13; A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford: 1966), 114–116.

27. Vitruvius 7.pref.4–7.

28. Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 4.Pref.2; Alexander Dalzell, "C. Asinius Pollio and the Early History of Public Recitation at Rome," *Hermathena* 86 (1955): 26–27.

Marcus Terentius Varro may have collaborated with Pollio in the establishment of public recitations. Varro wrote a book *de lectionibus* which probably dealt with the subject of recitations. The prominent place accorded to Varro in the decoration of Pollio's library, as the only living man to receive a portrait, has led to the suggestion that Pollio may have honored Varro not only as an author but also as Caesar's

"librarian" and as a collaborator in Pollio's own library project. See Friedrich Ritschl, "Die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro," *Opuscula Philologica* vol. 3 (Leipzig: 1877), 460–463; H. Funaioli, *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta*, 209; Dalzell, 25; Shipley, "Chronology of the Building Operations . . ." (note 4, above): 20; J. Andre, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris: 1949), 119.

29. Horace, *Epistle* 2.2.92–105; Acron on Horace *Satire* 1.10.38; Pliny the Younger, *Epistle* 1.13.3; Juvenal, 7.36–37; Dalzell, "C. Asinius Pollio . . ." (note 28, above): 26–27; N. Horsfall, "The collegium poetarum," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 23 (1976): 83–85; Brink, *Horace on Poetry. Epistles Book II* . . . (note 14, above), 315, 322.

30. Suetonius, *Augustus* 29.3; *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 2435 *verso*; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.37; Dio Cassius 58.9.3; Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca: 1977), 19, 120; F. Castagnoli, "Sulla biblioteca del tempio di Apollo Palatino," *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei* ser. 8, vol. 4 (1949): 382.

31. David Thompson, "The Meetings of the Roman Senate on the Palatine," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981): 335–339.

32. Just as the Palatine temple of Apollo, in which the patron god of Augustus was worshipped, was so closely linked to the house of Augustus as to be a part of it, so also the Palatine library given by Augustus and attached to the temple might be viewed as part of his house; indeed, the library seems to have lain just on the opposite side of a courtyard from the house. See Gianfilippo Carettoni, "I problemi della zona Augusteo del Palatino alla luce dei recenti scavi," *Rendiconti della pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 39 (1966–1967): 55–75; Carettoni, "Le costruzioni di Augusto e il Tempio di Apollo sul Palatino," *Quaderni del Centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica, Archeologia Laziale* 1 (1978): 72–74; Carettoni, "La decorazione pittorica della casa di Augusto sul Palatino," *Römische Mitteilungen* 10 (1983): 373–419.

At least one other public library may have been the setting for recitations, namely, the library in the Porticus Octaviae. Pliny the Elder mentioned a *Curia Octaviae*, which he then called a *schola* (*Natural History* 36.28–29); these two designations for the same building suggest that it could have been used both as a formal meeting place (*Curia*) and as a place for study and discussion (*schola*). It seems reasonable to assume that when the Senate met in the Porticus Octaviae, as it did on at least one occasion (Dio Cassius 55.8.1), it convened in the portico's library, hence a designation as *Curia*. If this library could have accommodated Senate meetings, presumably it could also have accommodated recitations.

33. Baths of Trajan: Platner-Ashby, s.v. Thermae Traiani, 534–536; Nash, s.v. Thermae Traiani, vol. 2, 472–477; Coarelli, *Roma*, 202–204. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Thermae Traiani, 397–398.

Baths of Caracalla: Platner-Ashby, s.v. Thermae Antoninianae, 520–524; Nash, s.v. Thermae Antoninianae, vol. 2, 434–441, and fig. 1237; Coarelli, *Roma*, 332–335. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Thermae Antoninianae, 387–389.

Baths of Diocletian: Platner-Ashby, s.v. Thermae Diocletiani, 527–530; Nash, s.v. Thermae Diocletiani, vol. 2, 448–453; Coarelli, *Roma*, 255–257. Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Thermae Diocletiani, 391–393.

34. Fikret Yegül, *Baths and Bathings in Classical Antiquity* (New York: 1992), 172–173.

35. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.8679. See M. Ihm, "Die Bibliotheken im alten Rom," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10 (1893): 527.

36. George W. Houston, "The Slave and Freedman Personnel of Roman Public Libraries," Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, 1991.

37. See notes 21 and 22, above, and Bruce, "A Reappraisal . . ." (note 23, above): 562–563.

38. Michel Seve, "Sur le taille des rayonnages dans les bibliothèques antiques," *Revue de Philologie* 117 (1990): 173–179; Lora Johnson, *The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to their Architectural Form* (Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1984), 149–184; Yegül, *Baths and Bathing* . . . (note 34, above), 448, note 128.

39. Tibur: *Attic Nights* 9.14.3, 19.5.4; Patrae: 18.9.5.

40. P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archeologique en Grece et en Asie Mineure, 1843–1844* (Paris: 1853–1870), vol. 3.1, no. 1618.

41. R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora. Vol. III: The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* (Princeton: 1957), 150, no. 464.

For the library of Pantainos, see J. M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens* (London: 1986), 187–191.

42. *Tristia* 3.1.63–4: *quaeque viri docto veteres cepere novique / pectore lecturis inspicienda patent.*

43. Martial 5.5; see also Martial 12.3.

44. Suetonius, *Julius Caesar* 56.7. Pompeius Macer may have had some general supervision over all three public libraries at Rome; since, however, other names are associated with the "arranging" of the libraries of the Atrium Libertatis (Varro: see note 28, above) and of the Porticus Octaviae (Gaius Melissus: Suetonius, *Grammatici* 21), it seems more likely that Pompeius Macer's charge was the arranging of the Palatine library, the one most closely associated with Augustus.

Macer was the son of Theophanes of Mytilene, the Greek historian and advisor of Pompey the Great. Macer was himself a poet, writing an epic on the Trojan cycle, and a friend of Ovid. Ovid sent to Macer his poem *Ex Ponto* 2.10, in which he recalls his Grand Tour of Asia and Sicily made in the company of Macer and also mentions that Macer is related to Ovid's wife (lines 9–12). Macer was procurator of Asia under Augustus and was a friend of Tiberius. See Strabo13.2.3 C 618; Ovid, *Amores* 2.18, *Ex Ponto* 2.10, 4.16.6; Rudolf Hanslik, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1952), s.v. Pompeius (no. 92), 2276–2277; Arthur L. Wheeler, "Topics from the Life of Ovid," *American Journal of Philology* 46 (1925): 20–21; Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford: 1978), 73.

45. Labienus: Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 10.pref.4–10. Cassius: Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 2.4.11, 10.pref.7; Tacitus, *Annals* 1.72.3, 4.21.3.

The works of Titus Labienus and Cassius Severus were burned by senatorial decree at a time not very distant from Ovid's banishment, perhaps in the very year of his exile, A.D. 8. For the date, see Syme, *History in Ovid* (note 44, above), 211–214. On censorship and book burning, see Marshall, "Library Resources . . ." (note 1, above): 262–264; Richard A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* (Munich: 1974), 29, 31, note 42, 32; G. W. Clarke, "The Burning of Books and Catullus 36," *Latomus* 27 (1968): 575–580, and note 1, for earlier bibliography.

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ALEXANDRIA IN ROME

SAROLTA A. TAKÁCS*

Ах, покидаю я Александрию
и долго видеть ее не буду!
увижу Кипр, дорогой Богине,
увижу Тур, Ефес и Смирну,
увижу Афины — мечту моей юности,
Коринф и далекую Виэантию
и венец всех желаний,
цель всех стремлений —
увижу Рим великий![1]

THE tormented Io and her asylum-seeking descendants, the Danaids, present the mythological link between Greece and Egypt while Greek emporia in the Nile delta offer historically more tangible connections between the two countries. Alexander's conquest and the foundation of a new city eventually transferred Egypt and its monuments, visible and readable symbols of political sovereignty belonging to times beyond mere history, into the Greek/Macedonian sphere of

*I would like to thank the organizers of the Greece in Rome conference, Profs. Christopher Jones and Richard Thomas, for inviting me and giving me first the chance to speak and now to write about some aspects of my research. I am especially grateful to Christopher Jones, Lark DiLucia Miller, and Charles Segal for their comments and recognize the editors of *HSCP* who were so patient with me. This article features new elements as well as components from my *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World* (Leiden 1995 [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 124]).

[1] M. A. Kuzmin (1872–1936) *Alexandrian Songs* (concluding poem), J. E. Malmstad and V. Markov eds. *Gesammelte Gedichte I, Gedichtbände vor der Revolution* (Munich 1977) 199. "Alas, I am forsaking Alexandria / and long shall I not see her. / I shall see Cyprus, dear to the Goddess, / I shall see Tyre, Ephesus and Smyrna, / I shall see Athens, the dream of my youth, / Corinth and far Byzantium / and the crown of all longings, / the goal of all strivings—/ I shall see Rome the mighty!" (trans. M. Green, see also his *Mikhail Kuzmin Selected Prose and Poetry* [Ann Arbor 1980] 333–362).

control. The Lagids, Alexander's successors, could tap into and define themselves in light of this millennia-old authority, and their conquerors, the Roman *principes*, could do the same.

Octavian took into Roman possession an economic stronghold, a cultural melting-pot, and the guardian of Hellenistic literary and intellectual culture. Alexandria is what Rome should but never would become: one of the major intellectual centers of the *imperium*. Alexandria's role in Rome's cultural self-definition is certainly less immediate than that of Greece; nevertheless, this Greek/Macedonian foundation left consequential imprints on Rome. With an eye on cultural tradition Mikhail Kuzmin's stanza delicately links Alexandria and Rome. Since scholars have already superbly detailed the literary connection between Alexandrian and Late Republican poets, this essay will focus on some of the political and religious connections between Alexandria and Rome.

After official enthronement as Pharaoh at Memphis, Alexander set sail down the Nile. When he reached the coast, he sailed westward and came to Ra-kedet, an Egyptian village, which the Greeks called Rhacotis. A new city was to be built here. As we all know well the young conqueror hurried on to the oracle of Ammon-Ra at Siwah and, then after defeating Darius, to the ends of the world. He would never see the completed *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, wedged between the Mediterranean and the island of Pharos to the north and Lake Mareotis to the south. Its history became that of the Ptolemies.[2] Alexander's achievements, however, were woven into a powerful, multi-faceted cultural myth; a myth that would be emulated by various successors, i.e., the heirs of the famed city by succession or conquest and those who modelled themselves after Alexander and thus evoked the power of his myth. Pompey's *imitatio Alexandri* offers the first tangible evidence of a Roman's imitation of Alexander, which does not mean that Pompey was its originator. It seems plausible that Mithridates VI Eupator's *imitatio* spurred Pompey's. This would lock their respective *imitationes* into the context of the struggle for control over Asia.[3] After Pompey, the link between an *imperator* and Alexander the Great, which did not

[2] P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972).

[3] C. Bohm, *Imitatio Alexandri im Hellenismus* (Munich 1989 [Quellen und Forschungen zur antiken Welt 3]) 95–100, with valuable bibliographical references. Scipio Africanus' Alexander connection has been judged not to be authentic (see Bohm, ibid., 99 n. 16).

require likeness, remained operational. Plutarch relates Mark Antony's "uncontrollable desire for power and all around frenzied longing to be the first and greatest" to Alexander's.[4] The other triumvir, Octavian, used Alexander's effigy on the imperial seal before his own and while in Alexandria is said to have gazed upon Alexander's mummy.[5] Even the fatal tourist and imperial successor, Germanicus, happened to utter:

> Even before now I thought it (Alexandria) to be a dazzling spectacle, in the first place because of the hero who is your founder, to whom a common debt is from those who have the same aspirations.[6]

While Alexander associated himself with Ammon-Ra, Ptolemy I Soter chose the syncretic Sarapis as the patron deity of the new dynasty. Sarapis, an inexact Greek transliteration (Ὀσαράπις) of the Egyptian "Wsir-Ḥp," is the abstraction of all dead—or, in Egyptian terms, Osirified—Apis-bulls. The Apis-bulls were connected with Memphis, whose priests, the priests of Ptah, wielded tremendous political power; they made and un-made pharaohs.[7] Since a dead god like Osiris could hardly have been an appealing concept to Greeks and Macedonians, the linguistic misunderstanding of "Wsir-Ḥp" was a welcome coincidence. Some could associate Sarapis' place of origin with the Black Sea city Sinope, others could connect *-apis* with the Greek king Apis, who happened to have died in Egypt. These possible associations must have facilitated an acceptance of Sarapis, the dynasty's protector, and bound Macedonians and Greeks living in Egypt to their new country and the Ptolemaic ruling family that claimed its right of succession in accordance with the old and established pharaonic system. According to this system, each pharaoh was in essence a living god. He was the embodiment of Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris. The Ptolemies successfully integrated something new, Sarapis, into the dynastic ritual, which fur-

[4] *Ant.* 6.

[5] Suet. *Aug.* 18 and 50.

[6] Tacitus *Ann.* 2.73 and *POxy* 25.2435.18–21, trans. E. G. Turner. ἡδὲ δὲ ἡγεσάμενος αὐτὴν εἶν[αι] | [λ]αμπρότατον θέαμαι τὸ μὲν πρότον δια τ[ὸν] | [ἥ]ρωα καὶ κτ[ίσ]την πρὸς τὸν κυνή τι ἔστιν ὀ[φ]ε̣ί̣[λημα] | [το]ῖς τ̣ῶν α̣ὐ̣τ̣[ῶν] ἀντεχωμένοις.

[7] C. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah à Memphis* (Freiburg, Switzerland, and Göttingen 1992 [Orbis biblicus et orientalis 113]) and D. J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Louvain 1980 [Studia Hellenistica 24]).

nished the structure for Egypt's religious and daily life. In other words, a reciprocal assimilation of the value and belief systems of the conqueror and the conquered had occurred.

Under the watchful eyes of the first Ptolemies, Alexandria became the most important trade center of antiquity. Its traders even did business with India and China. Exports consisted of Egyptian agricultural products, especially cereals, papyri, ivory, aromata, wrought gold and silver, glass, and textile products. Their market was the whole Mediterranean basin and areas beyond. A central bank, located in Alexandria and regulated by the ruler,[8] controlled the monetary market. Ptolemy I Soter and, especially, Ptolemy II Philadelphos were known creditors for projects in and outside Egypt.[9] Alexandria's and the Lagids' economic potential formed the basis for the elaborate architectural projects.

Alexandria offered something not only for the eye and the pocketbook but also for the mind: it had libraries—of which the most famous was located in the *Mouseion*—and scholars who worked on various scientific projects. Alexandria, thanks to Demetrius of Phaleron's suggestion which Ptolemy I and his successors took to heart, became the intellectual center of the Graeco-Roman world. Although Varro's story of the Ptolemies' jealousy of the growth of the library at Pergamon and their papyri boycott, which, consequently, brought about the Pergamene invention of parchment,[10] is a figment of imagination, it still points to a cultural competition between the Lagids and Attalids. Pergamene patronage and scholarship might pale in comparison with that of Alexandria, but when we think of Crates and his student Panaetius we have to acknowledge their impact on Roman intellectual development of the second century B.C.E.[11]

[8] *Pap. Cairo Zen.* 59503 [*Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Caire* 85 (1928) 220–221: a letter from Python and Antipatros (?) to Panakestor]. C. C. Edgar suggests "that the subject of the letter is the distribution of banks controlled by the Treasury." See also P. W. Pestman ed., *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (Leiden 1981 [Papyrologica Lugdono-Batava 21]) 113 (addenda, corrigenda), 289 n. 10 (Antipatros), 386 (Panakestor), and 410 (Python).

[9] F. Heichelheim, "Monopole," *RE* 31 (1938) 159–190; C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Bruxelles 1939) 280–297; and M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* 2nd ed. (Oxford 1986) 1.404–406.

[10] Pliny *HN* 13.70.

[11] E. V. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (Ithaca 1971 [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology 29]) 390–433 gives a good survey of Attalid literary and artistic patronage. For a more detailed account of the Pergamene cultural program see H.-J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert vor*

Pergamon, bequeathed by Attalus III to the Roman people, and Egypt, wrested from the last Ptolemy and her Roman consort a little more than a century later, mark the opening and closing phases of the economic, social, and political breakdown of the Republican system. While in the political sphere the traditional system was retained and forced to work, the conquerors did not hesitate to embrace new ideas, opinions, and tastes. They found new ways of looking at the world. And, whatever they found, their interest turned the newly-encountered into an integral part of the Roman world of ideas. Hellenistic influences shaped Rome's cultural and intellectual atmosphere. This interaction with external intellectual impulses brought about the Roman process of self-discovery. We note that at the time of the Republic's final struggle, these influences shaped Roman literature, art, philosophy, and religion more than ever before.

Conscious of the difference between the Hellenistic and the Roman literary heritage, Roman writers, especially after the Social War, were able to produce literature that reflected this new condition. They had successfully overcome what still plagued the political sphere; they had found new ways of expressing their cultural identity, which had become linked with the Greek past. And in this endeavor Alexandrian poets served as models.

Rome had to wait for Augustus to resolve the conflict between the actual political condition and the inherited political and moral model. His creation, the principate, rested on the traditional Republican value system and political organization. In essence, its purpose was the systematic propagation of the notion of Augustus as the central social, political, and religious force of the state. This, of course, set him apart from all the other inhabitants of the empire. The process of detaching the figure "Octavian" from the human sphere began with the deification of C. Julius Caesar. The senatorial decree to name him Augustus, the acquisition of the title *pater patriae* sealed this metamorphosis. The internal dynamic of the emperor as an extraordinary human being, reflected in the official worship and in his status as a *diui filius*, enabled each subsequent emperor to place himself in the intermediate sphere between humans and gods with greater facility than his predecessor.[12]

Christus (Tübingen 1985 [*IstForsch* 36]). In addition, B. Virgilio, *Gli Attalidi di Pergamo* (Pisa 1993 [Biblioteca di Studi Antichi 70]).

[12] An emperor's immediate predecessor did not need to be a *diuus*. See M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (Rome 1959) 203–204; L. Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of The*

Ultimately, he was solely in the divine domain and could ask for the appropriate treatment. With every successive Roman emperor the Ptolemaic model became more pertinent.

Indeed, "Augustus would have smiled in a puzzled way if he had been informed that he had introduced pharaonic divine monarchy at Rome";[13] it was hardly his intention. He did not follow a model but reacted to and manipulated political situations for his advantage. In good Roman fashion "honors were given in return for services rendered," and Augustus made sure that this reciprocity remained intact. The first *princeps*, however, could not have foreseen a Senate unconditionally presenting Gaius (Caligula) with all necessary political powers in one generous act and probably could not have imagined a descendant like Nero who displayed striking artistic but not consistent and substantial political interests. Vespasian proved that a successful general with enough military support and political savvy could grasp the principate. Alexandria happened to be the city where Vespasian the *princeps* was made. No *princeps* introduced pharaonic divine monarchy at Rome; but political developments, dynamics, and circumstances linked Rome with Ptolemaic Alexandria through its founding hero, Alexander, and its major deities, Isis and Sarapis.

Alexandria and to much greater degree Egypt were exotic places which could capture a Roman's imagination. Even at the time of the most intensive political anti-Egyptian diatribes before the battle of Actium, the artistic employment of Egyptian motifs did not cease. From the Late Republic Roman villas in Campania, for example, featured Nilotic landscapes and Isiac symbols. They delineated an exotic world; in addition, they presented a world that was politically very much in Rome's sphere of interest and would eventually become part of the empire. In this manner, the exotic land *beyond*, which provided an imaginary escape from the accepted and enforced norms, was at the same time *within* the Roman sphere, within its realm of activity and control. We have to remember that in the Roman mind political and private interests did not have to coincide. There was no thought of hypocrisy as long as a Roman politician advanced and secured the interests of the Roman state.

Roman Emperor (Middletown 1931); → S. R. F. Price, "Between Men and God: Sacrifice in the Roman Imperial Cult," *JRS* 70 (1980) 28–43.

[13] A. D. Nock, *CAH* 10 (Cambridge 1934) 489.

Isiac symbols on villa walls should not surprise and lead to daring and erroneous interpretations. Isis and Sarapis were strangers neither to Campania nor Rome. In Campania they had been introduced in the second century B.C.E., when there were close economic ties between Delos and Ptolemaic Egypt. After Mithridates' sack of Delos in 88 B.C.E., the process of integration sped up. The divine couple also symbolized Egypt; as such, they or their attributes were integrated into the paintings. In short, they found their way onto murals providing controlled illusions as part of the experienced Romano-Campanian reality.

The most popular notion of Actium as the final battle between the defender of true Roman-ness and an oriental, absolutely un-Roman, power-hungry couple, is a notion that, in R. Syme's words, was a deliberately propagated popular "historical romance." Virgil diffused the ugliness of this very human struggle for political dominance by making it parallel with a divine struggle. Thus, the myth of Actium had its beginning and justification. This promontory on the coast of Acarnania, however, is not alone in claiming longevity. Among literary motifs, there is also the *sistrum* (rattle) attributed to Cleopatra. Virgil did not have to name the νέα Ἶσις;[14] the *sistrum* made it clear that he meant the Egyptian queen.

> regina in mediis patrio uocat agmina sistro,
> necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.[15]

Christians identified the *sistrum* simply as a symbol of paganism; thus, they divorced it from historical and literary bearings tied to Cleopatra.[16]

After Actium and the consequent integration of Egypt as a province, Egyptian artistic motifs were used even more extensively than before.[17] The best examples for this are Augustus' and Livia's villa on the Palatine, the *aula Isiaca*, and the Villa della Farnesina, probably the home of Agrippa and Julia. The wall decorations of the upper *cubiculum* of Augustus' house include Egyptian landscapes with obelisks, lotus

[14] Plut. *Ant.* 54.6.

[15] *Aen.* 8.696–697.

[16] I. Becher, "Oktavians Kampf gegen Antonius und seine Stellung zu den ägyptischen Göttern," *Altertum* 11 (1965) 40–47 and *Augustus und Ägypten—Studien zu Religionspolitik und Propaganda in augusteischer Zeit* (Leipzig 1969).

[17] M. de Vos, *L'egittomania in pitture e mosaici Romano-Campani della prima età imperiale, EPRO* 84 (Leiden 1980).

flowers, *uraei*, and *situlae*.[18] (The latter two, representations of the asp and water jars, can be Isiac symbols.) Livia's villa incorporated similar motifs and depicted an Egyptian solar theme.[19]

Augustus' placing of obelisks in Rome, monuments foreign to its tradition of sculptural art, shows this aspect of integration as well. The inclusion of these originally Egyptian monuments equipped with Latin inscriptions into Rome's visual landscape expressed both Augustus' claim to power and Rome's political superiority.[20] A noteworthy obelisk in the *campus Martius*, now located in the Piazza Montecitorio,[21] was the hand (*gnomon*) of a monumental sun dial. Another obelisk, now in the Piazza del Popolo, was placed in the *spina* of the *circus maximus*. Besides these, Augustus probably ordered the placement of two obelisks by the entrance of the *mausoleum Augusti*. One of them is now in the Piazza del Quirinale, the other in the Piazza dell' Esquilino. The first obelisk which Augustus converted into a monument expressing his and Rome's superiority, presently stands in the Piazza di S. Pietro. G. Alföldy convincingly demonstrated that this obelisk originally had been planned as a monument to Mark Antony. C. Cornelius Gallus in 30 B.C.E., ordered by a *iussu imperatoris Caesaris*, i.e., Octavian (Augustus), turned it into the earliest monument of Roman rule over Egypt. Shortly after the death of Augustus, the obelisk, its old inscription more or less worn away, received a new dedicatory inscription. Gaius (Caligula) then had this obelisk brought to Rome and placed in the *circus Uaticanus*.[22] In what P. Zanker labeled Augustus' "program of cultural renewal," obelisks were integrated into Rome's landscape and imbued with a specific Roman meaning. Eventually, obelisks were put up in other cities as well, especially in the

[18] G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz 1983) placed the construction of the villa in the years 36–28 B.C.E. A description of the upper *cubiculum* 67–85.

[19] M.-Th. Picard-Schmitter, "Bétyles Hellenistiques," *Fondation Eugène Piot Monuments et Mémoires* 57 (1971) 43–88.

[20] E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* (Rome 1969).

[21] A youth holding the *gnomon* in his lap serves as personification of the *campus Martius* in the apotheosis relief of the column of Antoninus Pius. The *gnomon* (*obeliscus Augusti*) like the obelisk in the *circus maximus* were brought to Rome in 10 B.C.E. Both share the same dedicatory inscription to the sun (*CIL* VI 701 and 702).

[22] G. Alföldy, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom. Ein historisches Monument der Antike,* (Heidelberg 1990 [SB Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1990.2]).

spinae of circuses.[23] Egypt had become part of the Roman public world.

While there is a tendency to connect Egypt and its deities with everything that is utterly un-Roman (like the demi-monde and maniacal emperors who wear dog masks) and everything that is inherently decadent—but then should we have expected more from a country whose inhabitants worship animals and vegetables—one ought not to forget that Egypt of all countries in Rome's sphere of interest and control had the oldest historical tradition. Its history, for which monuments of incredible size and age were visual proof, reached back into remote times and yet existed beyond a merely mythological context. Although Rome had successfully made Greek culture its own, it was still Alexandria that could claim to have been the guardian of and the bridge to the admired intellectual past. A place where this knowledge had been stored was not only the *Mouseion* in the imperial palace but also the library in the *Serapeum*.[24] For the Roman interested in the past, Alexandria was a place where the treasures of his chosen cultural past were stored and, therefore, a place where the past was still alive and within reach. Hadrian, the philhellene, understood this and the Serapeum-Canopus complex of his elaborate villa in Tibur seems to signify his understanding of the importance of Alexandria.[25]

It is interesting to note that we do not hear of libraries in Rome before the first century B.C.E. It was Julius Caesar who ordered Varro "to procure and classify the greatest possible libraries of Greek and Latin books and open them to the public."[26] Pliny tells us of Asinius Pollio, who founded a public library.[27] But, again, it was Augustus who was the most successful in the establishment of libraries. There were two and each was connected with a temple, had Greek and Latin sections, and a reading room where conversation was possible.[28] One

[23] J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing* (London 1986).

[24] F. Ritschl, *Die alexandrinischen Bibliotheken unter den Ptolemäern* (Breslau 1838) and E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (Amsterdam, London, and New York 1952).

[25] F. Coarelli, *Guide archeologiche Laterza* 5 (Rome and Bari 1982) 44–72; N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy* (Aarhus 1988) 209; H. Mielsch, *Die römische Villa. Architektur und Lebensform* (Munich 1987) 75–85, 104. I agree with M. Taliaferro Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome* (Princeton 1987) 143–149, 239–260 that this complex was not an edifice to commemorate Antinoos' death.

[26] Suet. *Jul.* 44.

[27] *HN* 7.30, 35.2.

[28] Suet. *Aug.* 29 and C. Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* 5.2 (1897) 418.

might imagine them something like the *Mouseion* and the *Serapeum* in Alexandria.

Alexandria and, by extension, Egypt also, left their mark, as I have pointed out above, in the political sphere. Nero, who could stress that he was the great-great-grandson of Augustus and the only surviving male descendant of Germanicus, had besides Seneca the Stoic Chaeremon of Alexandria as an instructor.[29] Stoicism, with its theory of *logos*, the formative and guiding principle of nature that is identified with *deus*, was compatible with Egyptian deism. The influence of Rome's foremost philosophical and political theory had reached Alexandria, but, what is more interesting, it was reflected back to Rome in this specifically Alexandrian combination. Even Seneca's *De Clementia* feeds on this Egyptian background, for it celebrated Nero as the sun in a manner similar to Amenhotep IV (or Akhnaton) in the Great Hymn to Aten and Isis' son in the Great Hymn to Osiris (both texts are from the New Kingdom).[30] After the devastating fire of 64 C.E., Nero could even build the appropriate home, the *domus aurea*, from which it was apparently possible to follow the daily and yearly course of the sun without any interference.[31] This is not to say that Nero embraced purely Egyptian principles. His interests in Greece and the god Helios, for example, are far more explicit.[32] Despite this fact, the Egyptian background, the coincidence and correlation of concepts cannot be overlooked. It is a minute but important additional element in understanding ancient Rome.

Nero's suicide threw the empire into civil war, from which Vespasian emerged successfully. The legions in Alexandria had proclaimed him emperor. The city's gods stood on his side and neither

[29] P. W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (Leiden 1984 [*EPRO* 110]).

[30] T. Adam, *Clementia Principis* (Stuttgart 1970 [Kieler Historische Studien 11]) 41–45; R. Turcan, *Sénèque et les religions orientales* (Bruxelles 1967 [Collection Latomus 91]); and P. Grimal, "Le *De Clementia* et la royauté solaire de Néron," *REL* 49 (1971) 205–217.

[31] H. P. L'Orange, "Nero's Cosmic Hall," in *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo 1953) 28–34 and J.-L. Voisin, "*Exoriente sole* (Suétone *Ner.* 6). D'Alexandre à la *Domus Aurea*," in *L'Urbs. Espace urbain et histoire* (Rome 1987 [CÉFR 98]) 509–543.

[32] Like Caligula Nero is termed νέος Ἥλι➞ (*SIG* 814, 34–35) and Antiphilus *Anth. Pal.* 9 178: Ἅλιε, καὶ παρὰ σὸν φέγγος ἔλαμψε Νέρων. Helios featured most prominently on Rhodes for whose freedom Nero pleaded successfully.

Vespasian nor his sons ever forgot it. The proclamation in Alexandria gave Vespasian further advantages. He controlled the most important economic center and the most important component in the empire's food supply chain. Egypt was the breadbasket of the *imperium* whose internal stability depended on it. Vespasian, like other prominent Romans before and after him, could also place himself in the tradition of the mythological Alexander, the prime model for a successful conqueror and founder of a world empire. While Alexander's empire disintegrated after his death, the Romans could sincerely believe for centuries that they had obtained a world empire on the principles which Virgil poetically formulated:

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.[33]

The Roman were the heirs of the Hellenistic world, its traditions, its world of ideas, its territories. And as Rome's political system changed from the Republican oligarchy to the principate, its ruler would be heir to the immensely powerful myth of Alexander. The clearest parallel with Alexander in Vespasian's ascent to power is his visit to the oracle on Mount Carmel, which was organized around a sacred stone comparable to the one in the oasis of Siwah.[34] It prophesied to him that whatever greatness he imagined for himself, more would come true. The Jewish historian Josephus, then a prisoner, predicted that Vespasian would become emperor.[35] Less obvious was the connection with the supreme deity, in Alexander's case Ammon-Zeus, in Vespasian's Sarapis. The request of two sick men to be healed by Vespasian in the Alexandrian *Serapeum*,[36] because the god had suggested it to them in their dreams, emphasizes the elevated position Vespasian aspired to, propagated, and would eventually hold.[37]

[33] *Aen.* 6.851–853.

[34] Diod. Sic. *Hist.* 17.49.2–5.3; Curt. 4.7.23 and 4.7.25–7; Plut. *Alex.* 26.6–27.6; Arr. *Anab.* 3.3–4.

[35] Suet. *Vesp.* 5.6.

[36] A. Henrichs, "Vespasian's Visit to Alexandria," *ZPE* 3 (1968) 51–80 → R. Lattimore, "Portents and Prophecies in Connection with the Emperor Vespasian," *CJ* 29 (1931) 441–449.

[37] Tac. *Hist.* 4.81. Tacitus always eager to unmask sycophants stresses that "both these incidents are still vouched for by eyewitnesses, though there is now nothing gained by lying."

Although the propagated connection between a Roman *princeps* and the god Sarapis was a novelty, it was effective because the necessary building blocks had not only been in place for almost a century but had also gone through various stages of development. These essential elements were the extraordinary social, political, and religious position of the emperor enhanced by imperial worship and the concept of the *diui filius*. In addition, monarchical rule best reflected the basic principle of Rome's foremost political ideology, stoicism. Since there had never been a specifically formulated promotional program to advance the *princeps*, the system was put in place by Augustus to safeguard his own position and had a natural flexibility and an internal dynamic. Thus, Vespasian, like other *principes*, could associate himself with Sarapis. It was not the cult of Isis these emperors embraced, but the deities' Alexandrian and dynastic characteristics.

In addition, at the time of Vespasian the cult of Isis was no longer a *superstitio* but a *sacrum publicum*, which had received an officially sanctioned residence in the *campus Martius* either at the end of Gaius' (Caligula's) or in the beginning of Claudius' reign.[38] Nothing seems to speak against a hypothesis that there might have been a temple/shrine in the *campus Martius* before the time of Gaius (Caligula) and Claudius, and that the introduction of the *Isia* was not linked to a temple construction. Although one should not think of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* Book 11 as simply and singularly a handbook on Isiac initiation, it can give us some valuable information about non-mystery facts. Apuleius tells us that Lucius "happily fulfilled the duties of that ancient college, which was founded at the time of the dictator Sulla, and that he (Lucius) waited to be initiated as priest of *Isis Campensis*."[39] Can we link this "ancient" *collegium pastophorum* with a pre-principate Isiac shrine in the *campus Martius*? The fact that the earliest inscription from Rome mentioning Isiacs came from *regio* VIII, the Capitoline region,[40] should not make us disregard Apuleius' statement. Catullus' *puella* requested: *mihi, mi Catulle, paulum / istos commoda: nam uolo ad Serapim / deferri,*[41] and the Second Triumvirate voted in favor of a temple of Isis and Sarapis in 43 B.C.E. It is important

[38] For the dating see G. Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer* (Munich 1902) 353 and A. A. Barrett, *Caligula* (Manchester 1989) 220–221.

[39] 11.30 and 26.

[40] *SIRIS* 377 = *CIL* I^2 1263 = VI 2247 = *ILS* 4405 = *ILLRP* 159.

[41] 10.25–27.

to note that the Triumvirate did not vote to build a temple structure.[42] The hypothesis that the first official temple of Isis and Sarapis in the *campus Martius* could have been a replacement or an enlargement of an earlier structure does not seem at all far-fetched.

Vespasian's sojourn at the temple of Isis in the *campus Martius* on the night before his triumphal procession should be seen as an act of piety; Domitian's renovations of *Isea* fulfilled the same purpose.[43] Vespasian and his sons did not forget where their rule began. A link was forged and kept intact between Alexandria, its deities, and the new *domus Augusta*.[44] Vespasian's successor, Titus, arrived in Alexandria a year after the destruction of Jerusalem (April 25, 71 C.E.).[45] Before he had visited the Apis-bull in Memphis.[46]

Other emperors like Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla came to Egypt and visited Alexandria,[47] but literary sources have only one of them travel to Memphis, and he happened to be the founder of a new dynasty, namely Septimius Severus.[48] This pattern also seems to suggest that Germanicus, who is said to have

[42] Dio Cass. *Hist.* 47.15 (καὶ νέων τῷ τε Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἴσιδι ἐψηφίσαντο).

[43] H. Dressel, "Das Iseum Campense auf einer Münze des Vespasianus," *SB könig.-preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 25 (1909) 640–648. Domitian had an arch added as part of the *Iseum Campense*'s restoration (B. Sesler, "Arco di Domiziano all'Iseo Campense in Roma," *RIN* 1, ser. 4 (1952–53) 54–55, 88–93; E. Nash, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Rom* (Tübingen 1961) 1.118–119; and G. Gatti, "Topografia dell'Iseo Campense," *RPAA* 26 (1943–44) 117–163). He also set up an obelisk which is now in the Piazza Navona. On its east side is a picture of Isis crowning Domitian with the hieroglyphic caption: "The *autokrator* loved by Isis and Ptah, may he live like Ra." In the *Iseum* at Beneventum is another obelisk with a hieroglyphic text linking Domitian with Horus and Ra. See also K. Lembke, *Das Iseum Campense in Rom: Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian* (Heidelberg 1994).

[44] Eleven statue and relief fragments were found in the *domus Flauia*. M. Malaise, "L'inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens en Italie," *EPRO* 21 (1971) 222 says too eagerly that the Flavian palace had "une chapelle isiaque."

[45] *POxy* 34.2725 [letter to Adrastus and Spartacus (April 29, 71 C.E.). "All in all, it is safe to conclude that Titus Caesar made his entrance into Alexandria toward 7 o'clock on the morning of 25th April A.D. 71 (p. 127)." One place Titus "stopped at" was the *Serapeum* (18–22: ὁ δὲ κύριος | κα̣ὶ̣[σα]ρ εἰσῆλθεν τῇ Λ̄ [ῳ]ρας β̄ πρῶτον ἐν παρεμβολῇ | ε . ε̣[.....] .ταν εἰς Σαραπῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαραπίου εἰς τ̣[ὸ] ἵππι|κὸ[ν.....] .ν τὰ δὲ ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν γνώσῃ ἄν ἀναπλεῦ|σ̣ο̣[....] ... μαι ὑμᾶς πάντας).

[46] Suet. *Tit.* 5.3.

[47] On travels of *principes* see H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum* (Stuttgart 1986 [Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 2]).

[48] *HA, S* 17.4.

fed the Apis-bull while visiting Memphis, was undermining Tiberius' authority.[49] Septimius' depiction as Sarapis[50] and Caracalla's construction of a temple of Sarapis on the Quirinal parallel in dimensions and elevation to that of Iuppiter Maximus mark the moment when the porous line separating the emperor from being a living god gave way. Alexandria was truly and completely in Rome; and, whether consciously or not, the Ptolemaic ruler concept and its myth of succession and dynastic rule captured existing political realities at Rome.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[49] D. G. Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus* (Bonn 1969 [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 2]).

[50] A. M. McCann, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus* (Rome 1968 [*MAAR* 30]) the Serapis-Severus portrait type IX 155–168.



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The Slave and Freedman Personnel of Public Libraries in Ancient Rome

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SUMMARY: The lower-level personnel in Roman public libraries of the early Empire were part of the emperor's domestic staff, just as they had been household slaves in late Republican libraries. This observation carries important implications. The book collections, at least in origin, were the emperor's private possessions, not public services like the roads, and he might closely control their use. His slave *vilici*, not equestrian procurators, ordinarily directed the daily work of the staff, and the commissioners of all the libraries (originally Greek intellectuals, and not always procurators) may have served primarily as scholarly advisers. No evidence supports the idea of a centralized library administration.

INTRODUCTION

BEGINNING IN THE 30S B.C. with Asinius Pollio's new library in the Atrium Libertatis, and continuing until at least the 220s A.D., the Romans built a series of public libraries in the city of Rome. We can identify about a dozen of them,[1] and one—the library in the Forum of Trajan—is known archae-

[1] For the sake of brevity, I will in this paper refer to the library associated with the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine as the "Apollo Library," the library in the Portico of Octavia as the "Octavian Library," and the library next to the Basilica Ulpia in the Forum of Trajan (usually known now as the Ulpian Library) as the "Trajan Library." For lists of libraries, evidence, discussions, and earlier bibliography see Callmer 156–67, Tønsberg 22–60 (in Danish), Blanck 160–67, Casson 80–92. Up-to-date accounts of individual libraries are available in Steinby (henceforth *LTUR*), as follows: library of Asinius Pollio 1: 196, Apollo Library 1: 55–56, Octavian Library 4: 141, library in the Templum Novum Divi Augusti 1: 197, Domus Tiberiana library 1: 196, Templum Pacis library 4: 69, Trajan Library 2: 353–54, Capitoline library 1: 196, Athenaeum 1: 131, library *in Pantheo* 1: 197. There may have been libraries in the great *thermae*, too. See *LTUR* 5: 68 for the Thermae Traiani and 5: 54 for the Thermae Diocletiani, but on these note the doubts expressed in Dix and Houston.

ologically and can be reconstructed in some detail.[2] We know that there were equestrian procurators whose charge was the libraries, although we do not know exactly when the emperors began to appoint such procurators (Hirschfeld 302–4, Bruce 1983). Occasional references in literature give us some idea of scholarly activity within the libraries, and on rare occasions we hear of some specific book or work contained in a library's collection.[3] All of this has been studied repeatedly, and the main outlines of Roman library history are reasonably well established.

It is still possible, however, to extend our knowledge of these institutions. We know the names of, and a little something about, some two dozen members of the lower-level slave and freedman personnel in the public libraries. While this material, primarily epigraphical, has not been ignored in the past, it has never been treated systematically or fully exploited.[4] In this paper, I will set out what is known about the slaves and freedmen who worked in Rome's libraries and then consider some of the implications of this material. A proper assessment of these men will help us form a more precise conception of the nature of the libraries themselves, and it may suggest new ways to consider the rôles of the equestrian administrators.

A CATALOGUE OF THE KNOWN PERSONNEL

In Table 1 I set out all the evidence I have found for slave and freedman personnel in the public libraries of Rome in the early Empire.[5] I have been inclusive rather than selective, and will consider problems (as with Scirtus, no. 14) in the notes to the Table or in the discussion that follows. I have arranged

[2] See the discussion and stunning reconstructions in Packer 1: 120–25 and 1: 450–54 with figs. 75–78.

[3] Thus, for example, Aulus Gellius describes sitting with friends in the library in the *domus Tiberiana* and being presented with the works of a certain M. Cato Nepos, whereupon a discussion of the identity of this Cato Nepos ensues (Gel. 13.20). For a generally reliable discussion of such references see Langie 113–20. Fedeli 48–58 also provides references to most of the anecdotes, although less systematically.

[4] Kuebler 1004 provides a list. Halkin 98–102 discusses the *servi publici* and provides references to most of the known slaves *a bybliotheca* and *vilici a bybliotheca.* Hirschfeld 304–5 considers these men within the context of the Roman library administration generally, as does Tønsberg 124–29. Helpful comments on the activities of the slave staff, but no comprehensive examination of them, are in Boulvert 58 and 162. Fehrle 84–86 discusses the titles and the limitations of our evidence. Casson 97–98 provides a brief general survey.

[5] For now, we can give "public library" a straightforward but tentative definition: a library paid for by the emperor or the state and open, at least in theory, to the general public, as opposed to libraries maintained by individuals or organizations such as *collegia* for their own use. We will be able to add some precision to this definition as we proceed.

the men in rough chronological order; despite the many uncertainties in dating, this seemed to be more useful than, say, an alphabetical listing. I give each individual a catalogue number and in the rest of the paper refer to the men by these numbers (see Table 1).

Twenty-six men, then: five certainly or very probably freedmen (nos. 1, 2, 3, 13, 14), eleven certainly slaves (nos. 4, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24), the other ten probably slaves.[6] Six of the slaves are called *vilicus* (nos. 6, 8, 17, 22, 23, 24) and so probably had some administrative or supervisory responsibilities (as we will see), but there are no other clear indications of an administrative hierarchy among the slave personnel. Five of the slaves were assigned to the Apollo Library (nos. 4, 5, 11, 12, 16), and five to the Octavian Library (nos. 6, 7, 8, 18, 20); no other specific libraries are named on inscriptions.[7] Men assigned to named libraries generally seem to have worked in either the Greek section (nos. 7, 11, 20; cf. no. 23) or the Latin section (nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 16; cf. no. 17) of their respective libraries. Nine of the slaves (nos. 4, 9, 11, 12, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24) and four of the freedmen (nos. 1, 2, 13, 14) certainly belonged to the *familia Caesaris*, and at least two—both of whom worked in the Octavian Library—were public slaves, or the property of the state (nos. 18, 20).

THE LATE REPUBLICAN CONTEXT

The titles of these men do not tell us what their tasks and responsibilities were, and to understand them and their work better we will look briefly at the men who worked in private libraries in the late Republic, since these were the institutions that provided the obvious and most accessible model for those who were establishing the libraries of the early Empire.[8]

In Cicero's household, the men who worked in his libraries on a day-to-day basis were, so far as we can tell, slaves, but there seem to have been no men, and certainly no significant number of men, who were assigned to work

[6] On inscriptions of the slaves, which are earlier, the word for library is usually spelled *bybliotheca*, and I will use that spelling when I refer to the slaves. In literature, and in many inscriptions of the second century, the word is more commonly spelled *bibliotheca*. I will use that spelling when referring to libraries generally or to upper-level administrators.

[7] Onesimus (no. 23; see n. 1 in Table 1) may have been assigned to a library in one of the imperial baths, but his inscription does not specify a particular bathing establishment.

[8] In the section that follows I am much indebted to Dix 1986, with whose general conclusions I agree, and especially to his excellent chapter on the libraries of Cicero, pp. 98–190. The reader is referred to Dix for a full discussion of the material that I here summarize briefly. A brief overview of these matters, reaching rather different conclusions, is in Casson 69–73.

TABLE 1. SLAVE AND FREEDMAN PERSONNEL IN ROMAN IMPERIAL PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Name and References	*Title or Task*	*Comment*
1. **C. Iulius Hyginus Augusti libertus** Suet. *Gram.* 20	praefuit Palatinae bibliothecae	Freedman of Augustus.
2. **C. Melissus, manumissus** (*sc.* **a Maecenate**) Suet. *Gram.* 21	curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae porticu suscepit	Freedman of Maecenas.
3. **Incertus** Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.67–68	custos . . . sedibus illis praepositus (Apollo Library)	Ca. A.D. 10. Probably a freedman.[a]
4. **Callisth<e?>nes Ti. Caesar(is) Aug(usti)** *CIL* 6.5189	a bybliothece latina Apollinis	Slave of Tiberius. His mother, Iulia Acca, died aged 48.
5. **Diopithes** *CIL* 6.5189	a bybliot(hece) latina Apollinis	Brother, it seems, of Callisthenes (no. 4), and so presumably a slave of Tiberius.
6. **Hymnus Aurelianus** *CIL* 6.2347=*CIL* 6.4431=*ILS* 1971	a bybliothece Latina porticus Octaviae [*vacat*] vilicus	From the *monumentum Marcellae*, and so Julio-Claudian, after A.D. 10.[b] Probably identical with Hymnus, *de bibyliotece* [sic], known from *CIL* 6.4432 (also from the *monumentum Marcellae*).[c]
7. **Laryx** *CIL* 6.4433	[de?] porticu Octav(iae) [a? by]bliothe(ca) Graec(a)	From the *monumentum Marcellae*, and so Julio-Claudian, after A.D. 10. I take this man as identical with another Laryx, *a bibliot(heca)* and husband of Onomaste, known from *CIL* 6.4434, also from the *monumentum Marcellae*.

8. **Montanus Iulianus** *CIL* 6.4435	vilic(us) a bybliotheca Octaviae Latin(a)	From the *monumentum Marcellae,* and so Julio-Claudian, after A.D. 10.
9. **Apollo[nius] Caes(aris)** *CIL* 6.4233	[a?] bybl[iotheca]	From the *monumentum Liviae,* and so Julio-Claudian.[d]
10. **[C?]harop(s?)** *CIL* 6.4420	ad byblio(thecam)	Assigned in *CIL* to the *monumentum Marcellae*, but perhaps from nearby; thus Julio-Claudian or somewhat later.[e]
11. **Alexander C. Caesaris Aug. Germanici ser(vus) Pylaemenianus** *CIL* 6.5188=*ILS* 1589	ab bybliothece graeca templi Apollinis	Slave of Caligula. Died aged 30.

[a] The title *praepositus* would, if used on an inscription, certainly indicate freedman status: we find it as the name of a supervisory position from the early second century on (Weaver 228). Here, however, we have the text not of an inscription, but of the poet Ovid, and we are dealing with the early years of the Empire, before *praepositus* became a standardized title, so that we cannot be quite sure of this man's status.

[b] Manacorda's article is an important reevaluation of the inscriptions assigned in *CIL* to the columbarium known traditionally as the *monumentum Marcellae.* Manacorda identified many of the stones that were actually in the columbarium when it was excavated and distinguished them from others found nearby and later attached to the walls of the columbarium. The inscriptions that were found in the columbarium do not support the thesis that this was a burial place for the slaves and freedmen of Marcella in particular, but they do indicate a connection between the columbarium and Octavia (sister of Augustus and mother of the two Marcellae) and her family. Manacorda believes that the inscriptions mentioning librarians probably did come from within this columbarium (Manacorda 259), and he is able to confirm that the columbarium was put into use in A.D. 10 (Manacorda 253).

[c] There is some reason to doubt that the two men named Hymnus are identical. Hymnus is a very common name among imperial slaves and freedmen: there are more than forty instances in the Index to *CIL* 6. Also, the Hymnus known from *CIL* 6.4432 is not called *vilicus*, while the Hymnus of 6.4431 is. But on the whole the two men seem likely to be identical, and I will regard them as such.

[d] This columbarium, discovered in 1726, seems to have been in use from late in the reign of Augustus to the time of Claudius. See the notes of Mommsen, quoted by Henzen at *CIL* 6.2 p. 878.

[e] Manacorda 251 with n. 7 suggests that this particular inscription may not have come from the *monumentum*, but from nearby.

TABLE 1. (CONTINUED)

Name and References	*Title or Task*	*Comment*
12. **Antiochus Ti. Claudi Caesaris** *CIL* 6.5884	a bybliotheca latina Apollinis	Slave of Claudius.
13. **Ti. Claudius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Hymenaeus** *CIL* 6.8907	medicus a bybliothecis	Freedman of Claudius or Nero.
14. **Ti. Claudius Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Scirtus**[f] *CIL* 10.1739	proc(urator) bybl(iothecarum? or -iothecae?)[g]	Freedman of Claudius. Bay of Naples?[h]
15. **Festus** *CIL* 6.5190	a bibliotec(a)	Two women in his family were Iuliae, so probably Julio-Claudian in date.[i]
16. **Liberalis [...]** *CIL* 6.5191	[a byblioth(eca)] latina Apollinis	Probably Julio-Claudian, but perhaps later.
17. **Saturninus Caes(aris) ser(vus)** Väänänen 41–42	vil(icus) [*vacat*] a bybl(iotheca) Lat(ina)	Nero and later: his wife is called Neronis Caesar(is) ancill(a).
18. **Soterichus publicus Vestricianus** *CIL* 6.5192= 6.2349=*ILS* 1970	a bubliothece [sic] porticus Octaviae	Probably Julio-Claudian, but quite possibly later.[j] Died aged 28.
19. **Incertus** *CIL* 6.5347	a byblio(theca)	Probably Julio-Claudian.
20. **Philoxenus Iulian(us) public(us)** *CIL* 6.2348=*ILS* 1972	de porticu Octaviae a bibliotheca Graeca	
21. **Alexio Caesaris Aug(usti)** *CIL* 6.8743	ab bybliothece	Probably Julio-Claudian.[k]

[f] Chantraine 39 n. 87 suggested that this Scirtus can be identified with the [. . .]irtus l(ibertus) a by(bliotheca) known from the *Fasti Antiates ministrorum domus Augustae* (Degrassi 13.2.201–7). The identification is quite likely. First, it is not easy to find a name other than Scirtus that ends in -irtus. (Solin 3: 1436 lists none in his reverse index of names.) Second, the name Scirtus is quite rare, appearing only eight times in the inscriptions of Rome (Solin 1: 406). If we have two men, both of whom are associated with libraries and named [Sc]irtus, they are probably identical. Chantraine also argued, on the basis of Scirtus' nomenclature in the *fasti*, that he had been a slave of Claudius and manumitted before Claudius became emperor, taking the status indication Aug. l(ibertus) only when Claudius became emperor.

[g] We do not know Scirtus' precise position. His sepulchral inscription was almost certainly found somewhere on the Bay of Naples, suggesting that he was procurator not of libraries in Rome but of one or more libraries in imperial villas on the Bay. But if Chantraine is correct in identifying Scirtus with the [. . .]irtus known from the *fasti Antiates* (see n. f), we would have evidence that Scirtus had worked in the neighborhood of Rome, and could more confidently assign him to the libraries of Rome. If we do assign Scirtus to Rome, it is conceivable that he was a freedman procurator not of all the libraries but of one particular library. Since his inscription does not give the name of a specific library, however, it is probably best to take him as a director of all the libraries in Rome, as scholars have generally done. So, for example, Hirschfeld 302 n. 7 and Boulvert 162. We now know that there had already been a freeborn director of all the libraries under Tiberius (Ti. Iulius Pappus, no. 28 in Table 4 below), and so it might seem unlikely that Claudius would appoint a director who was only a freedman; but given Claudius' inclination to appoint freedmen to administrative and advisory positions, this is perhaps not a problem.

[h] Mommsen included this inscription among those assigned to Puteoli, but it first came to light in a private collection in Naples and is of unknown provenience ("*sine loco*," Mommsen ad loc.).

[i] Callisthenes, Diopithes, Alexander, Festus, Liberalis, and Soterichus (nos. 4, 5, 11, 15, 16, and 18) are all known from inscriptions found in a columbarium discovered in 1852 in the Vigna Codini. Most of the datable inscriptions in this columbarium date from the reigns of Tiberius through Claudius, but some urns and stones were introduced in later periods, continuing to the time of at least Marcus Aurelius. See further Henzen at *CIL* 6.2 p. 941. Where our inscriptions from this columbarium cannot be dated from internal evidence, I have assigned them a date of "probably Julio-Claudian."

[j] Soterichus' inscription comes from the columbarium described in the preceding note. There are, however, indications that he should be dated in the latter part of the first century or even later. The abbreviated formula DMS, which appears on Soterichus' inscription, is usually a sign of post-Neronian date, and Soterichus' cognomen Vestricianus ought to indicate that he was given to the state by someone named Vestricius. The only prominent family of Vestricii we know of dates to the time of Domitian and Trajan: Vestricius Spurinna, the friend of Pliny, and his son (see Schuster). If we could date Vestricianus securely in Flavian or later times, there would be interesting consequences. The Portico of Octavia burned in A.D. 80, along with the books in it, according to Dio 66.24. If Vestricianus post-dates the fire, then the library must have been rebuilt, presumably by Domitian. Also, Vestricianus would be the latest attested *servus publicus* working in a library in Rome.

[k] The date is inferred from the formula *Caesaris Aug(usti)*. Most datable examples of this formula date to the Julio-Claudian period, though there are some examples from the Flavian period and perhaps later. See Chantraine 190 and Weaver 50.

TABLE 1. (CONTINUED)

Name and References	*Title or Task*	*Comment*
22. **Alcimus Caes(aris)** *CIL* 14.196 (Ostia)	vilic[us] a bybliotheca	Date uncertain.
23. **Onesimus Cae[s(aris) n(ostri)]** *CIL* 6.8679	vilic(us) thermar[um . . .] bybliothec(ae?) Gra[ec(ae?)]	Date and exact title uncertain.[l]
24. **[Eutyc?]hes Caes(aris) n(ostri) servus** *CIL* 6.8744	vilicus [a byblio]theca	Dated 1 October A.D. 126. A dedication, not a sepulchral inscription.[m]
25. **Incertus** M. Aurelius, in Fro. *M. Caes.* 4.5 (p. 61.17 van den Hout)	bibliothecarius (Bibliotheca Tiberiana)	Status uncertain, but probably slave. 140s A.D., after 143.
26. **Incertus** Gel. 13.20.1	Unknown (Bibliotheca Tiberiana)	Status uncertain, but probably slave. Date ca. A.D. 150–70.

[l] For a discussion of Onesimus and the problems his inscription presents see Houston. Note also *CIL* 6.4461 (from the *monumentum Marcellae*), an Onesimus *a porticu* (mentioned in the context of librarians by Manacorda 259 n. 45); but *CIL* 6.4461 is apparently complete, and so unlikely to have referred to an *a bybliotheca a porticu Octaviae.*

[m] The restoration of this man's name is completely uncertain, and I use the suggestion of Henzen in *CIL* purely *exempli gratia.* The restoration *[a byblio]theca,* on the other hand, is highly probable: the only possible alternative is *[a pinaco]theca,* an extremely rare title. It appears only once in the inscriptions of Rome: *CIL* 6.10234, Flavius Apollonius, *a pinacothecis.*

in his libraries on a full-time basis.[9] No one called *bibliothecarius* or *a bibliotheca*, or any equivalent term, is attested in Cicero's letters, despite his frequent references to his and his brother's libraries; it appears that Cicero's libraries, being part of his house, were cared for and managed on a day-to-day basis by household slaves who would have had other tasks as well, instead of by a full-time staff.[10]

Occasionally, Cicero did have need of specially trained library staff, and at these times we find him seeking assistance from Atticus, who had men whose sole concern was books.[11] Thus in 56 B.C., when Cicero was restoring his library after returning from exile, he asked Atticus to send him two *librarioli* to act as *glutinatores* (*Att.* 4.4a.1); we hear later that the two men have added labels to volumes, and built and perhaps painted bookcases.[12] Even here, where we have men trained to work with books, they seem to perform a variety of tasks: these men are simply *librarioli*, men who know what to do in a library, and are no more specialized than that.

Similarly, when the owner of a collection of books wanted to organize his collection into a systematic library, or when someone wanted to create a completely new library, he would ordinarily engage a scholar to do the sorting, listing, and shelving required. Thus in 56 B.C. Cicero engaged the celebrated Greek scholar Tyrannio to organize (or reorganize) his library at Antium (*Att.* 4.8.2); two years later he sought the help of Tyrannio again, in connection with his brother Quintus' library (*Q.fr.* 3.4.5); and Julius Caesar famously

[9] The only named slave who can reasonably be assigned to Cicero's libraries is Dionysius, who stole a considerable number of books in the fall of 46 B.C., fled to Dalmatia (*Fam.* 13.77.3), and was still missing eight months later (*Fam.* 5.9.2). Even he was not exclusively, or always, a librarian: at other times he seems to have been a reader (ibid.) and a messenger (*Att.* 9.3.1). Similarly, in Atticus' household, according to Nepos, all the slaves were trained in multiple skills, so that even the *pedisequi* could both read and make copies (Nep. *Att.* 13.3).

[10] Ordinary maintenance and cleaning of the library room(s) would presumably be the responsibility of those who cleaned and maintained the house or villa generally. As for the book collection, Dix 1986: 135 suggests that slaves who ordinarily worked as readers, copyists (=clerks), or letter-carriers might all have been educated in a way that would make them suitable to work, as needed, in the library.

[11] Horsfall 88–89 provides a useful corrective to the usual modern view that Atticus was a publisher in the sense of making money from the sale of books. He argues that Atticus simply used his slaves to make copies of books for his friends and to do other work on books.

[12] Cic. *Att.* 4.5.3, cf. Dix 1986: 177 n. 144. For the tasks that a *glutinator* working with books might undertake see Turner. Turner suggests that they might be expected to attach the titles to papyrus rolls, strengthen rolls by pasting slips on their backs, and mend broken rolls. Cicero apparently did not feel that he needed to have any such specialists among the slaves in his household or library.

engaged the great polymath Terentius Varro to assemble and set up "the biggest possible Greek and Latin libraries."[13]

Our group of imperial slaves called *a bybliotheca* or some equivalent fits comfortably within this context. Most of them are domestic slaves, like the library workers in the households of Cicero and Atticus.[14] Like Atticus' slaves, they seem to be assigned to work exclusively in the libraries, but (as with Atticus' *librarioli*) we do not find indications of sub-specialties within the libraries. No known library worker was concerned, for example, with what we would call acquisitions, or cataloguing, or circulation. This is all more or less predictable, and it makes sense. When the emperors established libraries, they could easily staff them by following Republican precedent and detailing appropriate slaves in their households to the libraries. While these libraries may have been large by ancient standards, they were not so large or complex that the workers in them would need to be assigned to distinct areas of professional responsibility.[15] An *a bybliotheca*, that is, might be expected to do any and all tasks in a library, just as the men Cicero borrowed from Atticus worked on books but also built shelves.

THE IMPERIAL VILLA AT ANTIUM

We can observe the emperors adopting Republican practice in another, more limited, context, and that is the imperial villa at Antium. From this villa we have a list of the officers of the *collegium* of freedmen and slaves employed at the villa, extending from A.D. 31 to 51.[16] In the list we find slaves who performed a number of tasks around the villa. There are, for example, gardeners (*topiarii*, in

[13] Suet. *Jul.* 44.2: *destinabat* (sc. *Caesar*) ... *bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quas maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum* (sc.) *bibliothecarum*). Caesar's project was, of course, cut short by his death, but various scholars have suggested, quite plausibly, that Asinius Pollio could well have had Varro organize the library in the Atrium Libertatis. See Dix 1986: 199–200.

[14] We will discuss the *servi publici* attested for the Octavian Library below.

[15] We do not have reliable figures on the size of imperial libraries. Occasionally we hear about the size of a private library, for example one of 62,000 volumes (*HA Gord.* 18.2), but the source of this figure—the *Historia Augusta*—makes it unreliable. For the libraries in the Forum of Trajan, Packer 1: 454 estimates a total capacity of twenty to forty thousand volumes, on the assumption that scrolls would not be piled more than two deep on each shelf. Even if scrolls were piled three or more deep in places, the collection in this library—perhaps the largest of Rome's libraries—is not likely to have exceeded seventy thousand volumes. We might guess, then, that public libraries in Rome ordinarily contained anywhere from ten to fifty thousand volumes.

[16] The *Fasti Antiates ministrorum domus Augustae*: Degrassi 13.2.201–7.

the fragment placed between A.D. 32 and 36), stewards (*atrienses*, A.D.37 and in several later years), men who tended the furnishings of the villa (*a supellectile*, A.D. 37 and 48), a messenger (*tabellarius*, A.D. 43), men who apparently tended the physical plant, such as plasterers (*tectores*, A.D. 41 and 48) and a tile-worker (*tegularius*, A.D. 50), and a great variety of other workers as well.[17] Among them are at least four men assigned to the library, two freedmen and two slaves (see Table 2).

In name, title, and status, these four men look very much like the personnel attested for the public libraries in Rome. They belong, of course, to a single villa, and to that villa's library, presumably a private one, and in that they are different from our imperial librarians, who worked at any one of a number of locations. But if Augustus started with a private household in Rome something like this one at Antium, and then began to create public libraries, it is easy to conceive of him assigning appropriately trained members of his own *familia*, whether already called *a bybliotheca* or not, to the new library or libraries.

SLAVES *A BYBLIOTHECA* DOMESTIC, NOT ADMINISTRATIVE

Most of the men in our catalogue are called simply *a bybliotheca* or some equivalent, and all of the men so designated are slaves. If the libraries, either individually or collectively, were regarded by the emperors as an administrative unit (in Roman terms perhaps a *ratio*), we would expect to find in the epigraphical record some of the clerical or financial positions so characteristic of the imperial administration. There ought to be, for example, at least some freedman secretaries (*commentarienses* or *a commentariis*), accountants (*tabularii*), clerks (*adiutores*), or perhaps money handlers (*dispensatores, vicarii*) or junior administrators of various sorts, but none of these appears in our inscriptions.[18] The absence of such titles and positions carries interesting implications.

[17] A brief introduction to the villa at Antium, with earlier bibliography, is in Coarelli 293–96. For the titles given staff in a large household see Treggiari 1975 (Livia's *familia*) or Buonocore 32–35 (*familia* of the Volusii Saturnini). Neither of these households had men *a bybliotheca*.

[18] These titles are too common to need documenting here, but it will be useful to note a few of the kinds of public services for which such clerks and accountants are attested. We find them working in the offices of the *annona*, both in Rome and at Ostia, in the offices of the aqueducts, public works, gladiatorial costumes and other offices associated with the games, and many other services. Further examples will be found in the *CIL* Index of Volume 6, and in the *DizEpig* articles on *commentarii* (and the *a commentariis*) by de Ruggiero and on *dispensatores* by Vuliç. *Dispensatores* are slaves, the others usually freedmen.

TABLE 2. LIBRARY WORKERS FROM THE IMPERIAL VILLA AT ANTIUM[a]

Name and References	*Title or Task*	*Comment*
[. . .]irtus l(ibertus)[b] Degrassi 13.2.203	a byb(liothece)	Freedman. A.D. 37.
Claud(ius) Atimetus Degrassi 13.2.205	a byb(liothece)	Freedman. A.D. 43.
Chresimus Degrassi 13.2.207	a byb(liothece)	Slave. A.D. 44.
Bathyllus ver(na) Capr(ensis) Degrassi 13.2.207	a bybl(iothece)	Slave. A.D. 48.

[a] The *fasti* also list two *glutinatores*, under the year A.D. 38. In literature, we sometimes hear of *glutinatores* or glue in the context of libraries: thus Cic. *Att.* 4.4a.1, as noted earlier, and Varro, quoted by Charisius (1.87–88 Keil: "Varro, talking about libraries, used this form [i.e., *gluten*, not *glutinum*]"). If we could be sure that *glutinatores* always worked on books or in libraries, we could assign these two slaves (named Eros and Aphrodisius) to the library at Antium, and we would have our first (and perhaps only) evidence for some form of specialization in an imperial library. Unfortunately, *glutinator* is used in other contexts as well, and it never appears in an unambiguous context in inscriptions. Glue—*gluten, glutinum*, and other forms—was crucial also in woodworking, as for example in veneering (Plin. *Nat.* 16.226), and the word *glutinum* denotes a variety of substances used for joining metals, as well (Plin. *Nat.* 33.94); see further Mols 95–96. At Antium we find numerous men concerned with the physical plant, such as the plasterers and tile-workers noted earlier, a stonecutter (*lapidarius*, A.D. 49), and a floor-layer (*pavimentarius*, A.D. 49), so that the *glutinatores* here may have been employed not in the library but in the carpentry shop.

[b] This man has been identified with our no. 14, Ti. Claudius Aug. l. Scirtus; see notes f and g in Table 1.

In his fundamental study of the *familia Caesaris*, Paul Weaver noted that the imperial *familia* can be divided into two basic groups. One group consisted of ". . . the staff engaged in the personal service of the emperor as the greatest of the noble Roman magnates, an extension of the domestic household of any wealthy Roman," while the other group consisted of those staff who assisted the emperor in his duties as magistrate (Weaver 5). The former included the staff of the imperial palace on the Palatine and the various villas and other properties of the Emperor, and their duties "ranged from the menial, such as *custos* . . . through those with some degree of responsibility or

skill [such as the] *topiarius* (ornamental gardener) . . . and *archimagirus* (head chef) . . . to the managerial posts of *procurator* and *subprocurator domus Augustianae*." The second (administrative) group included, among other things, the men we might think of as concerned with public services, such as aqueducts, roads, public works, and the *vehiculatio*, and in many such units we find *dispensatores*, *commentarienses*, and *tabularii* (Weaver 6–7). Needless to say, the domestic/administrative distinction is a modern, not an ancient, one, and the borders between the two categories were often blurred, as Weaver remarked (Weaver 5–6). Still, in broad outline the distinction is clear and useful, and it was real enough in practice.

Given the available evidence, the imperial staff in the libraries fit most easily within Weaver's first group, the domestic staff.[19] We can compare them to the numerous personnel in charge of certain types of property, such as the *a supellectile* (*ILS* 1772–74), the *a veste* (*ILS* 1756, 1763), the *ab auro* (*ILS* 1811–16), and many others (Boulvert 25–32). We see librarians listed along with exactly this sort of domestic in the *fasti* of the villa at Antium (among them an *a supellectile*), and it is not difficult to conceive of the *a bybliotheca* as in charge of the collection of books, parallel to the slave in charge of, say, the collection of silver dishes. Of the twenty-one men in Table 1 who were certainly or probably slaves, not one has a title that implies an administrative or financial function, making it very difficult to assign them to Weaver's second group.[20] Further, one of our staff is a freedman *medicus*, Hymenaeus (no. 13), and *medici*, as we will see later, are regularly found within the emperor's domestic staff, but almost never in administrative units.

If our slaves were simply and solely domestics, then the libraries of Rome were in the first instance not an administrative unit, more or less parallel to the aqueducts, the *vehiculatio*, the roads, and the like.[21] Rather, they were part

[19] I owe this insight to Paul Weaver. In his book, Weaver included the libraries among the administrative units concerned with services (Weaver 7). At the Eleventh Epigraphical Congress in Rome (1997), however, he told me that he now takes the librarians as domestics, and with me explored some of the implications of that reinterpretation. I am most grateful to him for his generous help and guidance on this matter.

[20] The three freedmen in Table 1 who had specialized tasks did not have titles (such as *a commentariis* or *a rationibus*) that would indicate administrative or financial duties. The three are Hyginus (no. 1), who managed a library, Melissus (no. 2), who organized one, and Scirtus (no. 14), who perhaps directed all the libraries. The only other freedman is Hymenaeus (no. 13), a *medicus*, not an administrator.

[21] We would therefore not expect administrative or financial staff to show up in the libraries, although we occasionally do find financial personnel in one or another of the subdivisions of the emperor's domestic staff. The *ratio castrensis* itself necessarily has such

of the Emperor's house. The books themselves were a set of possessions that could be put to use by the emperor or presented in public to convey an impression of wealth, power, or culture, but the libraries were not conceived of as a service to the people, at least not in origin. The titles of our men *a bybliotheca* thus suggest that libraries in the first century of the Empire continued to function very much as they had under the Republic: they were the property of a great man, and he made them public in the sense of allowing many others to use them. We need not imagine, though, that he opened his libraries at all times to all persons.[22]

As domestic slaves, and lacking colleagues who handled money or accounts, the men who worked in the imperial libraries would seem to have had no direct way to buy books, to pay for books or other items (such as, for example, new shelving), or to keep records of administrative matters. They did not have a way to carry out or pay for the upkeep of the buildings and any furniture or equipment within the buildings.[23] At least, so the epigraphical record indicates.[24] But surely the libraries did have expenses, and clearly upkeep was nec-

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personnel (Boulvert 171–73). In arguing that the men *a bybliotheca* were domestics, I interpret the evidence quite differently from Boulvert 162. Boulvert believed there was a central library administration, of which the head was the equestrian procurator. As we will see, that man probably had other things to do.

[22] Marshall 261 reached very much the same conclusions though approaching from a different point of view (that of patronage). For a careful discussion of the evidence regarding access in general to these libraries see Dix 1994, esp. 286–87 and 290. We have anecdotal evidence of the continuing carefully controlled nature of at least the library in the *domus Tiberiana* during the second century. The young Marcus Aurelius advised his teacher Fronto that Fronto would need to negotiate with the librarian in the *Tiberiana* if he wanted access to a certain book (Fro. *M. Caes.* 4.5 (p. 61.17–18 van den Hout) *Tiberianus bibliothecarius tibi subigitandus est*).

[23] The slaves *a bybliotheca*, of course, could have kept some records, but the *a bybliotheca* should be a slave whose principal work is with the book collection itself, not administrative tasks within a library; for those, we would expect functionaries with such titles as *commentariensis a bybliotheca, a rationibus bybliothecarum*, and the like.

[24] We should acknowledge immediately the limitations of the epigraphical record, in which there can be surprising gaps. Within the *cura aquarum*, for example, we know from Fron. *Aq.* 117 that there were workers called *vilici, castellarii, circitores, silicarii*, and *tectores*. Of these, only the first three appear in inscriptions. We also know of freedmen *a commentariis* (*CIL* 6.8487) and *tabularii* (*CIL* 6.8488) in the *cura aquae*, but no inscription of a *dispensator* seems to survive. On all of this see further Bruun 190–91. Thus we must be cautious; but it will be noted that several types of worker in the *cura aquae*, both specialists and record-keepers, *are* attested on inscriptions, so that the absence of administrative and financial personnel in the libraries may be of use to us as we try to analyze the library administration. What I would argue is that the evidence we have at present is entirely consistent with the assumption that the library workers were domestic staff, and

essary. How might these have been handled? On this question we have no direct information and little evidence of any sort, but we can suggest some possible administrative and financial mechanisms. New staff—new slaves *a bybliotheca*—could have been supplied by (or from) the *ratio castrensis* or Palatine establishment generally; just as had happened in Cicero's house, workers might have been detailed, when needed, from other sectors of the household to the imperial libraries.[25] Records and purchases, too, might be handled by slaves in the *ratio castrensis*, and in any case the imperial book collections may well have grown less through purchase than through gifts, inheritance, or copying.[26] If that is so, our library staff would be concerned primarily with sorting and arranging volumes that accrued to the emperor's collection, making and correcting copies, and keeping them in good repair, and not so much (or at all) with purchasing programs.[27] Finally, the maintenance of the library buildings—the physical walls and roofs—may well have been the responsibility not of men assigned to the libraries, but of the *curator operum publicorum* (or his early equivalent), whose office eventually included a complete set of clerical and financial officials.[28] That is, we do have knowl-

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that assuming the opposite—that there was a library administrative structure—is not supported by the evidence.

[25] On the nature of the *ratio castrensis* see Boulvert 164–78, with discussion of earlier work. I follow Boulvert here, and he in turn largely accepted the thesis of Hirschfeld: the men we find assigned to the *ratio castrensis* were not military (as one might infer from the name) but rather assigned to the Palatine domestic staff. Our earliest evidence for the existence of the *ratio castrensis*, as Boulvert notes, is from the time of Claudius, but there must have been some equivalent palace administration before that, whatever its name, and our early librarians presumably worked within the context of that larger Palatine household.

[26] Gifts might come from embassies, friends of the emperor, or the authors themselves. Emperors received significant quantities of material goods through inheritance, books no doubt among them; see Millar 153–58. Confiscations may also have brought books or whole libraries to the emperor. On confiscations in general see Millar 163–74. Conceivably, books could come to the Emperor as booty, too. That had very probably happened in the Republic; see Dix 1986: 16–17 and 72–73 on Sulla and Lucullus respectively.

[27] Extensive purchasing programs might be undertaken after fires, but even then staff—presumably slaves *a bybliotheca*—might do as much copying as purchasing. Thus in Suet. *Dom.* 20.1, concerning the aftermath of the great fire of A.D. 80: *bibliothecas incendio absumptas impensissime reparare cur[avit Domitianus], exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandream qui describerent emendarentque.* When an emperor seeks original editions to copy, as Domitian does here, one is reminded of the practice of Cicero and his friends of lending one another volumes to copy out.

[28] See Kolb 308–17 for a list and discussion of the slave and freedman personnel in the office of *opera publica;* this office seems to have been concerned primarily with maintenance, not

edge of mechanisms that could have handled library expenses and maintenance, so that the absence of financial and administrative officers among our library personnel can be reasonably interpreted as an indication that the slaves *a bybliotheca* were, at least in the first century, simply domestic slaves.

This context—libraries as part of the imperial house—is probably where we should consider the freedman *medicus a bybliothecis* of Claudian or Neronian date, Tiberius Claudius Hymenaeus (no. 13). We may note first that it is reasonable to find a doctor *a bybliothecis* if we assume that the men *a bybliothecis* were part of the domestic service, for we have numerous doctors, both slaves and freedmen, attested within the Palatine establishment (Boulvert 179). Doctors are also found attached, logically enough, to military units, to gladiatorial schools, and to Circus factions,[29] but doctors assigned to administrative units are very rare.[30] Why we have a doctor assigned to a particular group of imperial slaves remains a mystery, but perhaps such an arrangement made sense in the first century. At that time all of the existing libraries were on or close to the Palatine,[31] and if the men *a bybliotheca* all belonged to the Palatine domestic staff it is possible that they lived on the Palatine, perhaps together or close to one another, and that it seemed efficient to provide one doctor for this whole group of men. We might assume, however, that eventually the men *a bybliotheca* were tended not by their own doctor, but by the *medici* who dealt with the Palatine staff as a whole.[32]

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new construction. The earliest known *curator*, Q. Varius Geminus, dates from the end of the principate of Augustus: Kolb 143–46. If the *cura* did not exist before then, maintenance of library buildings may have fallen to the aediles or other magistrates, following Republican practice. So, implicitly, Daguet-Gagey 33. It goes without saying that much of the actual physical work was probably contracted out, not carried out by the staff of the *cura*.

[29] There are lists in Gummerus and Rowland, though neither organizes the material.

[30] Boulvert 179 knows of none within administrative units—none in the *aquae*, roads, *opera publica*, etc.—and only one, other than our man Hymenaeus, who seems to be attached to a specific subsection within the domestic service. This is Gaius Iulius Euxinus, perhaps freeborn, *medicus ex hortis Sallustianis* (*CIL* 6.8671a, cf. 6.33742).

[31] The furthest distant would have been either the library in the Atrium Libertatis, which was on or near the Capitoline, or the Octavian Library. Each of these would be at most a twenty-minute walk from the farthest reaches of the Palatine. Of course, there may have been imperial book collections (and residences for the emperor's slaves) scattered throughout the city, too, so that all of this is very uncertain.

[32] Jerzy Linderski has suggested to me that the *a bybliothecis* in Hymenaeus' inscription should be taken as topographical by analogy with such inscriptions as *CIL* 6.9207, an *aurifex de sacra via*, and *CIL* 6.9884, a *sarcinatr(ix) ab sex aris*. Hymenaeus then would be a doctor who worked at a spot next to a library. I find this an attractive suggestion, although we might have expected the particular library (assuming that the plural *bybliothecis* refers to the Greek and Latin sections of one library) or libraries to be named.

THE SLAVE *VILICI*

Six of our men, all slaves, are called *vilicus*. We should ask why these men are distinguished from the other slaves *a bybliotheca*, and what their responsibilities might have been. For convenience, I list in Table 3 the known *vilici*, with their catalogue numbers from Table 1.

The title *vilicus* has recently been discussed by Jesper Carlsen.[33] Tracing the word from its origins in agriculture, where it means roughly "steward of an estate," Carlsen argues that in urban contexts it came to indicate a man who had either or both of two functions: a *vilicus* might be the supervisor of a specific facility (such as a library, a bath, an amphitheater, or a circus), in charge of both maintaining it and keeping it running, and he might be in charge of a group of slaves, to whom he would distribute the tasks that needed to be done.

Within the libraries of Rome, we might suspect, the *vilici* probably supervised the other slave staff. Building maintenance (in the sense of such activities as repairs to the roof) could, as we have seen, be handled by the office of the *opera publica*, but someone would be needed in a library to see that it was kept clean and in order, and to assign the various tasks—of repairing or copying volumes, replacing worn-out volumes with new ones, cleaning, assisting patrons, controlling access, and dealing with newly-arrived volumes—that we have identified as likely responsibilities of our library staff.[34] As we will see below, there is no evidence that higher-level (equestrian) directors were assigned to individual libraries on a regular basis, so that, of all the men associated with libraries who are known to us, the slave *vilici* are the most likely to have served as managers and to have handled these day-to-day responsibilities.[35]

If we can accept the *vilici* as managers or supervisors, it is of interest that in three or perhaps four of our known instances they are assigned not to a whole library but to either the Latin or the Greek section within a library (Latin: nos. 6, 8, 17; Greek: no. 23, perhaps). It seems likely that in our other

[33] Carlsen 27–55, and especially, for *vilici* in libraries, 41 and 43.

[34] Cf. Cic. *Q.fr.* 3.4.5 *de bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis, valde velim ista confici.* I take *commutare* as meaning the replacement of worn-out or damaged volumes. There are other possible interpretations. Dix 1986: 102–3, for example, took this as meaning that Cicero and his brother might trade or exchange volumes.

[35] Nor is there evidence of freedman managers after Hyginus (no. 1) and, perhaps, the *incertus* mentioned by Ovid (no. 3). The mundane nature of many of the tasks performed in ancient libraries on a daily basis argues for slave, and against equestrian, library managers as the norm, although equestrian library directors may well have been appointed from time to time in response to specific needs (see further below).

TABLE 3. SLAVE *VILICI* IN THE LIBRARIES OF ROME

Name and Number	*Title*
6. **Hymnus Aurelianus**	a bibliothece Latina porticus Octaviae . . . vilicus
8. **Montanus Iulianus**	vilic(us) a bybliotheca Octaviae Latin(a)
17. **Saturninus**	vil(icus) . . . a bybl(iotheca) Lat(ina)
22. **Alcimus**	vilic[us] a bybliotheca
23. **Onesimus**	vilic(us) thermar[um . . .] bybliothec(ae?) Gra[ec(ae?)]
24. **[Eutyc?]hes**	vilicus [a byblio]theca

cases, too, the *vilicus* worked in either the Greek or the Latin section, and that the distinction was simply not included in all sepulchral inscriptions. We can suggest two reasons, not mutually exclusive, for the assignment of *vilici* to either Latin or Greek sections. First, the Greek and Latin sections may have been contained in separate rooms or separate buildings, so that the *vilicus* would naturally have both a physical area and the slaves working in it under his control.[36] Second, the language skills of a given slave—Latin or Greek—may have determined which section of the library he worked in, and perhaps the *vilici* who directed the work were appointed on the basis of their expertise in one language or the other. In any case, we should imagine the *vilicus* as supervising the day-to-day tasks of the slaves *a bybliotheca*. From time to time, he might also meet with the commissioner of all the libraries, either on policy matters or to discuss particular problems in his library.

SERVI PUBLICI AND THE OCTAVIAN LIBRARY

Not all of the slaves assigned to libraries were the emperor's own, for at least two of those who worked in the Octavian Library were *servi publici* (nos. 18, 20). The status of the other three slaves assigned to this library is not specified in their inscriptions, but none was certainly a member of the *familia Caesaris*, and any or all of them could be *servi publici*. Mommsen (1^3: 330 n. 1) accordingly took all five men as *publici* and the library itself as municipal

[36] The earliest library for which we are certain there were separate buildings is the Trajan Library. It is possible, but by no means certain, that earlier libraries had separate buildings or rooms. For arguments that the Apollo Library was a single room see Thompson. If the earlier libraries did have just one room we must assume they were divided into Greek and Latin sections, with perhaps a *vilicus* for each section.

("städtisch"), not imperial.[37] Despite some problems,[38] this is probably correct, and we might adduce some support for Mommsen's thesis from the library of Asinius Pollio: it was certainly built before 28 B.C. and quite possibly before Actium,[38] so that it antedates Augustus' control; it was built *ex manubiis* (Plin. *Nat.* 7.115) and so (whatever its exact legal status)[40] was not funded by the emperor, and no certain *Caesaris servi* are specifically assigned to it. That is, Asinius' library in its origins was quite independent of Augustus, and the Octavian Library, too, might have been independent in its early years. If we accept Mommsen's thesis, the status of the slaves raises questions: was this library administered differently from the other (imperial) libraries? Was it perhaps subject to different policies? Would users notice a difference, or might there even be a different set of users?

We do not have direct testimony on these questions, but there are a number of items that can be brought to bear, and together they indicate that no significant distinction was drawn between the Octavian and the Apollo Libraries. Augustus, and not the magistrates, chose the man who set up the Octavian Library, C. Melissus (no. 2).[41] The staff in the Octavian Library looks

[37] Most scholars writing about the Octavian Library have accepted Mommsen's thesis. So, e.g., Hirschfeld 304 and Langie 56. On the individual slaves and their names see also Chantraine 345. The thesis rests additionally upon the statement of Plutarch that Octavia built the library in memory of her son Marcellus (*Marc.* 30.6). When Octavia died in 11 B.C., Mommsen thought, she must have bequeathed library, staff, and an endowment to Augustus, who then gave them to the state. The status of the library raises questions of funding, too: were its expenses paid out of the funds in the *aerarium*, or out of the emperor's own resources, however we may choose to define them? Here we have no hope of a resolution of the question, but for all practical purposes it appears that the emperor could designate funds as he saw fit, both his own and the state's. See on this Lo Cascio 167, summarizing the evidence that shows public funds accruing to what became known as the *fiscus*, and noting that the emperor could, within certain limits, use the funds in the *aerarium*.

[38] Three of five slaves assigned to the Octavian Library might be imperial, not *publici*, and Dio 49.43 says that the Portico of Octavia (with, perhaps, its library) was built by Augustus, not by Octavia. See further Dix 1986: 214 on these uncertainties.

[39] For its dedication before 28 see Dix 1986: 198. If work on it began soon after 39, it may well have been finished by 31.

[40] When generals built structures *ex manubiis*, the buildings apparently became public property, and that is presumably what happened in the case of Asinius Pollio's new Atrium Libertatis; see Churchill 100 with n. 39, citing earlier discussions. From our point of view, the important questions are who paid for repairs to such buildings, and who appointed staff to them, but I know of no evidence on these matters.

[41] Suet. *Gram.* 21.3 *manumissus* (sc. *a Maecenate*) *Augusto etiam insinuatus est, quo delegante curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae porticu suscepit.* Kaster 219 discusses this passage, including the implications (not derogatory) of *insinuatus*.

exactly like the staff in other libraries: we find slaves *a bybliotheca* (nos. 7, 18, 20) and slave *vilici* (nos. 6, 8), just as elsewhere, and they are assigned to either the Greek (nos. 7, 20) or the Latin (nos. 6, 8, 18) section. Policies seem to be the same, for when Ovid, writing from exile in about A.D. 10, imagines his new volume of poetry seeking a home in Rome, he has the book approach the Apollo Library, the Octavian Library, and the library in the Atrium Libertatis one after the other, and be refused entry to each in turn (Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.59–72). Finally, it is highly likely that Domitian rebuilt the Octavian Library after it burned in A.D. 80,[42] and the language Suetonius uses of Domitian's actions makes it clear that Domitian had complete control of whatever library or libraries he rebuilt: he paid the bills, and he made the decisions (Suet. *Dom.* 20.1). By this time, then, the Octavian Library seems to have been completely assimilated to the imperial properties. So far as we can tell, the presence in this library of *servi publici* does not signal any difference in the way the library was managed.[43]

THE APPARENT DISAPPEARANCE OF LIBRARY PERSONNEL

The slaves and freedmen in Table 1 are known to us primarily from inscriptions, and all of the inscriptions that can be dated even approximately, save one (*CIL* 6.8744, for no. 24), seem to belong to the Julio-Claudian period. This raises questions. We know that there were libraries in the second and third centuries, and there must have been library staff. Why, then, do they not show up in the epigraphical record? It is likely that a combination of factors is at work here. Hirschfeld 305 noted the problem and suggested that the men *a bybliotheca* were replaced in later times by slaves without particular titles, and this may be a good part of the answer. Slaves without occupational titles would be reminiscent of those in Cicero's household, and a high percentage of the sepulchral inscriptions of slaves in the *familia Caesaris* did not include occupational titles, so that there may well have been large numbers of undifferen-

[42] We know the library burned in A.D. 80 (Dio 66.24.2), that Domitian rebuilt one or more libraries that had been destroyed by fire (Suet. *Dom.* 20.1), and that at least the portico of Octavia was definitely rebuilt, only to be burned and rebuilt a second time (*CIL* 6.1034).

[43] We might also compare the *cura aquae*. Agrippa originally provided his own slaves to tend the aqueducts. When he died, he left them to Augustus, who gave them to the state, so that they became *servi publici*. Under Claudius, a second group of slaves, all members of the *familia Caesaris*, was added to the *publici*. These changes in the status of the slave staff do not seem to be related to any significant changes in the management of the water supply from the users' point of view. On all of this see Bruun 208–9.

tiated *Caesaris servi*.[44] It is also possible that the domestic slaves in the *familia Caesaris* tended to be buried, or have their ashes placed, in columbaria, and that fewer such columbaria—that is, columbaria used by members of the *familia Caesaris*—are known from the second and third centuries.[45] Whatever the reason, it is clear that we cannot use the epigraphical evidence to prove either continuity or change after the first century. On the other hand, the evidence we do have from the second century (nos. 24, 25, 26) does not indicate that there was any significant change in the nature of the staff.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SLAVES *A BYBLIOTHECA*

It may be useful here to summarize and make explicit what has emerged so far from our study of the slaves *a bybliotheca*. These men do not, so far as we can tell, control any funds. That probably means that they were not involved in systematic acquisitions programs, and that they did not undertake repairs to the library buildings. There were, of course, many things they could and no doubt did do. We saw the slaves in Cicero's libraries adding labels to volumes (*Att.* 4.8.2), and from other sources we learn of *glutinatores* (who, as we know from Cicero, might work in libraries) mending and strengthening papyrus rolls (Turner). Presumably some of the slaves in a library were occupied in copying or recopying,[46] and as volumes came in—whether by gift,

[44] As a sample, I counted the *Caesaris servi* listed by Chantraine 176–78 and followed his dates. I excluded several categories of slaves from my count in order to obtain a representative sample. The slaves I excluded were those known only from quarry marks or from brick stamps (since in neither case are occupational titles given), women, and *trierarchi* (for whom see Boulvert 61). Given those limitations, we have the following. Among all attested *Caesaris servi* of Julio-Claudian date, nine (25%) were domestic slaves, three (8%) were administrative, and twenty-four (67%) gave no occupational title. (Most of these are sepulchral inscriptions, put up by the spouse to her husband, who is often categorized as *contubernalis*.) Among all attested *Caesaris servi* who date after Nero, three (8%) were domestic slaves, eight (22%) were administrative, and twenty-six (70%) gave no occupational title. In both the Julio-Claudian period and later, then, some two-thirds of *Caesaris servi* were recorded without reference to their specific occupation. See also on this whole question Fehrle 84–85.

[45] We know of numerous columbaria that originated or were still in use in the second century and later. See von Hesberg. The great columbaria containing the emperor's slaves, however, seem to date primarily from the first century, with the notable exception of those at Carthage. For a list of columbaria that included many members of the *familia Caesaris* (but with no pretensions to completeness) see Weaver 18.

[46] Copyists (*librarii*) are found in the households (but not demonstrably in the libraries) of Cicero (*Fam.* 16.22, *Att.* 12.14.3, *Att.* 13.44.3; Nep. *Att.* 13.3). Cf. the anecdote about the "ships' collection" at Alexandria (Galen 17.1.601 Kühn): Ptolemy ordered that if there were any books on board ships that docked at Alexandria, they were to be copied (presumably by slaves) for the Library.

confiscation, or purchase—someone needed to see that they were in good repair and sort them.[47] Some library staff must have assisted patrons in locating volumes, and our no. 26 is an anonymous person who brings a volume for Aulus Gellius and his friends to see (Gel. 13.20.1). Assisting users of the library—men who came looking for specific volumes or for materials to answer given questions—and fetching and returning volumes may well have been among the principal tasks of the slaves *a bybliotheca.*

THE RELATION OF SLAVE PERSONNEL TO HIGHER-LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS

We must now ask whether what we have observed so far is consistent with what we know of the upper levels of the Roman library administration, and we will therefore turn our attention to the freeborn men—most of them of equestrian rank—who are attested as involved in library administration. These men have been treated repeatedly elsewhere, and we will make no attempt to consider their entire careers, limiting ourselves instead to their library activities and directly related questions. We begin, as above, with a list of all the *ingenui* who certainly or probably worked in the libraries of Rome (see Table 4).[48]

The most obvious sub-group of these thirteen men consists of the six (nos. 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35) who were certainly or very probably commissioners of all the libraries in the city of Rome.[49] This office seems to have evolved gradually. We need not assume that it existed under Augustus, when there were only three libraries. The first commissioner known to us, Ti. Iulius Pappus (no. 28), was appointed by Tiberius and has a title that is clearly *ad hoc*, so that he may have been the first such official. Claudius perhaps appointed a freedman, Scirtus (no. 14), as procurator, but by late in the first century we find a freeborn commissioner once again, Dionysius of Alexandria (no. 29). Early in the

[47] Compare Cic. *Fam.* 16.20: Cicero asks Tiro to make a list of a packet of books and put the books away. This and other references to lists are the closest we come in the Roman world to catalogues.

[48] Tables 1 and 4, taken together, provide a list of all known library personnel in the public libraries of the City of Rome. The numeration of men in Table 4 continues from Table 1. As in Table 1, I arrange the men in rough chronological sequence, following Pflaum's order wherever possible. For the careers of the individual equestrians see Pflaum (references in column 1). For discussions of them as a group see Hirschfeld 302–4, Bruce (with caution), Blanck 219–22, Fehrle 81–84. The bibliography given in column 1 of Table 4 is not exhaustive, being intended only to guide the reader to the basic sources.

[49] I use the English word "commissioners," rather than "procurators," as a general term for those men who were responsible for all of the libraries of Rome. The titles in Latin vary, so to use procurator throughout would be misleading.

second century we hear of equestrian commissioners—Suetonius (no. 31) and Iulius Vestinus (no. 32), both *a bibliothecis*—and then of equestrian *procuratores bibliothecarum*, [Valerius Euda]emon (no. 33) and Volusius Maecianus (no. 35), both under Hadrian. By this time, the library position is a ducenarian office given to senior equestrian procurators.

These men have generally been considered as a more or less homogeneous group, consisting (except for Scirtus) of senior equestrian procurators, though with titles that vary in typically Roman fashion. If they were all senior equestrians, however, we have an administrative anomaly, for equestrians did not administer sections of the imperial household.[50] We do not find, for example, an equestrian *procurator vestium* or *procurator argenti*, nor would we expect to find them, and correspondingly we should not have both domestic slaves *a bybliotheca* and equestrian *procuratores bibliothecarum*. How are we to understand this?

It is important to note that none of the commissioners in the first century was certainly an equestrian procurator. Pappus (no. 28) was probably not equestrian, and he was certainly not a procurator. Scirtus (no. 14) may well have been a procurator, but he was a freedman and could perfectly well preside over a unit staffed by domestic slaves. Dionysius (no. 29) was a native of Alexandria. He has regularly been regarded as an equestrian, the evidence being his posts in charge of the libraries and of Greek affairs,[51] but we do not know his title,[52] and more importantly he did not have an equestrian procuratorial career. On the other hand, he was clearly a Greek intellectual and scholar, and he seems to have served as an adviser to the emperor.[53] He looks, in short, very much like Pappus (no. 28), also an Easterner and one of

[50] Hirschfeld 307; in n. 3 he deals with a number of apparent exceptions to this rule. In addition to those cases, we do hear of one equestrian *a cubiculo* (M. Aurelius Cleander, Pflaum no. 180*bis*) and one equestrian *procurator castrensis* (M. Aurelius Basileus, Pflaum no. 327a), and thus some variations were possible, but both of those titles are late and quite exceptional.

[51] Pflaum 1960–61: 111–12 and Stein in *PIR*^{2} both take him as equestrian. If Dionysius was an equestrian, he must have been granted that rank by one of the Flavian emperors.

[52] Our only source is the passage in the Suda lexicon, where the author says of Dionysius *tôn bibliothêkôn proustê. Proistêmi* is not regularly used to represent the activities of a *procurator* in Latin: see Magie 27–28. In addition, the Suda author does not seem to have thought of Dionysius as an *a bibliothecis*, since he could easily have used *epi tôn bibliothêkôn*, just as in the next clause he says *epi tôn epistolôn*.

[53] He read and responded to letters and petitions to the emperor, and so presumably consulted with him. Pflaum 1960–61: 112 acutely noted that Dionysius may well have met Vespasian in Alexandria in A.D. 69–70 and returned to Rome with him.

TABLE 4. FREEBORN ADMINISTRATORS IN THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF ROME

Name and References[a]	*Title and Selected Administrative Positions*[b]	*Comment*
27. **Pompeius Macer** Suet. *Jul.* 56.7	cui ordinandas bibliothecas (*sc.* Augustus) delegaverat	Under Augustus. Organized the Apollo Library. Exact title unknown.[c]
28. **Ti. Iulius Zoili f(ilius) Fab(ia tribu) Pappus** *AE* 1960.26; Panciera 112–20	supr(a) bybliothecas omnes Augustorum ab Ti. Caesare usque ad Ti. Claudium Caesarem	Under Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius.
29. **Dionysius (of Alexandria)** *Suda* s.v. Dionysios 1173 Adler; Pflaum no. 46; *PIR*^{2} D 103 (Stein)	1) praefuit bibliothecis 2–3) ab epistulis et responsis ad legationes[d]	Second half of first century. Originally a *grammaticus* in Alexandria.
30. **Sextus** Martial 5.5		Under Domitian. Title unknown.[e]
31. **C. Suetonius Tranquillus** *AE* 1953.73; Pflaum no. 96	1) [a] studiis 2) a byblio[thecis] 3) [ab e]pistulis Imp. Caes(aris) Traiani Hadr[i]an[i Aug(usti)]	Under late Trajan, early Hadrian, or both.
32. **L. Iulius Vestinus** *IGRR* 1.136=*IGUR* 1.62; Pflaum no. 105; *PIR*^{2} I 623	1) a bibliothecis Latinis et Graecis Romae 2–3) a studiis and ab epistulis	Under Hadrian. Before his post as *a bibliothecis, archiereus* and *curator Musei* in Egypt.
33. **[Valerius? Euda]emon** *CIL* 3.431; *IGRR* 3.1077; Pflaum no. 110; *RE* 7A (1948) 2496 (Hanslik)	1) [p]roc(urator) bibliothecar(um) Graec(arum) et Latin(arum)[f] 2) ab epist(ulis) Graec(is)	Under Hadrian. Procurator in Alexandria before his library post. After his post as *ab epistulis,* financial procurator in three separate posts.

34. **C. Annius C.f. Postumus** *CIL* 14.5352 (Ostia); *CIL* 8.20684 (Saldae, in Mauretania); papyrus in Daris; Pflaum no. 132; *PIR*² A 681 (Stein)	proc(urator) bibliothecarum divi Traiani (thus on *CIL* 14.5352) = [p]roc(urator) Aug(usti) a bybliothecis (thus on *CIL* 8.20684)	Under Hadrian (or Trajan). The library post, his first, was followed by four financial posts, the last being *idios logos* in Egypt, attested A.D. 157–59.
35. **L. Volusius L.f. Maecianus** *CIL* 14.5347 (cf. 14.5348); *AE* 1955.179; Pflaum no. 141; Fanizza 104–14	1) a libellis Antonini Aug(usti) Pii sub Divo Hadriano 2) praef(ectus) vehiculorum 3) a studi(i)s et proc(urator) bibliothecarum[g] 4) a libellis et censibus Imp(eratoris) Antonini Aug(usti) Pii	Under Hadrian. I omit from his long career both his earliest and his latest posts.

[a] References to Pflaum are all to Pflaum 1960–61. Except for Aelius Largus (no. 37) and Veturius Callistratus (no. 39), the references to Pflaum give not pages but the Pflaum number of the man.

[b] For convenience I give the Latin versions of all titles. Where I give more than one position, I list them in chronological order insofar as is possible, with the earliest position first. I note problems in titulature and chronology only when they have a bearing on the argument of this paper.

[c] For Pompeius Macer see White 214–15: Macer set up and organized the Apollo library, rather than being director of it, and we should not identify him (as earlier scholars did) with the Pompeius, proconsul of Asia, known from Strabo 13.2.3 (618). We thus know nothing else of his career.

[d] For this title see Stein in *PIR*² D 103 and cf. Pflaum 1960–61.

[e] I include Sextus for the sake of completeness. There are many uncertainties. He is usually taken as a freedman (so, e.g., Howell 80, Sullivan 163), but the praenomen Sextus virtually rules out the possibility of his belonging to the *familia Caesaris.* Thus I list him here as freeborn, though hesitantly. Sextus has been taken as an *a studiis* (e.g., by Mommsen, cited by Hirschfeld 304–5 n. 5), or as *a studiis* and *a bibliothecis* simultaneously (Friedländer *ad* Mart. 5.5). He clearly had some responsibility for one or more book collections, since Martial thinks of him as accepting and organizing books, and so he deserves a place in our list. There are too many problems, however, for him to be used as evidence.

[f] The plurals in *Graecarum et Latinarum* come from *IGRR* 3.1077.

[g] Volusius is the single certain example of a man who was *a studiis* and *procurator bibliothecarum* simultaneously. Given the date of his prefecture in Egypt, we can probably date his library post in the 140s or 150s.

TABLE 4. (CONTINUED)

Name and References	*Title and Selected Administrative Positions*	*Comment*
36. **L. Baebius L.f. Gal(eria tribu) Aurelius Iuncinus** *CIL* 10.7580; Pflaum no. 251	proc(urator) b[ib]l[i]othec(ae or –arum) ad HS [L]X	Late second century. After the library position, his first, he held five further posts, most or all of them financial.
37. **T. Aelius T.f. Largus** *CIL* 14.2916; Pflaum p. 1023	proc(urator) Aug(usti) bybliothecaru[m]	Uncertain, but probably late second or early third century.[h] Aelius' inscription calls him also *iuris publici privati* [*peritissimus*?].
38. **Sex. Iulius Africanus** Afric. *Cest.* 18 (*P. Oxy.* 3.412=Vieillefond 290–91)		220s. Title unknown. Designed, built, or administered library *in Pantheo.*
39. **Q. Veturius Callistratus v(ir) e(gregius)** *CIL* 6.2132 (Rome); Pflaum p. 1023	proc(urator) rat(ionum) summ(arum) privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti n(ostri)	Roughly 240s. The implications of his title are discussed below.

[h] Largus' date depends upon the use of the abbreviation *Eq. R.* on his inscription. Cf. Hirschfeld 303 n. 6 ("probably after Antoninus") and Pflaum (third century). I have not found any clear examples of *Eq. R.* before A.D. 100 in the inscriptions of *CIL* 6 or *AE.*

Tiberius' advisers. It is entirely possible that from Tiberius to Domitian the emperors called upon members of the Greco-Oriental intellectual community to oversee their book collections, much as Cicero had called upon Tyrannio, and made available to them domestic slaves as staff, as Cicero had done.

But in the early second century, or perhaps even under Domitian, there was a significant change, and we begin to find equestrians as library commissioners. Did these men continue to have a staff consisting of domestic slaves? Or were they provided with a more standard administrative staff, including accountants and secretaries?[54] As we have seen, no trace of such an administrative staff survives, making this a difficult (but not impossible) thesis to maintain, and the lone second-century slave *a bybliotheca* known to us, [Eutyc?]hes (no. 24), has a title[55] that is identical with that of staff known from the Julio-Claudian period. Given the paucity of evidence, certainty is beyond our grasp, but it may be that the answer to this question lies primarily in the nature of the commissioner's position itself.

The shift from men such as Pappus and Dionysius to equestrian procurators can be best understood within the context of the more general change from freedman to equestrian administrators that took place under Trajan and Hadrian. In several cases, equestrians were put at the head of new or expanded imperial services,[56] and in others they were made superior to freedmen in established administrative units, the freedmen being retained as subordinates. This has been observed and commented on many times, especially in regard to the great secretariats, the *a rationibus*, the *ab epistulis*, and the *a patrimonio* (Boulvert 271). In the case of the secretariats, as Fergus Millar pointed out, the change is not so much a shift from *liberti* to equestrians as it is one from Greek to Roman intellectuals (Millar 89). While Millar was not himself concerned with the library post, his formulation almost exactly fits the change in the libraries so far as we can observe it: in the first century, we have Pappus and Dionysius, Greek intellectuals, as library commissioners (though not, it is true, freedmen), while in the second century the known commissioners are

[54] It is worth recalling at this point what we noted above when we first considered the distinction between domestic and administrative staff: the distinction is a modern one, and the borders between the groups were not absolutely clear. Romans may not have felt the administrative anomaly that we think we observe.

[55] *Vilicus a bybliotheca.* At least this is probably his title. The inscription is fragmentary.

[56] Trajan built a new aqueduct and added an equestrian procurator to the staff of the *aquae*, supplementing the existing *curator* and freedmen; he appointed an equestrian *procurator ad Miniciam* in the grain supply; and he built a new port and created a sexagenarian post, the *procurator annonae Ostis*, subordinate to the existing *praefectus annonae.*

all Roman equestrians. They continue, however—and this is an important point—to be scholarly men.

Leaving aside the freedman Scirtus (no. 14), at least five of the six library commissioners known to us, from both the first and the second century, were scholars. Dionysius (no. 29) was a *grammaticus*, active in the Museum at Alexandria, before coming to Rome (*Suda* s.v. Dionysius 1173 Adler). Suetonius (no. 31) was, of course, the biographer of the Caesars and author of numerous scholarly works (Sallmann 16–49). Lucius Iulius Vestinus (no. 32) had been *procurator Musei* at Alexandria, and so presumably active as a scholar, before his appointment in Rome.[57] [Valerius Euda]emon (no. 33) was *ab epistulis Graecis* after his library post, and Pflaum noted that this post, usually given to literary men, is a strong indication that Eudaemon belonged to the Greco-Oriental intellectual community. While not a member of this intellectual group, Volusius Maecianus (no. 35) was one of the great jurists and legal writers of the second century (Sallmann 131–33). Pappus, although not specifically attested as a scholar, also fits comfortably within this group, given his background (Panciera 113).

In addition, the commissioners of the libraries in both the first and the second century seem to have been close to, or advisers of, the emperors. We have considered Pappus and Dionysius earlier. Suetonius (no. 31) was an *a studiis* before and *ab epistulis* after his library post,[58] and, if we can trust the anecdote in the *Historia Augusta* (*Hadr.* 11.3), all too familiar with life at court. Iulius Vestinus (no. 32), too, was both *a studiis* and *ab epistulis*, and a certain Eudaemon, probably identical with our [Valerius Euda]emon (no. 33), could be said by Hadrian's biographer to have been *conscius imperii* (sc. *Hadriani*), implying a close relationship between him and the emperor (*HA Hadr.* 15.3). L. Volusius Maecianus (no. 35) was *a libellis* of Antoninus Pius even before Pius became emperor, and then held a long series of appointments, including the post *a studiis*, which he combined with his library procuratorship.

That is, the library commissioners were consistently, through both the first and the second century, scholarly advisors, and we might infer that the first responsibility of the library commissioner was not administration,[59] but

For references see Boulvert 262–67. The process of shifting to equestrians had already begun under Domitian, when we see slaves being replaced by freedmen and freedmen being made subordinate to equestrians: Boulvert 239, 252.

[57] For Vestinus' philological work see Schmid and Stählin 2: 873.

[58] For the responsibilities of the *a studiis* and the *ab epistulis*, and the contact they had with the emperor, see Wallace-Hadrill 83–88.

[59] I would not argue that the commissioners had no administrative responsibilities. At least three of them, after all, had extended administrative careers, and none of them

rather to assist the emperor or his staff on questions to which the answers could be found in books, matters touching on literature, history, science, or technology, for example, as well as questions that could be answered by consulting archival materials.[60] And if that is so—if the commissioner was expected to work primarily as a scholar, advising the emperor—he might well have needed at all times not administrative staff, but slaves who knew their way around the library and its materials and could assist him precisely because of that knowledge. Perhaps, then, the shift to equestrian procurators as library commissioners in the early second century did not require or entail a corresponding shift from domestic to administrative staff. It is possible that the procurators in the second century continued to employ the slaves *a bybliotheca* not as an executive would his administrative staff, but as any user would employ, or rely upon, the slaves who worked in a friend's library.[61]

VETURIUS CALLISTRATUS

In addition to the *procuratores bibliothecarum*, we know of one man whose responsibility included all of the City's libraries. This was Veturius Callistratus (no. 39), who in the third century was *proc(urator) rat(ionum) summ(arum) privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti n(ostri)*. While there are some uncertainties in the interpretation of this title, its basic import is reasonably clear: Callistratus was the financial official (*procurator*) in charge of that branch of the emperor's personal funds (*ratio privata*) that was responsible for the li-

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was a scholar of the sort that had headed up the Alexandrian library, a man like Eratosthenes. As administrators, though, we might imagine them dealing not with day-to-day problems, which could be left to the *vilici* or to the functionaries in the *cura operum publicorum* or the *ratio castrensis*. Instead, the library commissioners might have dealt primarily with policy. There were decisions to be made. If a man died and left a large collection of books to the emperor, should those books be assigned to an existing library, and if so which one? Would a new library be needed? The procurator might need to decide. When a library was destroyed by fire, the procurator could advise the emperor on the question of rebuilding and restocking. There might be personnel matters, too: which staff members should be assigned to each library?

[60] In these activities, the *a bibliotheca* might closely resemble the *a studiis*, and it is probably no accident that three of the four known second-century library commissioners served also as *a studiis*. Note also Sextus (no. 30).

[61] This does not rule out another likely development. In the course of the first century, as the emperor's book collection grew and his libraries became more numerous and visible (with the addition of libraries in the Templum Novum Divi Augusti, the Templum Pacis, and perhaps on the Palatine), the libraries may well have come to be regarded less as the emperor's own collections and more and more as public services.

braries.[62] The important point for us is that Veturius was not a financial official within the library administration, but rather an official in the *ratio privata*, charged with handling the funding of the libraries. He was not, for example, an *a rationibus* (or *rationalis*) *bibliothecarum*. This is at least consistent with what we inferred from the titles of our slaves *a bybliotheca* of one and two centuries earlier: library bills may well have been paid not by a library administration, but by the *ratio castrensis*.

OTHER UPPER-LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS

The remaining six men in Table 4 held positions which, with one exception, are unclear or disputed or both. We will consider each in turn.[63]

Pompeius Macer (no. 27). Macer set up and organized the Apollo library at the request of Augustus. Suetonius (*Jul.* 56.7) informs us that Augustus told Macer not to make certain writings of Julius Caesar available to the public, and from this we can infer that one of Macer's tasks was to decide which books should enter the library and which should not. We do not know whether he stayed on as director once he organized the library.

Sextus (no. 30). We do not know what Sextus' position or title was. Martial 5.5 depicts him as accepting and arranging books, and that might suggest that, like Pompeius Macer, Sextus was in charge of setting up a new library.[64] But he also might have been director of an existing library, since Martial's hope of finding a home for his new book recalls that of Ovid at *Tr.* 3.1.59–72, and Ovid is thinking of libraries long since established.[65] It is also possible that Sextus was *a studiis* and not a librarian at all.[66]

[62] The placement of *Augusti n(ostri)* leaves its point of reference unclear: should we take it as *procurator Augusti nostri*? Or as *bibliothecarum Augusti nostri*, which might imply that Callistratus was responsible for the libraries in the imperial villas, as well as those in Rome. I take the *Augusti n.* with *procurator* (and thus with the entire title). For discussions of the plural *summ(arum)* in this inscription see Mommsen ad *CIL* 6.2132 and Hirschfeld 20, and for the *ratio privata* in general see Hirschfeld 20 or Nesselhauf.

[63] Again I will not be concerned with all aspects of the careers of these men, only with matters that touch upon the libraries. Full discussions of the men will be found in Pflaum or other prosopographical works cited in Table 4.

[64] Martial's poem was written ca. 89, a time when we know of no new libraries coming into existence. That being the case, it is conceivable that Sextus was involved in the rebuilding and restocking of one or more of the libraries that had been destroyed by fire, and that Domitian rebuilt (Suet. *Dom.* 20.1).

[65] The similarity in the procedures followed by Ovid and Martial was noted by Dix 1994: 289.

[66] That Sextus was *a studiis* is supported by several items in Martial's poem. Sextus was *facundus*, and he apparently worked closely with the emperor, since he knew the

C. Annius Postumus (no. 34). Two inscriptions give us Postumus' career, and the library post is given differently on the two different stones. On *CIL* 8.20684, from Saldae in Mauretania, Postumus is said to have been *[p]roc(urator) Aug(usti) a bybliothecis*, which should mean he was commissioner of all the libraries. The inscription from Ostia, however (*CIL* 14.5352), gives his title as *proc(urator) bibliothecarum Divi Traiani*, and that ought to mean that he was procurator of just the Trajan Library.[67] Pflaum, noting that this procuratorship was Postumus' first post, argued that he could not have been procurator of all the libraries, since that was ordinarily a senior post, and he therefore took Postumus as director of just the Trajan Library (Pflaum 1960–61: 317). Despite some problems with this interpretation, I am inclined to accept it.[68]

Baebius Aurelius Iuncinus (no. 36) and T. Aelius Largus (no. 37). Although these two men are both called *procurator bibliothecarum*, they are clearly distinct from the ducenarian procurators, for Iuncinus is specifically stated to have been a sexagenarian procurator, and Largus' library procuratorship seems to have been his very first position, meaning that he, too, was probably a sexagenarian procurator. There are at least three possible ways to interpret this evidence for a sexagenarian procuratorship. (*a*) These men each directed a single library. This seems unlikely especially in Iuncinus' case, since no library is mentioned on this inscription, which in other respects is detailed and explicit. (*b*) Hirschfeld 303–4 suggested that at some point in the late second century the ducenarian library procuratorship ceased to exist, being replaced by a sexagenarian procurator in charge of non-scholarly affairs in all the libraries plus several scholars, each of whom was in charge of a single library.[69]

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emperor's *curae* and *secreta*, plausibly taken by Howell 81 to mean Domitian's own literary efforts. See further n. e in Table 4.

[67] The plural *bibliothecarum* will in this case refer to the Greek and Latin libraries, which were in separate buildings.

[68] The arguments against Pflaum are cogently put by Wallace-Hadrill 82–83 n. 16. Pflaum was not the first to take Postumus as director of a single library: see, e.g., Hirschfeld 303–4 n. 5. Since Pflaum wrote, an additional item has been discovered that lends support to his thesis. We now know that Postumus was *idios logos* in Egypt, attested in A.D. 157–59 (see Daris). If we take Postumus as procurator of all the libraries, we must take the *Divi Traiani* on the Ostian inscription as meaning that he was procurator during the principate of Trajan. That would mean that his career spanned at least the years A.D. 117–59, not impossible but highly unlikely.

[69] Hirschfeld did not elaborate on what he took to be the responsibilities of the scholarly and non-scholarly directors, but I assume that he thought of the former as working directly with the book collections, while the latter would tend to such matters as accounts, maintenance, and personnel.

Baebius Iuncinus, on this reading, would be an example of the administrative procurator,[70] and Aelius Largus, who seems to have been a jurist, would be an example of the scholarly director of an individual library. (*c*) It is also possible that the ducenarian procuratorship continued to exist and was given a sexagenarian assistant.[71] In that case, both Baebius Iuncinus and Aelius Largus might have served as such assistants. In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot be sure which of these explanations, if any, is correct.[72]

Sextus Iulius Africanus (no. 38). In his *Cestoi*, Iulius Africanus tells us that he designed, built, or directed the "beautiful library in the Pantheon near the Baths of Alexander at Rome" (*P. Oxy.* 3.412, lines 63–68). The verb Africanus uses of his activity is *architektoneô*, which has several possible meanings. It can mean that he built the physical structure, or that he designed the library, or that he was a director of the library. Scholars have generally taken Africanus to mean that he designed the library,[73] which makes sense: while a man of broad interests, he was more a literary person than a builder;[74] and if he was director we might have expected him to use some such verb as *proistêmi* (the verb used in the *Suda* lexicon of Dionysius, no. 29) or *epistateô*, something, that is, closer to the Latin *praesum*, which is the verb Suetonius uses of our one certain library director, Hyginus (Suet. *Gram.* 20). Even so we cannot rule out the other possibilities.

In sum, then, below the level of the ducenarian *procurator bibliothecarum* it is difficult to identify clear patterns in the library administration. We know that there was at least one man who directed an individual library. This was Hyginus (no. 1), who directed the Apollo Library under Augustus and so before there were commissioners of all the libraries. Others may also have

[70] Pflaum 1960–61: 679 agreed with Hirschfeld that Baebius Iuncinus' post must have been limited to administrative matters.

[71] So van't Dack 179–80. Such duplication of positions—with the assistants usually called *subprocurator*, but sometimes *procurator*—are known from the time of Vespasian on. See Pflaum 1950: 79 for a list of nineteen posts created "en vertu du principe de la dualité des fonctionnaires à la tête des offices."

[72] Other factors now difficult to recover might have led to changes in the library administration. Fires in the second century perhaps eliminated some libraries (cf. Daguet-Gagey 57–58), and the proliferation of Palatine advisory positions over time (Pflaum 1950: 90–91) may have resulted in a reduced rôle for the *procurator bibliothecarum.*

[73] So Vieillefond 290 ("j'ai établi les plans"). Rampaldi 78 took Africanus as designing and building the library. Callmer 165 took Africanus as the builder, Blanck 165 as setting it up: "Africanus . . . dieser . . . eingerichtet hat."

[74] Africanus wrote a *Chronography* (used by Eusebius), and his *Cestoi* included sections on natural history, medicine, war, and magic. See Schmid and Stählin 1346–48. Africanus was also interested in surveying (Lewis 56, 78, 286–88), but so far as we know not in the kind of surveying needed to construct a building.

directed individual libraries: Annius Postumus (no. 34) probably directed the Trajan library, and Aelius Largus (no. 37) too may have been a library director.[75] And some men, very likely equestrians, may have been appointed to special posts when a new library was being organized (so Pompeius Macer, no. 27, and Iulius Africanus, no. 38) or when there were special needs.

There is, however, good reason to doubt that libraries regularly had equestrian directors. There were from five to a dozen libraries in existence over a period of two or more centuries, and if there were equestrian directors of each library, with an average term of, say, five years, there ought to have been at least two hundred, and perhaps as many as five hundred, such directors. Yet we cannot name a single certain example of an equestrian library director. Nor can this be ascribed to our ignorance of equestrian careers: we have extensive knowledge of some 350 of them (Pflaum lists 357 not counting his *bis* numbers), as well as many partial careers. Even the one likely instance of such a director, Annius Postumus (no. 34), may have been a special case, appointed early in the history of the Trajan Library to help organize its collection, or because the Trajan Library, as the largest and most elegant in Rome, was thought to need an equestrian director.[76]

It is also not obvious what eight or ten equestrian procurators might have found to do to keep themselves busy, each in his own library.[77] Hyginus (no. 1), Augustus' freedman, had time to spare for teaching while he directed the Apollo Library, suggesting that his administrative responsibilities were not onerous (Kaster 211), and it is not easy to think of administrative tasks in a library of one or two rooms and, say, forty thousand volumes, that would in ordinary times justify an equestrian procurator, even a sexagenarian one.[78]

[75] Other candidates as directors of individual libraries are Scirtus (no. 14), Sextus (no. 30), Baebius Iuncinus (no. 36), and Iulius Africanus (no. 38).

[76] We do not actually know that the Trajan Library was the largest in Rome, but it included two large buildings and (for what it is worth) is treated by the *Historia Augusta* as the most important of Rome's libraries. See Bruce 1981: 559–63 for the relevant passages in the *HA*, and a discussion.

[77] The late regionary catalogues claim that there were 28 or 29 public libraries in Rome, and scholars often accept these figures. For the text see Nordh 97; the *Curiosum* gives 28, the *Notitia* 29. I doubt that these figures are correct, at least if we take public libraries as state-supported repositories that included at least some literature. Perhaps the number included semi-public libraries, such as those of *collegia*, or records and archives offices. If there were 28 libraries, though, and an equestrian procurator for each, it would be astonishing not to have any record of such procurators in the inscriptions that survive.

[78] Equestrian procurators of individual libraries might be scholars, of course, as we have seen the procurators of all the libraries were, but except for Aelius Largus (no. 37) none of the attested junior procurators is known to have been a scholar, and even Aelius Largus' status as a jurist depends upon a supplement to his fragmentary inscription.

Especially in the first century, when there were few equestrian procurators of any sort in Rome, it seems unlikely that the emperors would be willing to assign from five to seven young men to these libraries.[79]

I would not argue that there were never equestrian procurators of individual libraries. From time to time, in response to emergencies or to changing circumstances and needs, the emperor might want to appoint an equestrian procurator.[80] Perhaps one or more libraries, such as the Trajan Library, always had an equestrian director. The point I want to make is simply this: there is nothing to suggest that all libraries had equestrian directors at all times, and thus nothing to suggest that there was an administrative hierarchy in each library.[81] That is consistent with what we have observed previously: none of our lower-level staff—slaves *a bybliotheca* and *vilici*—seems to be suitable for the kind of administrative structure that might be expected if we had an equestrian procurator in each library, and the tasks such an administration might have performed could readily be handled by other offices.

SCENARIO

We are now in a position to put together a conjectural picture of the public libraries of Rome. Let me emphasize that this is conjectural; while I hope it is essentially correct, it is dependent upon the evidence and arguments presented above, and thus subject to revision as more evidence becomes available.

The libraries were the emperor's, a central fact: the collections were his, part of the Palatine property even when housed off that hill. And at least during the first century the emperor provided staff from his household as personnel for the libraries, controlling access to the libraries through that staff.[82] The

[79] Pflaum in his indices (Pflaum 1960–61: 1019–35) lists no equestrian procurators in the city at the lowest (sexagenarian) level before A.D. 96, and only one prefect, Turranius Proculus Gellianus.

[80] We know of equestrian procurators in charge of individual projects in other contexts. Titus appointed a number of equestrians to special posts to help after the fire of A.D. 80 (Suet. *Tit.* 8.4 *praeposuit complures ex equestri ordine*). For other officials appointed to special projects see Bruun 203–4.

[81] Equestrian directors might have been especially awkward in the first century A.D., when the procurators of all the libraries included two orientals, Iulius Pappus (no. 28) and Dionysius (no. 29) and perhaps a freedman, Scirtus (no. 14). It would be surprising if these men ranked above equestrian library directors. (I assume here that the procurator of all the libraries would in some sense be the superior of the individual library directors.)

[82] We can now see that "public" libraries in Rome are distinct from modern libraries in an important way. They were open to the public, but in a very real sense they were not public property, but the emperor's; and the public who used them may have been re-

staff we hear of in the early Empire was not essentially administrative, intended to provide a service to the people of the Empire, but domestic, their first function being to manage the emperor's properties (in this case the book collections). Expenses in the libraries seem to have been handled through the emperor's Palatine staff generally, not by the individual libraries. Whereas in the Republic Cicero himself made decisions regarding his library, the emperor left such policy matters to others: to scholars who organized the library, to his commissioners, and perhaps on occasion to other equestrian officials. So far as we know, there was no significant central library administration,[83] and we might imagine the library commissioner working in the first instance (as scholar) with the emperor or his staff, and in the second instance (as administrator) with the slave *vilici* who managed the individual libraries. The *vilici* in turn probably organized the day-to-day work of the slaves *a bybliotheca.*

Books accrued to the emperor over time, through purchase, gift, inheritance, conquest, and the like. Presumably they were kept for a period of years in storage, more or less available; some of the emperor's slaves must have kept track of them, and we might choose to assume that it was the slaves *a bybliotheca* who did this. When, for whatever reason, an emperor chose to create a new library, he could appoint a scholar or administrator to work with his slaves in organizing such books as had accumulated.[84] On other occasions, too, for example after fires, special arrangements might be called for. Early in the second century, there may well have been a shift from Greek to Roman scholars as library commissioners, and a regularizing of that position, but we do not know whether that had any impact upon the occupational titles of the staff or the functioning of the libraries. In the late second century there may well have been adjustments in the upper levels of the administration, but at all times, I would suggest, the upper-level commissioners were concerned first with scholarly questions—the emperor's and their own—and secondarily with

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stricted, perhaps even to a circle of scholars and friends parallel to the users of the great private libraries of the Republic. But in this matter of users we cannot be at all certain.

[83] With few exceptions, the titles of all personnel below the equestrian level indicate that they worked not in a central libraries office, but in specific individual libraries. The exceptions are Apollonius (no. 9), *[a?] bybl[iotheca]*, which could be *bybl[iothecis]*; Charops (no. 10), *ad byblio(thecam* or *-thecas)*; Scirtus (no. 14), *proc(urator) bybl(iothecae* or *-arum)*; and the *incertus* (no. 19) *a byblio(theca* or *-hecis)*. Given that we have no certain examples of men assigned to an office *a bybliothecis*, and fifteen inscriptions in which the staff member is clearly assigned to one library, it seems best to take the uncertain examples as also of men assigned to one library.

[84] Because enough books had gathered, for example, or to celebrate an occasion such as victory in the Dacian Wars.

administrative policy, while the physical work, especially assisting patrons by locating and bringing out volumes, but also maintaining the book collection through copying, repairs, and cleaning, could be left to men drawn from the emperor's household, the slaves *a bybliotheca* and the *vilici*.[85]

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LIBRARY RESOURCES AND CREATIVE WRITING AT ROME[1]

ANTHONY J. MARSHALL

THE RENEWAL OF INTEREST in the social setting of literary production in the later Republic and Early Empire promises both to be a fruitful development and to avoid the excesses of the older biographical approach. One of the important border areas which remain to be explored between the traditional preserves of literature and history covers the relation between libraries and creative writing at Rome. For books not only served as a general cultural catalyst in Roman society but were also seen as a necessary tool for writers. This is most obviously true of the school of poets whose models derived from that learned Alexandrianism with its literary modes which resulted from a productive relationship between the great Museum library and the interplay of criticism and composition among its scholarly devotees. Callimachus had classified literary genres in his canonical one hundred and twenty volume *Pinakes*, and the Museum, although derisively dubbed "birdcage of the Muses" by Timon of Phlius, had wedded learning and creative writing with a new and close bond.[2] The Latin poets who coveted the title *doctus* and clearly wrote for an educated audience required access to a collection of carefully established Greek texts, and Neoterics would take to heart Callimachus' rule "I sing nothing which is not attested."[3] The paradigm Catullus obliquely informs us that his library in Rome ran to *multae capsulae* which he needed for composition.[4] Martial boasted a library of more than

[1]An earlier version of this paper was read before the annual meeting of the Classical Association of Canada at Edmonton in June, 1975. I wish to thank my colleague Dr R. S. Kilpatrick for his helpful criticism.

[2]For the Πίνακες see Diog.Laert. 8.86; Ath. 6.244a, 13.585b; *Suda*: Καλλίμαχος. Cf. F. Schmidt, *Die Pinakes des Kallimachos* (Berlin 1922); F. J. Witty, "The Pinakes of Callimachus," *Library Quarterly* 28 (1958) 132–136; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1.452 f., 780f. For the Μουσέων τάλαρος, see Ath. 1.22d. Cf. J. A. Davison, "Literature and Literacy in Ancient Greece: Caging the Muses," *Phoenix* 16 (1962) 219–233, esp. 227 f. For the Museum and Alexandrian scholarship generally, see Th.Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882) 485f.; Dziatzko, "Bibliotheken," *RE* 3 (1899) 409 f.; Müller-Graupa, "Museion," *RE* 16 C (1933) 801–821; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 1084 f.; E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (London 1952) 204 f.; L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars* (Oxford 1968) 6 f.; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 96 f.; Fraser, *op.cit.* 1.305f., 447f.

[3]Callim. fr. 612, ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω. Cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (above, note 2) 1.657.

[4]Catullus, *Carm.* 68.36, *huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.*

one hundred and twenty rolls, the collection of Persius contained an impressive seven hundred volumes of Chrysippus, while even Eumolpus saw the need for a deluge of books to fertilize the mind.[5]

The basic question which presents itself for answer is whether books in bulk, true library collections, were readily accessible. Certainly, to assemble one from scratch would have been expensive and far from easy. It is true that commercial book production was established in Rome by the early first century B.C. and that by Pliny's day bookstores could be found far afield in the provinces, remote from the central markets of the Argiletum and the Vicus Tuscus.[6] Moreover, a sturdy book might last a hundred years or more with careful handling, and Romans came to know the dusty delights of second hand bookshops.[7] But we hear much complaint about the inaccuracies and deficiencies of commercial copies, which were often carelessly prepared and not properly checked against the original before sale. In particular, Strabo indicates the difficulty of assembling a reference collection when he warns that Roman shops were flooded with worthless editions which were replete with errors.[8] Equally ominous are the complaints voiced by Cicero in 54 B.C. while trying to build a library of good Latin texts in Rome. His problems arose also from unreliable production, since he grumbles *ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt*. In his hunt for the good texts which he needed as reference ma-

[5]Martial, *Ep.* 14.190; (?) Suet. *Vita Auli Persi Flacci* 1, with W. Clausen (Ed.), *A. Persi Flacci Saturarum Liber* (Oxford 1956) xxv. For Eumolpus, see Petron. *Sat.* 118.3, *neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingentiflumine litterarum inundata.* Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.18.109, where the poet prays for *bona librorum* as a condition of happiness. Pliny the Elder (*HN* Praef. 17) needed some two thousand volumes from which to cull his material.

[6]For the book trade in Italy and the provinces, see Birt, *Antike Buchwesen* (above, note 2) 356 f., also *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des Antiken Buchwesens* (Munich 1913) 310 f.; L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* 3 (1909) 36 f.; 4 (1913) 645 → F. Reichmann, "The Book Trade at the Time of the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly* 8 (1938) 40–76; J. W. Thompson, *Ancient Libraries* (Berkeley 1940) 87 f.; H. L. Pinner, *The World of Books in Classical Antiquity*[2] (Leiden 1958) 33 f., 46 f. The main literary evidence for provincial sales is to be found in Pliny, *Ep.* 9.11.2; Martial, *Ep.* 7.88; Horace, *Carm.* 2.20.13 f.; *Ars Poet.* 345; Ovid, *Trist.* 4.9.21; 4.10.128; Pliny, *HN* 35.2.11; Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 9.7.1.

[7]For the durability of quality books, see Pliny, *HN* 13.26.83 f.; Quint. *Inst. Or.* 9.4.39. Cf. Birt, *Antike Buchwesen* 364 f., *Kritik und Hermeneutik* 323. For the threats to books' longevity, cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.20.12. For the used book market, see Aul. Gell. *NA* 2.3.5; 5.4.1; 16.8.2; 18.1.11; Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 102. Cf. Pinner (above, note 6) 13 f. Entrepreneurs such as Atticus might offer whole libraries for sale (Cicero, *Att.* 1.4.3; 1.7; 1.10.4; 1.11.3).

[8]Strabo 13.1.54; 50.13.419. Cf. Martial, *Ep.* 2.8; Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 1; Reynolds and Wilson (above, note 2) 24. Lack of copyright was partly to blame (cf. Gaius, *Inst.* 2.73, 77). See Pinner (above, note 6) 38 f., for ancient authors' complaints about plagiarism and forgery.

terial for his own writing, Cicero had to make energetic use of friends and agents.[9]

It is true that the copying of borrowed books was a common expedient for those who wished to enrich private collections. Cicero, while lamenting that he cannot find sound copies for Quintus' library, says that he needs a skilled copyist to fill the gaps.[10] But the rub is in the qualification "skilled." Private copying could itself notoriously proliferate more botched texts, and the prices fetched by skilled copy slaves or *servi litterati* were high indeed.[11] Seneca values an efficient model of this ancient equivalent of the xerox machine at one hundred thousand sesterces, and they were generally highly priced.[12] Wealthy nobles such as Crassus could train their own copyists and library slaves, but this required an existing establishment of skilled slaves to instruct apprentices.[13] Even so, the problem would remain of obtaining an authentic text worth putting into the hands of the copyist. When the Octavian library was destroyed by fire, Domitian sent his skilled copyists to Alexandria itself for replacements.[14] We hear also of one mistrustful bibliophile who brought a grammaticus to a bookstore in order to check the authenticity of a text offered for sale.[15] But some authentic texts might not even be for sale. One scholar rented an edition of Ennius at great expense to check a reading because it contained the original emendations of Gaius Octavius Lampadio.[16]

There was another, more obvious problem to be faced by Romans who coveted libraries. Then as now, the assembling of a working library represented a sizable cash investment. Cicero rated his library in 46 B.C. at *multorum nummorum*, a claim amusingly borne out by the success of his runaway library slave Dionysius who absconded with a number of expen-

[9]Cicero, *Q.Fr.* 3.5.6; *Att.* 1.7; 13.32.2. Cf. *Q.Fr.* 3.4.5, *neque enim venalia sunt quae quidem placeant, et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt.*

[10]*Q.Fr.* 3.4.5 (cited above, note 9). Cf. *Att.* 2.20.6, *describo et remitto.*

[11]For the hazards of transmission by private copying, see Cicero, *Att.* 12.6a.1; 13.21.3; 13.21a; 13.22.3; 13.23.2; Martial, *Ep.* 2.8.3–4; 7.11. Cf. Pinner (above, note 6) 31 f., who suggests that Latin books were more vulnerable to poor copying since copyists were Greek.

[12]Seneca, *Ep.* 27.6f. Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 2.2.5–8; *Cod.Just.* 6.43.3.1.

[13]Plut. *Crass.* 2, with S. L. Mohler, "Slave Education in the Roman Empire," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 262–280; H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (London and N.Y. 1956) 266. Cf. Nepos, *Vit. Att.* 13.3.

[14]Suet. *Dom.* 20. For the library, see below, note 56.

[15]Aul.Gell. *NA* 5.4.2.

[16]Aul.Gell. *NA* 18.5.11. For the lucrative production of faked "old" or "rare" books by unscrupulous dealers to meet the demand created by the shortage of good, early texts, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 21.12, with Pinner (above, note 6) 48; J. E. G. Zetzel, "*Emendavi Ad Tironem*: Some Notes on Scholarship in the Second Century A.D.," *HSCP* 77 (1973) 225–243, esp. 239 f. Zetzel (241) suspects that Lampadio's *Ennius* was itself a forgery.

sive volumes. This enterprising amanuensis may well have financed his escape via Dalmatia by selling off a trail of prized items from Cicero's collection.[17] Few collectors could hope for such windfalls as the entire library from Greece which Cicero was able to acquire in 60 B.C. as a gift from a grateful client and ship to Rome.[18] Pliny the Younger, not untypically, tells us that the library which he gave to Comum cost one million sesterces, a senator's entire census, and maintenance costs for this library called for a further one hundred thousand.[19] The hapless Codrus, Juvenal's starveling intellectual who treasured his pitiful few books and guarded them from *opici mures*, could hardly expect to command a personal reference library.[20]

We discover with painful clarity what was the fate of a writer cut off from access to an adequate library when we turn to Ovid's famous case. Poor Ovid's productivity did not suffer in Tomis only from low spirits, failing health, and the absence of any stimulating audience or circle of literary friends. He explicitly laments the damage done by the lack of books.

> *Non hic librorum per quos inviter alarque*
> *copia . . .*

His personal library had to be left in Rome, and his work grows introspective and autobiographical.[21] In particular, he regrets that he is unable to put the *ultima lima* and *summa manus* to the *Metamorphoses*, unfinished by the fateful year A.D. 8.[22] Catullus, writing more comfortably in Verona, informs Mallius that he cannot oblige him with poetry since he has brought only one *capsula* of books with him from his Roman collection.[23] By contrast, Horace might lug with him to the country Plato, Menander, Eupolis, and Archilochus as inspiration for satire and then

[17]Cic.*Fam.* 13.77.3.

[18]Cic.*Att.* 1.20.7; 2.1.12. Note Cicero's anxious concern for the safe arrival of these books and his statement that he has urgent need of them. For the transmission of libraries by legacy, see Paulus, *Sent.* 3.6.51; Ulpian, *Digest* 32.52; (?) Suet. *Vita Auli Persi Flacci* 1. Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 417.

[19]Pliny, *Ep.* 1.8.2; *CIL* 5.5262 (= *ILS* 2927), with A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford 1966) 103, 732. See Thompson (above, note 6) 86, for the library given to Timgad which cost 400,000 sesterces. It is significant that Varro's valuable library was looted in the proscriptions (Aul.Gell. *NA* 3.10.17). For highly priced collectors' pieces, see Suet. *De Gramm.* 8 (16,000 sesterces); Pliny, *Ep.* 3.5.17 (400,000). Cf. Pinner, (above, note 6) 37 f.; Birt (above, note 2) 209, 356; (above, note 6) 322 f.

[20]Juvenal, *Sat.* 3.206 f.

[21]*Tristia* 1.1.105 f.; 1.7.19 f.; 3.14.37 f.; *Ex Ponto* 4.2.29 f. Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955) 324. Propertius, by contrast, is confident (2.13.25 f.) that he can take his own *tres libelli* with him even to Hades.

[22]*Tristia* 1.7.14, 22, 27–30.

[23]*Carm.* 68.31 f.

find only energy lacking.[24] Cicero merits less pity than Ovid when found in the quasi exile of his Cilician governorship solacing himself with the bracing and, one suspects, flattering *Cyropaedia*.[25]

Another aspect of this subject which calls for investigation is the relation between book collecting and patronage. By the later Republic, great private collections, running to both Greek and Latin works, were to be found in the houses of the wealthy.[26] But even when these libraries were opened freely to friends, the use made of them by Roman visitors who were themselves wealthy collectors indicates in itself that they contained books which were not readily available elsewhere and not duplicated even in the holdings of a Cicero or a Cato. A prime example is provided by Lucullus, whose villa at Tusculum boasted a fine library which had come into his hands as booty from the Mithridatic War.[27] This was no show library serving for mere ostentation of the kind which Lucian castigates as providing a safe haven for moths and mice.[28] Undoubtedly some wealthy Romans may have bought up books in "proper assortments" for display, in the crass tradition of buying volumes by colour and footage which is maintained in the modern world by furniture stores and pretentious restaurants. Predictably, this "books for looks" mania attracted Seneca's scorn, and Juvenal derides the value set by Roman snobs on the display of selected titles in one's bookcase.[29] No such charge could be levelled at Lucullus, since his was a working library especially rich in Greek philosophy and the extent of his collection was well matched by that of his own intellectual interests. Lucullus deserves to be remembered as more than the father of the European cherry.[30]

At his own Tusculan villa, Cicero wrote his *Tusculan Disputations*, the *De Oratore*, and the *Orator*. He kept a good library there, an arrangement consonant with the general Roman view that libraries formed a pleasant adjunct to the leisure of villa life.[31] In patriotic euphoria Cicero might

[24]*Serm.* 2.3.11 f.

[25]*Fam.* 9.25.1. Cf. *Q.Fr.* 1.1.23. For Alexander's lead in the fashion for bedside reading on campaign, see Plut. *Alex.* 8.

[26]See, e.g., above, notes 9, 10, and 17.

[27]Plut. *Luc.* 42; Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.1. Cf. Pliny, *HN* 25.3.6–7; J. Van Ooteghem, *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* (Brussels 1959) 184 f.

[28]*Adv. Indoct.* passim.

[29]Seneca, *De Tranq. Anim.* 9.7; *Ep.* 27.6; *Dial.* 9.9.6; Juvenal, *Sat.* 2.4–7. Cf. Pliny, *HN* 35.4.9; Ausonius, *Epigr.* 7. For Trimalchio's amusing boast about his library, see Petron. *Sat.* 48.

[30]See esp. Cicero, *Acad. Priora* 1.1 f. For the cherry, see Van Ooteghem, *Lucullus* (above, note 27) 194.

[31]For Cicero's Tusculan library, see *De Div.* 2.8; *Topica* 1.1. Cf. *Att.* 2.6.1 (Antium); *De Leg.* 2.1 (Arpinum). Cf. F. L. Meyer, *Cicero und die Bücher* (Diss. Zurich 1955) 15 f.; Cicero, *De Fin.* 2.7; Martial, *Ep.* 7.17.1; Seneca, *Dial.* 9.9.4; *De Tranq. Anim.* 9.7; Thompson (above, note 6) 34 f. Each of the villas of Italicus contained a library (Pliny,

launch his mot about the *Twelve Tables* being worth all the philosophical libraries put together and claim that Romans would not need Greek libraries stuffed with tomes once philosophy had been successfully transplanted to Latin soil. But elsewhere he directly tells us that his own philosophical writing was done in his personal libraries and was very much dependent on the availability of books.[32] Even so, he found it worth his while to ride over from his Tusculan villa to consult in the great library of Lucullus holdings which his own collection presumably did not run to, and there he also found Marcus Cato glutting his notorious appetite for Stoic writing.[33] Cicero and Cato were privileged to have such access, since it seems probable that Lucullus' library was not "public" in any real sense and that an invitation to use its resources presupposed a social connection as an *amicus* or *cliens*. In the same way Cicero, as an *amicus* of Atticus, was able to borrow from him books which he needed for his writing and to copy some of them before returning the original.[34] In particular, while working on the *Republic* he needed and obtained access to Atticus' library in Rome.[35]

There is another dimension to the working Roman library. Plutarch supplies the significant information that the library of Lucullus attracted to its galleries and study rooms a number of Greek scholars. It thus became a veritable temple of the Muses for Greek visitors to Rome, Archias doubtless included, and a centre for discussion among the scholars who made their Lucullan banquets upon his books.[36] Beginning with the Alexandrian foundation, it has always been true that great libraries attract scholars and act as a magnet for talent. Roman libraries, by providing suitable foci for international literary circles, also won prestige for the hospitable Roman patrons who owned them. To describe the transfer as neutrally as possible, great Greek collections moved west with the returning Roman armies and lured scholars and writers west with them.[37] The senior librarians included among these scholars and the

Ep. 3.7.8), and the studious Pliny installed a bookcase for selected favourites in a *cubiculum* at his Laurentine villa (*Ep.* 2.17.8). For private libraries generally, see Birt (above, note 2) 360 f.

[32]*De Orat.* 1.44.195; *Tusc.* 2.2.6; *Fam.* 7.28.2.

[33]*De Fin.* 3.2.7–8.

[34]*Att.* 2.4.1; 2.20.6; 8.11.7; 13.8; 13.31.2; 13.32.2; 13.33.2.

[35]*Att.* 4.14.1. Cf. Meyer (above, note 31) 16 f.

[36]Plut. *Luc.* 42.1–2. For Lucullus as patron, see D. M. Schullian, *External Stimuli to Literary Production in Rome 90 B.C.—27 B.C.* (Diss. Chicago 1931) 133 f. For Archias' connection with Lucullus, see Cicero, *Att.* 1.16.15; *Arch.* 3.5.

[37]For a useful list of Greek scholars who visited Rome in this period see A. Hillscher, *Hominum litteratorum Graecorum ante Tiberii mortem in urbe Roma commoratorum historia critica*, *Neue Jahrb. f. class. Philol. und Paed.*, Suppl. Bd. 18 (1892) 355–440. Philodemus of Gadara may have been attracted into Piso's patronage by the villa library at Herculaneum, where some 1800 rolls have been discovered. See H. Bloch, "L. Calpurnius Piso

subordinate staff who presumably arrived willynilly with the crated books would be a culturally productive presence in Roman society. Marcus Cato took back to Rome with him the chief librarian of Pergamum even though the library itself escaped for the moment.[38] It is, however, a remarkable fact that scholars who have discussed the importance of these learned émigrés have barely glanced at the question of the westward transplantation of the great Greek libraries.[39]

One of the most fruitful bulk importations of Greek working libraries was undoubtedly that of the royal Macedonian library, last owned by King Perseus and turned by his conqueror L. Aemilius Paullus into the first great private collection in Roman hands.[40] Paullus did not loot these books merely for ostentation and prestige, since they were used to educate his sons. After his death in 160 B.C. the collection most probably remained intact and at the disposal of Scipio Aemilianus.[41] It is surely beyond doubt that the availability of this magnificent library must have provided a major attraction for the Scipionic Circle and formed an important factor in its prestige and durability. Polybius himself first got to know Scipio intimately through the loan of some books.[42] Yet D. M. Schullian's work barely touches upon the subject of this library, which also receives a scant ten lines in R. M. Brown's *A Study of the Scipionic Circle*. The most surprising discovery is that it is not even mentioned in A. E. Astin's authoritative discussion of the Circle in his *Scipio Aemilianus*.[43]

Caesoninus in Samothrace and Herculaneum," *AJA* 44 (1940) 485–493; Schullian (above, note 36) 30–41; F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*[2] (Oxford 1951) 83 f.; R. G. M. Nisbet (Ed.), *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio* (Oxford 1961) 186 f.

[38]Plut. *Cat.Min.* 16; cf. Strabo 14.5.14. For the Pergamene library, granted by Marc Antony to Cleopatra by a gift criticized in Rome, see Plut. *Ant.* 58.9. Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 414 f.; Parsons (above, note 2) 19 f.; J. Platthy, *Sources on the Earliest Greek Libraries* (Amsterdam 1968) 159 f. Fraser (above, note 2) 2.494 note 229, urges caution in interpreting Plutarch's evidence. Cf. also Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 235 f.; F. Grayeff, *Aristotle and his School* (London 1974) 71 f.

[39]See, e.g., Schullian (above, note 36) 133 f.

[40]Plut. *Aem.Paull.* 6.5; 28.6 f.; Isid. *Etym.* 6.5.1. Cf. Platthy (above, note 38) 140. For the Roman view of their rights over such plundered books, → I. Shatzman, "The Roman General's Authority over Booty," *Historia* 21 (1972) 177–205, at 195, 203.

[41]Plut. *loc. cit.* (above, note 40). The disposal of the library would not be affected by Scipio's refusal of his half of the inheritance from Paullus (Polyb. 31.28.1–3) if Plutarch is right in stating that the books were originally given directly to the sons of Paullus as their share of the Macedonian booty. It seems improbable that Scipio and his eldest brother Q. Fabius Maximus, the only other surviving son at Paullus' death, would have physically split up the collection. Cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 4.1 for Pompeius Strabo's gift to his son of books from the booty of Asculum.

[42]Polyb. 31.23.4.

[43]See R. M. Brown, *A Study of the Scipionic Circle* (Iowa 1934) 37; A. E. Astin, *Scipio*

Another celebrated collection which reached Rome from the Greek world as booty and there became a cultural catalyst was the library of Aristotle and Theophrastus, which contained the so-called 'acroatic' works of Aristotle. After the vagaries of its supposed transmission via Scepsis on the Scamander, where Apellicon of Teos is said to have bought it from the heirs of Neleus and shipped it back to Athens, Sulla brought this library to Rome from the sack of Athens in 86 B.C.[44] It is quite possible that Cicero in his turn bought up this unique collection from the Dictator's son Faustus when the latter fell into financial trouble and was forced to sell it. Cicero read voraciously in it, apparently keeping it in the villa at Cumae where he wrote part of the *Republic* and of the *Academica*.[45] The availability of this library would not only facilitate Cicero's scholarly work but would also enrich his intellectual life by attracting distinguished Greeks. The eminent grammarian and critic from Amisus, nicknamed Tyrannio, is to be numbered among these scholars.[46] Tyrannio

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Aemilianus (Oxford 1967) Appendix 6 (cf. the fleeting reference earlier on p. 15). For Schullian, see above, note 39. But for doubt as to the historicity of the circle, see now J. E. G. Zetzel, "Cicero and the Scipionic Circle," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 173–179.

[44]See Strabo 13.1.54; 13.4.2; Ath. 1.3 a–b; 5.214 d–e; Plut.*Sull.* 26.1; Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 95.3; Lucian, *Adv. Indoct.* 4. Cf. Thompson (above, note 6) 28 f; C. Wendel, "Tyrannion," *RE* 7 A 2 (1948) 1811 f.; E. Ruschenbusch, "ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ NOMOI," (*Historia* Einzelschriften 9, 1966) 42 note 108; Platthy (above, note 38) 125 f. If we allow any weight to the divergent account of Athenaeus, some lesser part of the collection may have gone to Alexandria. But controversy surrounds this episode. Fraser (above, note 2) 2.473 note 100, rejects attempts to reconcile Athenaeus with Strabo and dismisses his account as a misunderstanding of the latter. A. H. Chroust, in his somewhat speculative paper "The Miraculous Disappearance and Recovery of the Corpus Aristotelicum," *Class. et Med.* 23 (1962) 50–67, condemns Strabo's version (62) as being in part "a planned and clever fabrication" devised to explain the decline of the Peripatus and to enhance the authority of Andronicus' edition of Aristotle. D. C. Earl, "Prologue-Form in Ancient Historiography," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Ed. H. Temporini, 1.2 (Berlin and N.Y. 1972) 842–856, at 851, also doubts the Scepsis interlude as being a "highly suspicious story." For evaluation of Strabo's story, see further J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution* (Berkeley 1972) 147 f. Cf. Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 67; Grayeff (above, note 38) 74 f.

[45]See Cicero, *Att.* 4.10.1 (Cumae, 55 B.C.), *Ego hic pascor bibliotheca Fausti*, where the context implies that Cicero had the books in his own *Cumanum* and was not just visiting some villa of Faustus. See also *Att.* 9.11.4; 12.40.2; Plut. *Cic.* 27; *Sull.* 26. C. Trebatius Testa inspired Cicero's translation of Aristotle's *Topica* by complaining about the obscurity of the original which he tackled in Cicero's Tusculan library (*Fam.* 7.19; *Top.* 1.1–5). Cicero later gave the name "Lycium" to a gymnasium at his *Tusculanum* which contained a library (*Div.* 1.5.8; 2.3.8; cf. *Tusc.* 2.3.9). Meyer (above, note 31) 56 f., surprisingly omits all mention of Cicero's possible acquisition of this library. The possibility is also ignored by Schullian (above, note 36) 135 f., Earl (above, note 44) 851, and Grayeff (above, note 38) 75 f.

[46]For Tyrannio's work, see Plut. *Sull.* 26.1–2; *Luc.* 19.8–9; Strabo 13.3.16. Cf. Hillscher (above, note 37) 374 f.; Pfeiffer (above, note 2) 272 f.; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen*

had held classes in Cicero's house in 56 B.C., pleasing him with the impression made upon his nephew.[47] But a more enduring achievement was Tyrannio's careful copying of the works in Cicero's freshly acquired library. Andronicus, head of the Peripatetic school in Rhodes, was able to base a new edition upon this work.[48]

For all the rancour of Lucian's complaints about philistine Roman patrons and their venal Greek protégés, resident Greek scholars were no mere ornaments in the cultural life of Rome.[49] Indeed, some of their contributions could be very practical. For example, Cicero's villa at Antium, where he kept a library of whose *festiva copia* he had earlier boasted, suffered sad damage during his exile.[50] But after his return, we find in the letters to Atticus a series of delighted reports on the progress of the restoration of this library by Tyrannio, who was aided by three expert freedmen (*librarioli glutinatores*) loaned for the purpose by Atticus.[51] The faithful Tiro, freely admitted by Cicero to be vital to his writing, must also have worked regularly in his master's libraries.[52] Another devotee of these collections will have been Pomponius Dionysius, who was of great help to Cicero as critic and literary aide despite the cultural clash of their mutual incomprehension over Roman ethics.[53] Apart from his role as host

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during the Late Republic (Oxford 1969) 114, 116, 125; Grayeff (above, note 38) 75 f. Ruschenbusch (above, note 44) accepts 55 B.C. as the probable year of Tyrannio's work on the corpus (41). Earl (above, note 44) maintains that Cicero himself did not bother to read the Aristotelian collection, explaining (854) that "grubbing about in bookstacks after dusty manuscripts was no activity for a scholar who was also a Roman gentleman." Such fastidiousness is sheer fantasy and would hardly prove a deterrent to exploration of so priceless a collection. Earl's theory does not explain *Att.* 4.10.1 (quoted above, note 45), where the context implies that Cicero was eagerly occupied with the books, however dusty. Grayeff, *op. cit.* 75 f., holds that Cicero's written work displayed a progressively better knowledge of the Aristotelian corpus after he had gained access to it.

[47]Cicero, *Q.Fr.* 2.4.2 (apparently in Rome). For Tyrannio's lectures, attended by Strabo, see Strabo 12.3.16.

[48]Plut. *Sull.* 26.1–2. Earl (above, note 44) 855 argues that Andronicus' work directly influenced Sallust. Chroust (above, note 44) 53 and 63 is highly critical of Tyrannio's work and piles conjecture upon conjecture with his theory that Andronicus manipulated the reappearance of the books in order to advance his own professional standing with the Peripatetic movement. Cf. Grayeff (above, note 38) 77 f.

[49]See Lucian, *De Mercede Conductis.* Cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge 1967) 66 f.

[50]Cicero, *Att.* 2.6.1; 4.4a.1. Cf. Meyer (above, note 31) 54.

[51]*Att.* 4.4a; 4.5.4; 4.8.2; 5.3.3; Nepos, *Att.* 13.3.–4.

[52]Cicero, *Fam.* 16.4.3; 16.10.2; 16.14.1; 16.17.1; 16.20; 16.22.1 (which reveals that Tiro even interpreted Cicero's handwriting to his *librarii*). For Cicero's employment in his literary work of learned and skilled freedmen, see Treggiari (above, note 46) 76 f., 114 note 10, 116, 125, 252 f., 259 f., also, "The Freedmen of Cicero," *G & R* 16 (1969) 195–2 → R. J. Rowland, "Cicero and the Greek World," *TAPA* 103 (1972) 451–461.

[53]Cicero, *Att.* 5.9.3; 6.2.3; 7.18.3; 10.16.1. Cf. Hillscher (above, note 37) 372.

to distinguished Greek scholars, some of whom, like Diodotus, were resident under his roof for years, what we know of Cicero the bibliophile fits well with the evidence that he was also a patron to Latin poets.[54] Surely the presence in Rome of groups of resident Greek intellectuals represents an important substratum of the developing Latin culture which such poets inherited. And it was Rome, rather than the Lyceum, which now had the library resources to attract them, thanks to the disastrous choice of Strato of Lampsacus as Scholarch in Athens and the subsequent launching of Aristotle's library on its own peripatetic course.[55]

One final development in Roman book collecting calls for notice, a development which affected the milieu of the writer to an incalculable degree. When the great imperial libraries came to be established under their procurators, notably the collection established in 33 B.C. in the *Porticus Octaviae* and the larger Palatine library attached to the temple of Apollo some five years later, their holdings could now be used to indicate a formative favour or displeasure toward living writers.[56] It is true that Augustus was no Ptolemy setting up a complete residential "institute" to house scholars on a stipend.[57] In opening his libraries to readers he was following the lead already given by Asinius Pollio, who had established a similarly open library in the *Atrium Libertatis* after his Illyrian triumph of October 39 B.C.[58] Here, as in other important areas of his rule, Augustus was simply acting as a Republican *patronus* writ large. But the new imperial libraries, although housed in state buildings, were not so much Carnegie-style institutions, "public" in the modern sense, as the Emperor's libraries generously thrown open to his *amici* and urban *clientes* as a form of patronage. This patronage was in the tradition of Lucullus but the scale was far grander.[59] There was, more-

[54]For Cicero as patron, see Pliny, *Ep.* 3.15.1; Schol. Bob. *Pro Sest.* 58.123 (p. 137 Stangl). For Diodotus, see Cicero, *Tusc.* 5.39.113; *Acad.* 2.36.115; *Brut.* 90.309; *Fam.* 13.16.4; *Att.* 2.20.6.

[55]For Strato, see Lynch (above, note 44) 139. Cf. Chroust (above, note 44) 50 f.

[56]For the Augustan libraries, which contained poetry and prose works in both languages, see J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (London 1909) 12 f.; Birt (above, note 6) 335 f.; C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago 1915) 5 f., 32 f. For the separate Greek and Latin holdings, see *CIL* 6.[2] 4431, 4433, 4435. For the precedent of the supposed unfulfilled plan of Julius Caesar to establish a great library, see Suet. *Iul.* 44.2 Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 418. By the fourth century of our era there were twenty eight such foundations in Rome (Boyd, *op. cit.* 3).

[57]For the organization of the Alexandrian scholars and the Museum, see Fraser (above, note 2) 1.316 f.

[58]For Pollio's library, see Boyd (above, note 56) 3 f., 31; J. André, *La Vie et l'Oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris 1949) 23, 116 f. These books can hardly have been spoils from the Parthini, and presumably it was the *Atrium Libertatis* itself which was built or more probably restored from the proceeds of the booty. Cf. Shatzman (above, note 40) 185.

[59]For Augustus as patron of letters, see Suet. *Aug.* 89. Endowment, continued financ-

over, clearly a prestige motive in the foundation of these great collections, and it is significant that even Domitian took pains to tend them.[60] If they contained rare or hitherto dispersed volumes, they would inevitably draw distinguished readers, and since their prestige far outshone that of other collections in the western Empire they would also inevitably become a focus for ambition.

At the outset, a sinister indication of imperial interest and power was given. By a curt letter Augustus himself instructed his chief librarian not to place in the accessible collection some juvenilia of the Divine Julius.[61] The power of gratifying inclusion or damning exclusion thus lay ultimately in the hands of the libraries' proprietor. Inclusion would make one a classic, and Vergil and Livy were admitted into the bookcases with predictable promptness.[62] Others were firmly denied this accolade. We may leave aside Caligula's whimsical threat to banish sundry classics from the libraries, although even this has recently been seen as evincing a serious desire to avoid "invidious comparisons with the leaders of the past."[63] But Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* was certainly banished during his lifetime from both Augustan foundations and from Pollio's library, the latter ironically housed in the same *Atrium Libertatis* which had sheltered the Censors' office.[64] Ovid feared that his *Epistulae ex Ponto* would also suffer the *pudor repulsae* from the imperial libraries because of his continuing disgrace and so be restricted to private holdings.[65] Dutiful relatives of the disgraced might, as in the case of Cremutius Cordus, manage to restore their ejected works in later years.[66] But the object lesson would remain before the eyes of current writers.

Seen in this light, the workings of the imperial libraries may be said

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ing, and staffing for the Augustan foundations presumably depended upon the Emperor's personal funds. For the *servi publici* who worked in the libraries under imperial procurators, see, e.g., *CIL* 6.2347–2349. Cf. Dziatzko, *RE* 3 (above, note 2) 423; Thompson (above, note 6) 86, 118. It is significant that Augustus held Senate meetings and conducted judicial business in his Palatine library (Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29).

[60]For the obvious precedent in the prestige motives of the Ptolemaic foundation, see Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 7, *Praef.* 4. For Domitian, see Suet. *Dom.* 20. The Emperors extended their patronage to the Alexandrian library (Strabo 17.1.8), which descended to sad depths of sycophancy by adding its "Claudian wing" and staging relay-recitations of Claudius' interminable histories (Suet. *Claud.* 42).

[61]Suet. *Iul.* 56 *ad fin.*

[62]For Vergil and Livy see Suet. *Gai.* 34.2. For the servility shown to the Palatine holdings by some literary aspirants, see Horace, *Epist.* 1.3.15 f.

[63]Suet. *Gai.* 34.2. Cf. R. A. Bauman, *Impietas in Principem* (Munich 1974) 136.

[64]Ovid, *Trist.* 3.1.65 f.

[65]*Ex Ponto* 1.1.5 f.

[66]Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 1.3, *ac restituisti in publica monumenta libros quos vir ille fortissimus sanguine suo scripserat.*

to have amounted to an oblique form of censorship. Approved and admitted authors received, as part of the trappings of repute, the coveted honour of a bust on display in the reading-rooms. Varro is the only author known to have achieved this distinction during his lifetime, but the Emperor had ultimate control over the grant of even this reward.[67] The honours paid in A.D. 19 to the dead Germanicus included a medallion bust in the Palatine library. But the proposal was not implemented before the plans for the bust had, perhaps symbolically, been scaled down by Tiberius himself.[68] When that same Emperor personally placed busts of his favourite Greek poets in the libraries his action was enough to stimulate the composition of commentaries on these authors which were dedicated to him.[69] In sharp contrast, books considered subversive could suffer a fate more publicly humiliating than expulsion from the libraries and undergo the further condemnation of being burnt by triumvirs or aediles in the Forum. Under Domitian, copyists who duplicated treasonable works were even crucified.[70] The hapless victims of such imperial vengefulness would draw little comfort from the precedent of the burning of Protagoras' books in the Agora.[71] Nor would it be immediately reassuring to reflect that such treatment, as Tacitus wryly notes in the cases of Cremutius Cordus and Fabricius Veiento, usually proved counterproductive and actually increased covert readership. In any case, such

[67]For busts in imperial libraries, see Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.37. For Varro's bust, placed in Pollio's library in his own lifetime, see Pliny, *HN* 7.30.115. See Horace, *Serm.* 1.4.21 for a possible attempt by one Fannius to get books and a bust admitted to the imperial library by a gift. But A. Kiessling–R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus Satiren* (Berlin 1961) 73, cast doubt on this interpretation. Cf. Friedländer (above, note 6) 4.646; N. Rudd, *The Satires of Horace* (Cambridge 1966) 132. In the period of Sidonius (*Ep.* 9.16) a bust in Trajan's *bibliotheca Ulpiana* is still a proud boast for a writer. For bust collecting in private libraries, almost amounting to a cult practice, see, e.g., Pliny, *Ep.* 1.16.8; 3.7.8; 4.28.1; 8.18.11; Cicero, *Att.* 4.10.1. Ovid, *Tristia* 1.7 *init.*, warns his friends to remove wreaths and decorations from their library-busts of himself.

[68]Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.83.

[69]Suet. *Tib.* 70.

[70]For crucifixion of copyists, see Suet. *Dom.* 10.1; Quint. *Inst. Or.* 9.2.65. For book-burnings, see, e.g., Tacitus, *Agr.* 2.1; *Ann.* 4.35; 14.50; Pliny, *Ep.* 7.19.6; Suet. *Aug.* 31; *Tib.* 61.3; *Gai.* 16. Cf. Birt (above, note 2) 367 → C. A. Forbes, "Books for the Burning," *TAPA* 67 (1936) 114–125; F. H. Cramer, "Bookburning and Censorship in Ancient Rome: a Chapter from the History of Freedom of Speech," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945) 157–196. Ironically, Caligula burnt court-records in the forum to symbolize a new era of liberty (Suet. *Gai.* 15.4). Bauman (above, note 63) 47 note 111, rejects Cassius Dio's statement (56.27.1, 4) that Augustus directly issued bookburning decrees and maintains that *senatusconsulta* officially sanctioned these acts.

[71]Diog. Laert. 9.52. For possible precedents for book-burning in early magical practice, see G. W. Clarke, "The Burning of Books and Catullus 36," *Latomus* 27 (1968) 575–580. Cf. Bauman (above, note 63) 31 note 42.

"underground" popularity tended to lapse with the notoriety which had stimulated it.[72]

By the end of the first century of our era, the number of authors to be consulted in the common store of literature was enormous and ever growing. The importance of finding access to sizable collections of books could only increase.[73] This is a factor which tends to be taken for granted or not considered at all in studies of creative writing at Rome, but I hope to have shown that the condition of his library resources could nourish, starve, or perhaps even poison the work of the Latin writer.

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[72] *Ann.* 4.35; 14.50.2. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 61.3. Cordus' work was republished with Caligula's permission (Suet. *Gai.* 16.1) but Quintilian's copy was nevertheless expurgated (*Inst. Or.* 10.1.104). Cf. Bauman (above, note 63) 99 f.

[73] See the extensive list of Greek and Latin authors cited as Pliny's sources in *HN* 1.



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TRIMALCHIO'S LIBRARIES

During the banquet of Trimalchio at the center of the 'Satyricon' as we have it, Petronius has Trimalchio remark, *et ne me putes studia fastiditum, II* (MS: *tres,* see below) *bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam* (48.4). What is the point of the remark? What does that comment add to our knowledge of Trimalchio?

First, a manuscript problem must be mentioned. The manuscript reads *tres* instead of the Roman numeral for two. This reading is preserved in many modern editions of the 'Satyricon', most notably those of SEDGWICK and ERNOUT[1]. If *tres* is the correct reading, SEDGWICK's explanation is reasonable. He calls it »an absurd reading, and so probably right«. Trimalchio, in other words, cannot even keep straight whether he is talking about three libraries or two, and the remark highlights his stupidity and confusion and emphasizes his cultural pretensions. Other readers of Petronius, myself among them, have felt that the absurdity SEDGWICK found convincing is simply too absurd. Long ago, TILEBOMENUS suggested reading the Roman numeral for two. He was followed by such editors as FRIEDLÄNDER in 1906 (sec. ed.), LOWE in 1905, BÜCHELER and HERAEUS in 1922, and, most recently, M. S. SMITH in 1975. Although the emended text makes the number of libraries agree with the specific Greek and Latin collections Trimalchio mentions, it still needs to be explained satisfactorily.

SMITH suggests that, »the point here may be simply that Trimalchio boasts of possessing what a better-educated person would take for granted«. Having been educated in both Greek and Latin, as Quintilian recommends (Inst. 1.1.12), wealthy Romans probably did own books in both languages. It would be fully in character for Trimalchio and his freedmen guests not fully to understand the assumptions of the social class to which they aspire. Trimalchio's remark would characterize him as the clumsy ape of his superiors in social status.

A more persuasive explanation, however, was initially suggested but not fully developed in 1743 in BURMAN's second edition of the 'Satyricon'[2] in a discussion of a note of N. HEINSIUS. The first step can follow SMITH: a wealthy Roman no doubt owned books in both languages and may well have housed them separately in his library, with the Greek books in one area and the Latin books in another. But – and this is the crucial point, where I depart from SMITH – a wealthy Roman generally spoke of both his Greek books and his Latin books as composing a s i n g l e library. When an ancient author mentions a private individual's library, *bibliotheca* is usually not found in the plural or in the singular with the specification of a language. Instead we find one of two expressions: first, the singular *bibliotheca,* as in, for example, Cicero, Ad Fam. 7.28 (SB 200).2 and 13.77 (SB 212).3 and Martial 7.17.1 or, second, a vague term such as *libri,* which occurs, for instance, in Cicero, Att. 2.1 (SB 21).12 and 4.14 (SB 88).1. In an extreme case, Sidonius Apollinaris writes of Claudianus Mamertus' *triplex bybliotheca ..., / Romana, Attica, Christiana* (Ep. 4.11.6 v. 4 – 5). In this passage, however, he is metaphorically describing the breadth of Claudianus' learning and teaching and not

[1] Respectively, sec. ed., corr. rpt. Oxford 1959 and sec. ed., Paris 1931.
[2] Rpt. Hildesheim, New York 1974.

necessarily real libraries[3]. Exceptions are rare. Cicero writes to his brother *de bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis* (Q.fr. 3.4 [SB 24].5). That exceptions occur is not in itself surprising.

But if *bibliotheca* in the plural or in the singular with the specification of a single language is generally not applied to the private library of an individual, those expressions do appear in another context: the so-called »public« libraries of the early Empire. Suetonius tells us, for instance, that Julius Caesar intended to establish *bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque* (Iul. 44.2). The first public library in Rome, founded by Asinius Pollio (Pliny, N.H. 7.30.115; 35.2.10), is said by Isidore to have contained *bibliothecas . . . Graecas simul atque Latinas* (Orig. 6.5.2). Similarly, Suetonius reports that Melissus *curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae porticu suscepit* (Rhet. 21.3). Inscriptional evidence reveals a similar pattern. An official *a bybliotheca Latina Apollinis* appears with reference to the Palatine Library, founded in 28 B.C. by the emperor[4]. Although Suet., Aug. 29.3 *addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque* shows that the usage was not invariable, it hardly undermines the general pattern, which is clear enough that Petronius' readers would think of more than a private individual's collection when Trimalchio says, *II bybliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam.*

If the Roman numeral for two is the correct reading, then, Trimalchio's remark has at least two points. First, it reinforces our impression of him as culturally pretentious, a characteristic that appears in various places in the 'Cena', as P. G. WALSH has discussed[5]. The pretensions evident here are entirely in keeping with the imposter who, following aristocratic custom, claims that philology goes well with food (Sat. 39.3), although his own literary judgement is tested on such issues as the difference between Cicero and Publilius the writer of mimes (Sat. 55.5). Second, Trimalchio's remark shows his cultural pretensions to be as absurdly grandiose as his other displays. Using books as a visible, even if false, symbol of the owner's culture was apparently well-known in Rome. Seneca, for instance, complains (Dial. 9.9.4) that *plerisque ignaris etiam puerilium litterarum libri non studiorum instrumenta sed cenationum ornamenta sunt*[6]. Yet the former slave Trimalchio goes far beyond the display-conscious book owners attacked by Seneca. He makes the extraordinary claim that his collections find their parallel only in the imperial libraries. He does not claim parity with merely wealthy and well-educated private individuals, but with the emperors themselves[7].

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[3] Cf. DZIATZKO, RE 3 (1899) 416, s. v. »Bibliotheken«.

[4] CIL 6.5884; cf. Dio 53.1.3.

[5] The Roman Novel, Cambridge 1970, p. 125.

→ A. J. MARSHALL, Library Resources and Creative Writing at Rome, Phoenix 30, 1976, 256, briefly lists the ancient authorities who reveal that collectors of »books for looks« were a common target for moralists. Most notable might be Juv. 2.4–7 and Lucian, Indoc. passim.

[7] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in 1983. My thanks go to Wellesley College and to the American Council of Learned Societies for their support of my research.



STRABO ON APELLICON'S LIBRARY
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triumph, whereas Orpheus broke the condition set by a divine female (Proserpine: 487) and the outcome was death and defeat[20]).

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20) There are also ties (less developed but still present) between Aristaeus' trek to Lycaeus and (a) his visit to Proteus at 415ff., and (b) Orpheus' movement at 507ff. after the second loss of Eurydice. In the case of (a) too it is Aristaeus who travels, to a mountain (419), in connection with the loss of his bees, on his mother's instructions (396ff.), which he follows to the letter (437ff.); but this visit is less helpful immediately and inconclusive in itself. In the case of (b) again a male protagonist, because of death, travels far, to mountainous surroundings (508, 518) and trees (510); but Orpheus' progress is to the icy and unfamiliar north, lasts much longer (507) and culminates in death (520ff.).

STRABO ON APELLICON'S LIBRARY[1])

A remarkable tale, full of fabulous elements, appears in Strabo's *Geography* in the course of his discussion of notable figures from Scepsis[2]). It relates to the history of the text of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*. The passage has been taken to contain an important discussion of the chain of events surrounding the fate of Aristotle's personal library between the time of Aristotle and Cicero. It certainly purports to deal with this topic, but there are good reasons for believing that it exaggerates the extent to which Aristotelian texts were unavailable in the interim[3]). This has frequently

1) My warmest thanks are due to Professor R. G. Tanner, who helped to improve an earlier version of this article.

2) Strabo 13.1.54 p. 608–9C. For a summary of the vast literature on this passage see H. B. Gottschalk, Notes on the Wills of the Peripatetic Scholarchs, Hermes 100 (1972) 335 n. 2, and further in 'Aristotelian philosophy in the Roman world from the time of Cicero to the end of the second century AD', ANRW II.36.2, 1079–1174, partially reprinted as 'The earliest Aristotelian commentators', in: Aristotle Transformed: The ancient commentators and their influence, ed. R. Sorabji (London 1990) 55–81 (henceforth Gottschalk 1990).

3) As emphasized by A. H. Chroust, The Miraculous Disappearance and Recovery of the Corpus Aristotelicum, C&M 23 (1962) 50–67; D. C. Earl, Prologue form in Ancient Historiography, ANRW I.2, 851.

been noticed, but in this paper I shall suggest that Strabo had motives related to his own career for wishing to add to the mystique over the history of Aristotle's text, and for dismissing the value of earlier editions of Aristotle. It may be that Apellicon before him had started the process of making excessive claims over the importance of the documents that passed through his hands.

I shall begin with an outline of the main points covered by Strabo. He relates that the Scepsian Neleus, son of Coriscus, a pupil of Aristotle and Theophrastus, inherited the library of Theophrastus, which in turn encompassed that of Aristotle, bequeathed to Theophrastus along with his school[4]). Strabo credits Aristotle with being the first scholar to collect books in a systematic way, and also to provide the impetus for the Alexandrian library. This may be something of a simplification, but there is no doubt that the methods of Aristotelian research did promote careful library organisation.

Theophrastus handed down the library to Neleus, who is said to have taken it home to Scepsis. There it fell into the hands of his heirs, who are reported to have kept the books locked away and not to have cared for them properly. But they were prompted to hide the books in a crypt when they heard that the Attalid kings were searching out acquisitions for their library at Pergamon[5]). If nothing else, the heirs of Neleus are depicted as appreciating the commercial value of the library, which was subsequently sold to Apellicon of Teos for a large sum of money, but not before the library had been substantially damaged by damp and moths.

The whole story of the bequest to Neleus and his disappearance to Scepsis with the Aristotelian literature creates an unfavourable impression of his attitude to the Peripatos and its perpetuation. We should surely expect that at the time of the death of Theophrastus, who made careful provisions for the continuation of the school under his will, that a more serious attitude would

4) The wills of six leading philosophers including both Aristotle and Theophrastus are preserved by Diogenes Laertius (5.11–16, 51–7). On their contents see Gottschalk 1972 (see n. 2) 314–42.

5) Galen also notes the eagerness of the Attalids and Ptolemies in obtaining additions to their libraries. He claims that this provided the initial incentive for forging manuscripts (Galen XV 105 K.). This passage has been discussed by C. W. Müller, Die Kurzdialoge der Appendix Platonica (Munich 1973) 12–17, who attacks the notion that the pseudo-Platonic works were a product of such a process. Nevertheless, manuscripts of some authors may have been forged for commercial reasons. On the library at Pergamon see E. V. Hansen, The Attalids of Pergamon (Cornell 1972) 71. For its size and location see pp. 272–4.

have been taken to the preservation of texts that were doctrinally important[6]). Surely the most important texts would have been copied before removal. Even though Strato, who succeeded Theophrastus, was less of an Aristotelian traditionalist than his predecessor, it seems unlikely that the Peripatetic school was deprived of texts of any importance at this time. When we strip away the dubious elements in the story the only secure fact is that Theophrastus bequeathed his books to Neleus.

Athenaeus relates a version of the fate of Aristotle's library which appears to be at odds with Strabo. He says that Ptolemy Philadelphus bought Aristotelian texts from Neleus, as well as others from Athens and Rhodes[7]). If the heirs of Neleus eventually sold this material to Apellicon then both versions of the story cannot at first sight be true. But it is again possible that copyists had been employed, and that versions of the texts were sold to the Ptolemaic ruler. This would correspond with the known presence of extensive Aristotelian and Theophrastean texts at Alexandria in the 3rd century BC, as illustrated by the catalogue of their works created by Hermippus[8]). But it also implies an overall environment in which more than a single manuscript of individual works was in existence.

Apellicon is dismissed by Strabo as a bibliophile rather than a philosopher, and his attempts to restore the gaps in the text are blamed for the publication of an edition peppered with errors[9]). Modern commentators have credited Strabo's view and even gone so far as to suggest that Apellicon's story about how he obtained the library was pure fabrication. It is certainly tempting to take this line when we review his reputation[10]).

He was a colourful character who had fled from Athens after being detected stealing official documents from Athenian arch-

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6) See Gottschalk 1972 (see n. 2) 320; 337.

7) Athenaeus 1.3a.

8) See Gottschalk 1972 (see n. 2) 339–40. The lists of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus to be found in Diogenes Laertius (5.22–7; 42–50) may depend on Hermippus, although this is a controversial point. See Diogenes Laertius 5.1,2 for citation of this authority in relation to Aristotle.

9) On the career of Apellicon see Dziatzko, Apellikon (1), RE I 2 (1884) 2693–2694. A useful summary (without annotations) is to be found in L. Canfora, The Vanished Library (London 1991) 51ff.

10) See especially Gottschalk 1972 (see n. 2) 342, who not only refuses to believe in Apellicon's role, but doubts whether Neleus ever took texts of any importance to Scepsis.

ives[11]). Later he returned as a beneficiary of the rise to power of the tyrant Athenion, who shared his interest in Peripatetic philosophy. It appears to be under his aegis that Apellicon produced the edition so spurned by Strabo, and doubtless before him by his teacher Tyrannio[12]). Apellicon obtained honorary Athenian citizenship before becoming embroiled in Athenion's pro-Mithridatic political stance[13]). Apellicon's sponsor had engaged in anti-Roman demagogy in support of the Pontic king, reported at some length by Posidonius. This new Athenian tyrant employed the bibliophile as an agent for an expedition to Delos, which ended with him routed by the Roman commander and taking flight[14]). He returned to Athens, where he may have continued to hold office as a mint magistrate under the second tyrant, Aristion[15]). The city was soon laid siege to by Sulla who took Athens on 1st March 86 BC.

The main problem with the story of the recovery of the library from Scepsis is the implication of a miraculous reappearance of the entire corpus of Aristotelian texts. But what follows in Strabo is his personal assessment of the situation, which contains further improbabilities. He claims that the successors of Theophrastus in the Peripatetic school had very few texts with the exception of the exoteric works. In his view this resulted in superficiality far removed from the intentions of Aristotle[16]). This was not remedied until the publication of Apellicon's edi-

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11) Athenaeus 5.214d–e.

12) Most of what we know about Apellicon is to be found in a passage from Athenaeus, which derives from Posidonius. See Athenaeus 5.213eff. = Posidonius F253 Edelstein – Kidd (Cambridge 1972). I doubt the argument → G. R. Bugh, Athenion and Aristion of Athens, Phoenix 46 (1992) 108–23, who tries to place most of Apellicon's career under Aristion. It makes far more sense for Apellicon to start his career with a fellow Peripatetic, as Athenaeus/Posidonius suggests. He may well have continued to hold a position under the Epicurean Aristion, but I accept the thesis of Niese that Aristion's career began *after* Apellicon's disaster on Delos. See B. Niese, Die letzten Tyrannen Athens, RhM 42 (1887) 574–81.

13) Athenaeus 5.213eff., based on Posidonius (see n. 12). I do not believe that Strabo himself depends on Posidonius for the material about Apellicon's library.

14) ibid.

15) See G. R. Bugh (see n. 12) 121, and note objections to the idea that Apellicon was operating under Aristion by H. B. Mattingly, Some Third Magistrates in the Athenian New Style Coinage, JHS 91 (1971) 85–93.

16) θέσεις ληκυθίζειν. This is interpreted to mean that in the absence of the exoteric works, Peripatetics were reduced to composing rhetorical essays. See Gottschalk 1972 (see n. 2) 336.

tion, which still left many propositions in doubt because of the unreliability of its text.

Strabo's next major point is that Rome contributed to the confusion through the seizure of Apellicon's library from Athens by Sulla as his personal prize from the First Mithridatic war. Once the library was in Rome it fell into the hands of Tyrannio, as well as of booksellers whose copyists perpetrated further damage to the accuracy of the text. This could be taken as a highly damaging critique of the methods of Strabo's former teacher[17]). But the notice on Apellicon's library in Plutarch's *Sulla* seems to derive from Strabo's sequel to Polybius[18]), and it presents a far more favourable impression of Tyrannio's role. In the *Geography*, Strabo probably only means to say that Sulla's seizure of the library from Athens assisted in the promulgation of further corrupt texts of Aristotle, not that Tyrannio in any way contributed to this[19]). According to Plutarch most of Apellicon's library was set in order by Tyrannio, and it was from him that the influential Andronicus of Rhodes received copies of the Aristotelian manuscripts. Gottschalk suggests that Andronicus never came to Rome for this purpose, and was already at Athens as the 11th Peripatetic scholarch. This is a possibility, although it may never be proved[20]).

Some additions to the picture can be gleaned from other sources. After the death of Sulla, Apellicon's library fell into the hands of his son Faustus Sulla. By 55 BC he had hardly more interest in it than as security for some of his debts[21]). It may be

17) On Tyrannio see Wendel, Tyrannion (2), RE VII A 2 (1948) 1811–1819. For the idea that Strabo is hostile to Tyrannio see Chroust (see n. 3) 67.

18) Plutarch, Sulla 26. For the origin of this passage in Strabo's sequel to Polybius see I. Düring, Aristoteles. Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens (Heidelberg 1966) 39ff. For some hesitations over whether Plutarch does here depend on Strabo see Gottschalk 1972 (see n. 2) 338. For the fragments of Strabo's historical work see P. Otto, Strabonis ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΥΠΟΜΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ Fragmenta, Leipziger Studien Suppl. 11 (1889), esp. frags. 64–5, pp. 76–7. On the content and emphases of the sequel to Polybius see P. Pédech, Strabon Historien, Studi Cataudella 2 (1972) 395–408; id., Strabon historien d'Alexandre, GB 2 (1974) 129–45.

19) It seems to me that we are intended to see Sulla and the booksellers as the culprits. Tyrannio's role was to hand on the texts to Andronicus, although this is not spelt out.

20) Gottschalk 1990 (see n. 2) 60. The problem is partly bound up with the fact that Ammonius writing in the 5th century AD names both Andronicus and his pupil Boethus as the 11th scholarch (Ammonius, in Int. 5.24; in An. Pr. 31.11). On Ammonius, see now the translation by S. M. Cohen, Ammonius On the Categories (London 1991).

21) Cic. Ad Att. 4.10; Plut. Cic. 27.

that Tyrannio had made use of the library before this development. Soon after we hear of Cicero enjoying it at Cumae in 55 BC, probably because of Tyrannio's involvement. Tyrannio had previously assisted Cicero by rearranging the books he saved from Antium. Atticus provided him with two slaves as assistants and Cicero was so pleased with the results that he tried to obtain the services of Tyrannio for the development of the library of his brother Quintus[22]).

Andronicus' relationship with Tyrannio is a complicated issue, since we have so few secure facts about his life[23]). Older studies of the subject have placed him as a student of Tyrannio who was set the task of ordering the Aristotelian corpus, and later became the leader of the Peripatetic school at Athens. But Gottschalk has suggested that he was a contemporary of Tyrannio for whom Tyrannio performed the service of collating materials that had become available in Rome. This view has the effect of pushing back the date of Andronicus' contribution to before 50 BC, perhaps as early as 60 BC[24]). Andronicus was responsible for a catalogue of the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus, and an edition of at least some of Aristotle's works, which is associated with the contemporary revival of interest in the Peripatetic school[25]). The importance of his edition need not be diminished by the suggestion that the corpus never disappeared in the manner suggested by Strabo. That Strabo does not mention Andronicus' editorial role in this passage in the *Geography* is a peculiarity, but it is possible that he felt that the subject had already been adequately covered in the sequel to Polybius. His digression from his geographical theme is already as it stands lengthy, and reflects the geographer's interest in the subject because of his personal acquaintance with Tyrannio. He is obviously aware that major ad-

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22) Cic. Ad Att. 4.4a.1; Ad Att. 4.8.2; Ad Qu. fr. 3.4.5; cf. 3.5.6.

23) Key discussions include F. Littig, Andronicus von Rhodos I (Munich 1890); II–III (Erlangen 1894–5); M. Plezia, De Andronici Rhodii studiis Aristotelicis (Cracow 1946); P. Moraux, Les listes anciennes des ouvrages d'Aristote (Louvain 1951) 283ff; id., Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen I (Berlin 1973) 58ff; I. Düring, Aristotle in the Ancient Biographical Tradition (Göteborg 1957) 472ff.

24) Gottschalk 1990 (see n. 2) 62. The older view was that Andronicus could not have become the 11th head of the Peripatetic school until after 44 BC since Cicero still names Cratippus as a teacher of Peripatetic philosophy in Athens in that year. But Gottschalk thinks it likely that his importance has been exaggerated (63), and sees evidence of the Peripatetic revival from about 60 BC.

25) Porph. Vit. Plot. 24. See Gottschalk 1990 (see n. 2) 56ff. for discussion of this passage.

vances have occurred in relation to the text of Aristotle in his own time, since it is implicit in his entire analysis that Aristotelian studies have emerged from previous vagueness because they can now be based on reliable texts. This is surely proof that he harbours no antagonism towards either Tyrannio or Andronicus[26]).

An examination of sundry aspects of Strabo's own career will help to consolidate this argument. Born at Amasia in Pontus in about 63 BC[27]), he studied at Nysa in the valley of the Maeander under the grammarian Aristodemus before his first visit to Rome in 44 BC[28]). Aristodemus earlier taught grammar to the children of Pompey the Great but was very old by the time Strabo became his pupil. Aristodemus' father Menecrates had been a pupil of Aristarchus and was married to a daughter of Posidonius[29]). It was doubtless under this tutelage that Strabo's interests in Homer and historical geography were first fostered[30]). Aristodemus also had connections on Rhodes, where he taught rhetoric in the morning and grammar in the afternooon[31]), and it is possible that Strabo met Andronicus, who was a Rhodian, through him[32]). A more substantial reason to believe that they were acquainted is the fact that Boethus of Sidon studied Aristotelian philosophy in the company of Strabo[33]). Boethus certainly was a pupil of Andronicus and may

26) This will make it clear that I believe Chroust is wrong to suspect Strabo of antagonism towards Andronicus. See Chroust (see n. 3) 67.

27) See B. Niese, Beiträge zur Biographie Strabos, Hermes 13 (1878) 38–45, accepted by G. Aujac & F. Lasserre, Strabon: Géographie, I 1 (Paris 1969) VIII. One dissentient was P. Meyer, De Strabonis anno natali, Leipziger Studien 2 (1879) 49–53, who settled for 68 BC. He has had few followers since Strabo refers to the settlement of Cilician pirates at Dyme in Achaea in 67 BC as an event occurring before his time (Strabo 8.7.5 p. 388 C.).

28) It must have been at Rome that the geographer met Servilius Isauricus (Strabo 12.6.2 p. 568 C.). He died at Rome at the beginning of summer 44 BC (after Caesar's murder, and before the return of his adoptive son. See Cic. Phil. 2.12; Ad Fam. 16.23.2). It is uncertain whether Strabo stayed at Rome throughout the period of the civil wars.

29) I accept here the late evidence of the Suda s.v. 'Ιάσων.

30) Aristodemus had a brother named Sostratus, who is known to have written a geography of which fragments survive (see Bux, Sostratos [7], RE III A 1 [1927] 1200–1201; FHG IV, 504ff.).

31) Strabo 14.1.48 p. 650 C.; see Schwartz, Aristodemos (30), RE II 1 (1895) 925–926.

32) Strabo's comments on contemporary scholarly life on Rhodes give few hints of his links with the island. He does mention Andronicus, but he is named without any sign of personal acquaintance (Strabo 14.2.13 p. 655 C. 'Ανδρόνικος ὁ ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων).

33) Strabo 16.2.24 p. 757 C. Dubois suspected that Boethus might have been Strabo's teacher rather than fellow student, but this makes little difference to the

have been Andronicus' successor as head of the Peripatos[34]). It cannot be proved that Andronicus was their mutual teacher, but this seems a probability.

Whatever Strabo's direct knowledge of Andronicus may have been, he undoubtedly was taught at Rome by Tyrannio. Like Strabo's earlier teacher Aristodemus, Tyrannio was a grammarian, born at Amisus, not far from Strabo's native Amasia. This may have been an influential factor in his choice as the geographer's teacher. The Suda claims Tyrannio was first educated in his homeland by Hestiaeus and later sat at the feet of the leading grammarian Dionysius Thrax on Rhodes[35]). After this training he is said to have returned to Amisus where he supplanted Demetrius of Erythrae before being captured by the Romans in 71 BC during the Second Mithridatic War, when they took Amisus. Tyrannio was sent to Rome sometime between 68 and 66 BC after being sought by Licinius Murena as a prize from Lucullus[36]). Once in Rome he acquired both wealth and reputation with an acquaintance which included Caesar and Atticus, as well as Cicero[37]). The date of his arrival at Rome will confirm that Tyrannio was aged when he taught Strabo, who, as already mentioned, first visited Rome in 44 BC.

Tyrannio was already apparently a devotee of Peripatetic philosophy before he became acquainted with Apellicon's library; indeed Strabo says that this was what attracted him to it[38]). As we have seen a date for the excerpts he produced on behalf of Andronicus is not easy to attain, and we can only note the date of his first arrival in Rome and the date when Cicero first seems to have some knowledge about the library. Tyrannio was also some sort of expert on geographical matters since Cicero is known to have consulted him in an attempt to settle a contradiction between

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argument. See M. Dubois, Examen de la Géographie de Strabon (Paris 1891) 67. On Boethus see Gercke, Boethos (9), RE III 1 (1897) 603–604; J. F. Dobson, Boethus of Sidon, CQ 8 (1914) 88–90; P. M. Huby, An Excerpt from Boethus of Sidon's commentary on the Categories, CQ 31 (1981) 398–409.

34) See P. M. Huby (see n. 33) 398.

35) His original name is said to have been Theophrastus; Tyrannio was a sobriquet. See Suda s.v. Τυραννίων. If it is true that Tyrannio was taught by Dionysius Thrax, he must have been ancient by the time he taught Strabo. Dionysius Thrax died soon after 90 BC. See Hultsch, Dionysius (134), RE V 1 (1903) 977–983. On his importance as a grammarian see R. H. Robins, Dionysius Thrax and the Western Grammatical Tradition, TPhS (1957) 67–106.

36) Suda ibid.; Plut. Lucull. 19.

37) Suda ibid. See discussion in M. Dubois (see n. 33) 64ff.

38) Strabo 13.1.54 p. 609 C.: φιλαριστοτέλης ὤν.

theories of Eratosthenes, Serapion and Hipparchus when he was planning a geographical work in 59 BC[39]). One can presume that Strabo's geographical studies received some impetus from this quarter. Although Strabo does no more than say that he studied under Tyrannio[40]), there are in fact good reasons for believing that he had an impact on his development. Tyrannio was not his only Peripatetic teacher, since we know that he also studied under Xenarchus[41]). Strabo professes to be a Stoic and occasionally gives voice to Stoic precepts, but at least in early life it seems unlikely that he was influenced in any exclusive way by either Stoic or Peripatetic doctrine[42]). He was certainly an eclectic as far as his studies were concerned. One of his Stoic acquaintance was Athenodorus of Tarsus[43]), who wrote one of the earliest commentaries on the *Categories*[44]). This goes far towards showing that the philosophic sects of this time should not be seen as closed groups working in total isolation from one another.

With this educational background Strabo's interest in the history of the text of Aristotle can hardly be doubted. He himself had been taught by leading figures in the Peripatetic school, and had been a fellow student of Boethus, who was subsequently to become its leader. He could see that the quality of discussion in the field had vastly improved in his own lifetime, and he exaggerates the weakness of the school in the previous generation in order to accentuate the contribution of scholars with whom he had been actively involved. The story of Apellicon's library was probably initiated by the rogue politician Apellicon to enhance the reputation of his edition of Aristotle but it also gave Strabo scope for an anecdote which placed his own scholarly world at the forefront of contemporary developments.

Newcastle (Australia) Hugh Lindsay

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39) Cic. Ad Att. 2.6.1.

40) Strabo 12.3.16 p.548 C.

41) Strabo 14.5.4 p.670 C. Xenarchus taught in Alexandria, Athens and finally at Rome. Strabo does not say where he heard his course. On his background see P. Moraux, Xenarchos (5), RE IX A 2 (1967) 1422–1435.

42) See Dubois (see n. 33) 70. On Strabo's Stoicism see G. Aujac, Strabon et le Stoicisme, Diotima 11 (1983) 17–29.

43) Strabo 16.4.21 p.779 C.: ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ ἡμῖν ἑταῖρος. For Athenodorus' career see P. Grimal, Auguste et Athènodore, REA 47 (1945) 261–73; id., REA 48 (1946) 62–79.

44) On his contribution see Gottschalk 1990 (see n. 2) 69.



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The Libraries of Pompeii

By L. RICHARDSON, jr

In Pompeii rooms tended to be furnished, not with chairs and tables, but with wall paintings. Chairs and tables were usually light and easily transported, often collapsible, and a slave would fetch from a storeroom whatever might be needed and set it up where it was wanted, in the sun in winter, to catch the breeze in summer. Then he would put it away again after it had been used. So most Pompeian rooms would have looked very bare, were it not for the decorations spread lavishly over the walls.

These are surprisingly literary in their content. Not only are there numerous illustrations of the epics of Homer and Vergil and the classics of the theatre (a wide range of both tragedy and comedy, some of it unfamiliar to us, is represented), but we can even find subjects from the bucolic poet Theocritus. Euripides seems to have been especially popular, and the *Bacchae* and *Hippolytus* are illustrated, as well as the *Medea* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*. The last was so much a favorite that the gem cutter Pinarius Cerialis devoted an entire wall of his little dining room, painted to represent a stage, to it.

Yet even more striking than the range of poems and plays the Pompeians drew on for their pictures is the pervasiveness of the theme of reading and writing in the less important parts of the wall decorations. In the great frieze of the Villa dei Misteri a young boy read from a scroll, very likely doing his lessons under the tutelage of his mother, who sits beside him and holds another scroll. Further along in the frieze is a young woman who has a scroll thrust casually under the scarf worn in a roll about her hips, evidently a convenient place to carry it. Reading is a common occupation in the gyneceum scenes of the early imperial Third Style and among the figures that people the architectural framework in the last Pompeian style, the Fourth. Sometimes the reader holds a codex, a packet of the wax-coated tablets that were commonly used for ephemeral messages and accounts; sometimes he has a literary scroll. A special class of Pompeian still life pictures is made up of the *instrumentum scriptorium*: pens and styluses, ink pots, tablets and scrolls, sometimes with a cylindrical book box filled with scrolls.

Even in their portraiture the ancient Pompeians showed their appreciation of writing. A common informal pose for a man sitting for a portrait shows him resting his chin pensively on the end of a scroll that he holds in one hand. His wife may be shown holding a packet of tablets and touching the end of a stylus to her lips, as though in the midst of composing a letter and pausing to think how to phrase her next sentence. These pictures suggest how much of their lives Pompeians wanted us to believe was spent in these pursuits.

Graffiti, too, reflect the literary tastes and opinions of the Pompeians. Among these casual scribblings on the city walls is a considerable selection of quotations. One might have expected to find lines from the *Aeneid*, since it became a schoolbook almost as soon as it was published and schoolboys had to commit long passages to memory. It is more surprising to find that Vergil's elegant bucolics were well known and

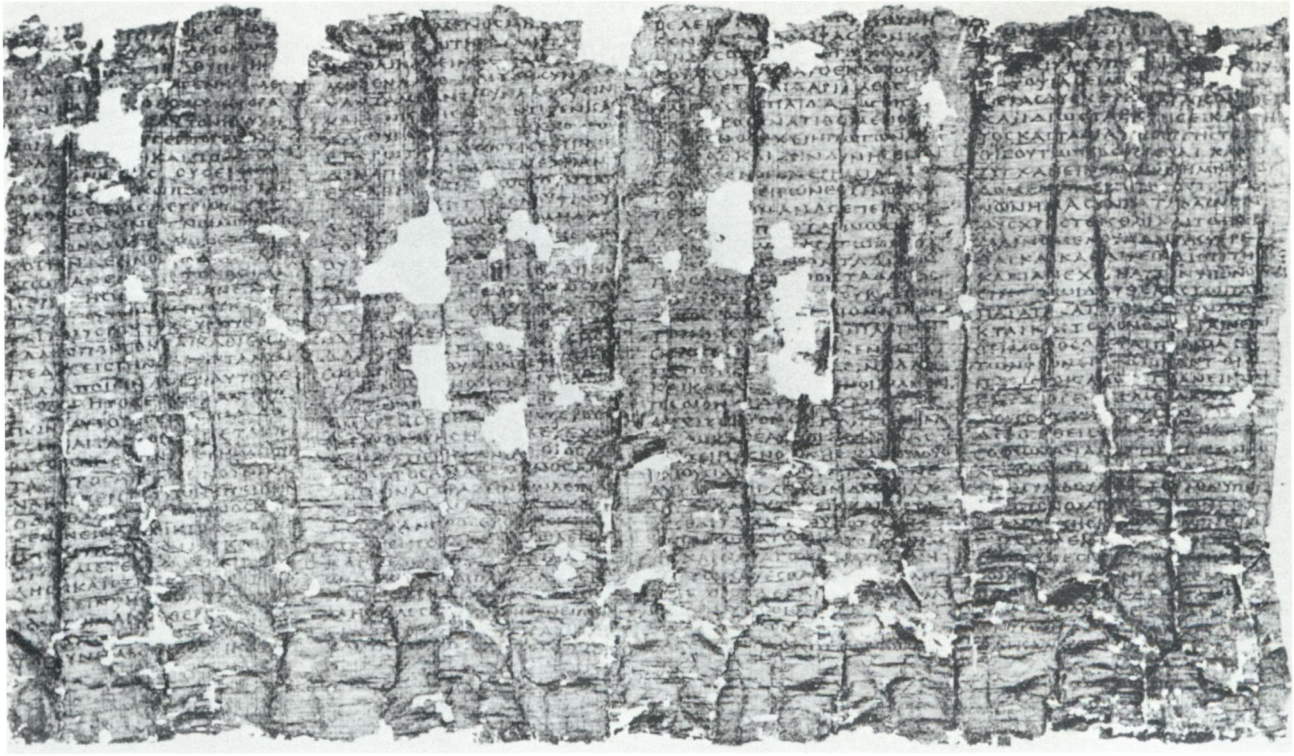
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A part of the frieze on the north wall of the great triclinium of the Villa dei Misteri, most likely showing a Roman matron at home, teaching her young son to read.

quoted in Pompeii. Perhaps the tags from Lucretius might be explained by the numerous members of that family living in the city at the time of the eruption and the possibility that Lucretius had Pompeian connections, but there is also at least one quotation from the early epic poet Ennius (239-169 B.C.), for which no easy explanation is available. And while the wit and quotability of Ovid (43 B.C.-A.D. 17) made his works a mine of catchphrases that lingered in the popular memory and then found their way on to walls, there are several quotations from the Augustan elegist Propertius (ca. 54-2 B.C.) and at least one reworking of a bit from his contemporary Tibullus. There are quotations in Greek as well as Latin, and from the Greek Anthology as well as the classics that would have been studied in school. Most astonishing of all is a quotation from the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, Nero's tutor, which shows that at least one Pompeian was keenly interested in contemporary writing and extravagant rhetoric.



Section of a carbonized scroll containing works of the philosopher Philodemus. From the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum.

It is small wonder that with so much evidence of literary interests there was hope almost from the beginning of the excavations that Pompeii would provide a wealth of new information about ancient books and libraries, and also permit us to form some notion of the relative popularity of individual Latin poets. This hope was stimulated by the discovery, beginning in early April 1753, of numerous rolls of carbonized papyrus in the tunnels being driven through a large villa on the outskirts of Herculaneum, an ancient Roman resort about a third of the way around Vesuvius from Pompeii. The slow seepage of oxygen over the course of nearly seventeen centuries had turned the rolls to charcoal, but having been sealed in stone, they kept their form, and the writing on them was still legible. If a way of unrolling these fragile spirals without crumbling them to powder could be devised, the world stood to gain considerable additions to ancient literature—or so it seemed. And if Herculaneum, a place that was hardly more than a satellite of Naples, could yield such treasure, what might be expected from the thriving city of Pompeii, where there had even been an imperial residence?

The circumstances of the burial of the two sites, however, were really very different. Herculaneum was buried in an avalanche of volcanic mud, a flood strong enough to lift a great marble basin and carry it across the room, but liquid enough to make a perfect cast of a delicate object when it hardened. Pompeii was buried in layers of tiny bits of pumice and ash, much easier to excavate than the soft tufa that Herculanean mud became and much less damaging to the wall coats but permeable to air and rain, so that little perishable material is recovered. Bronze emerges heavily corroded, while wood or cloth is apt to have left only the imprint of its shape in the volcanic detritus, which a touch of the pick will destroy.

Still, excavators hoped to find libraries where the marks of shelving would survive. Moreover, the Roman writer Vitruvius in his *Ten Books on Architecture* provides certain prescriptions for the architecture of libraries. After the appointment of Giuseppe Fiorelli as superintendent of excavations in Campania in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the introduction of such advanced techniques as the injection of plaster of paris into cavities where matter had decayed to recover amazingly realistic casts of objects that had perished, the hopes of recovering substantial remains of libraries awakened again. These were strengthened by the discovery in Pompeii on July

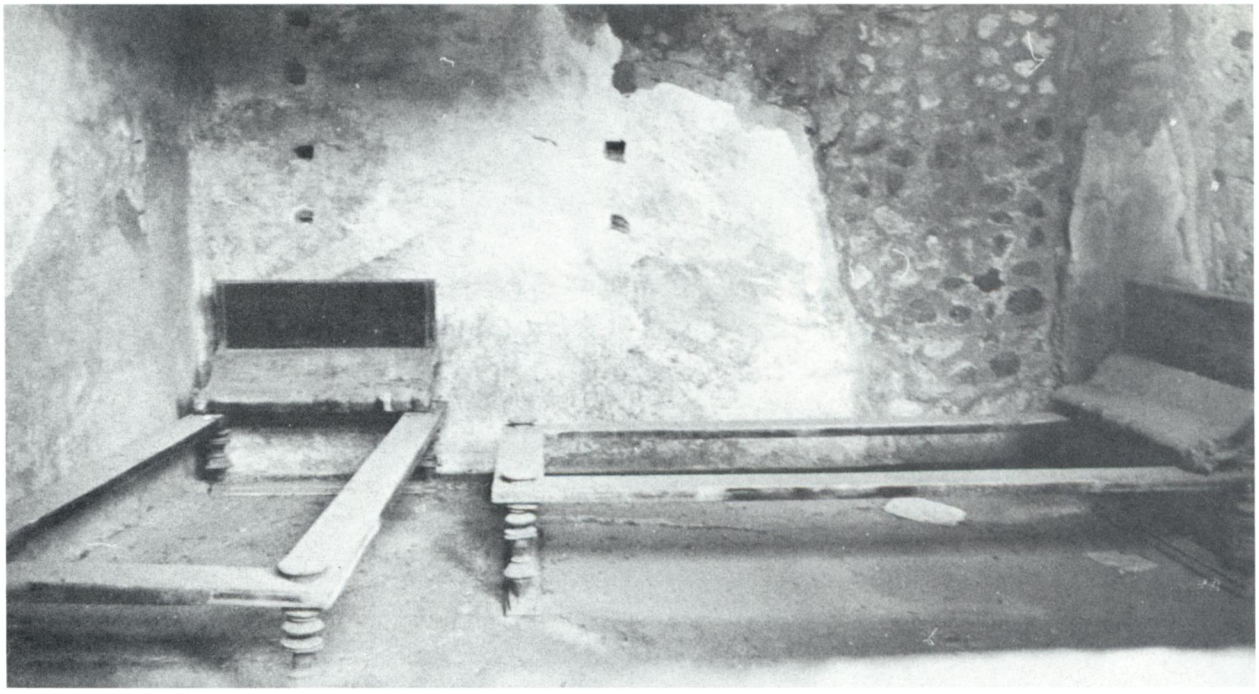


Representation of Menander from the Casa del Menandro located in the exedra off the south portico of the peristyle. The young poet is shown crowned with ivy, seated and reading from his works.

3, 1875, of a wooden chest that had been packed full of wax-coated tablets. These were an archive of receipts of L. Caecilius Jucundus, an entrepreneur, and many of them are still legible. Clearly, if perishable materials were packed tightly, they could survive at Pompeii.

But libraries proved elusive. The domestic architecture of Pompeii, although rich and varied, has never been thoroughly understood. The uses of a great many rooms are uncertain or debatable, but none seemed apt to be a library. Representatives of the various special apartments Vitruvius mentions as suited to unusually grand architecture came to light one after another: the colonnaded Corinthian atrium, and Corinthian and Cyzicene rooms. But there was nothing that seemed to suit his description of a library, which he tells us should face east, not south or west, to avoid the damp that brings bookworm. The library of Vitruvius must then be an exedral room, open across the whole of one front to a peristyle colonnade. Such an arrangement makes more sense when one considers the inadequacy of ancient artificial illumination. The Romans needed sunlight to read by.

It was not until 1930 and the excavation of the Casa del Menandro that a library came to light. It is in a house both sumptuous and severe that belonged to Quintus Poppaeus Sabinus, probably a close relation of Nero's second wife, the beautiful Poppaea. He was a rich man, as the great treasure of silver plate found in a cellar attests, but not ostentatious. The house was of good size, but not grand; much of it was given over to the slaves, carts, animals and equipment for farming a property that must have lain out

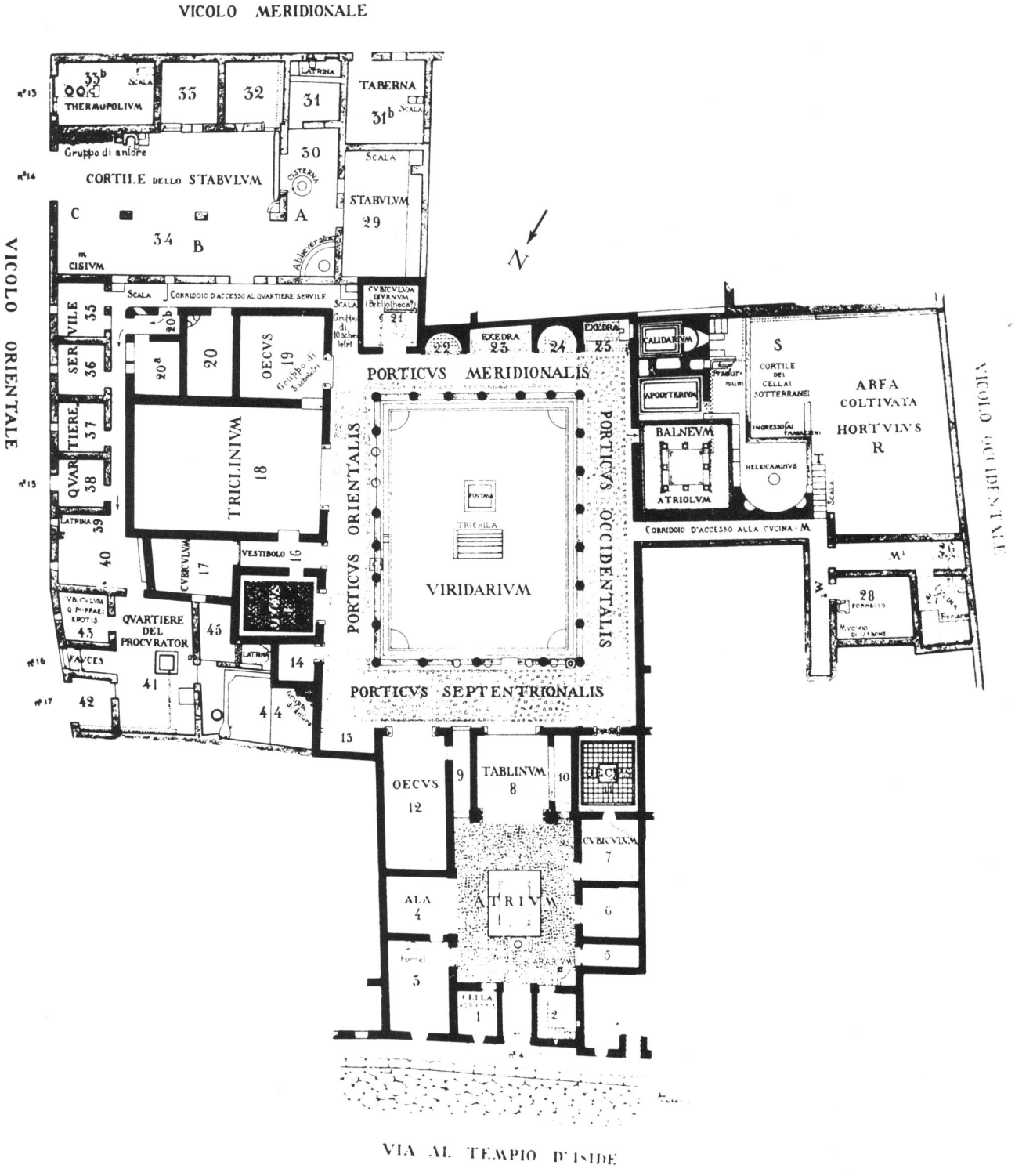


View of the room at the east end of the south portico of the Casa del Menandro. This remains the best candidate for a private library in Pompeii. Since there is no way of telling how many shelves there may have been in a cabinet, one cannot estimate the number of volumes it might have held. The beds shown do not belong in this room.

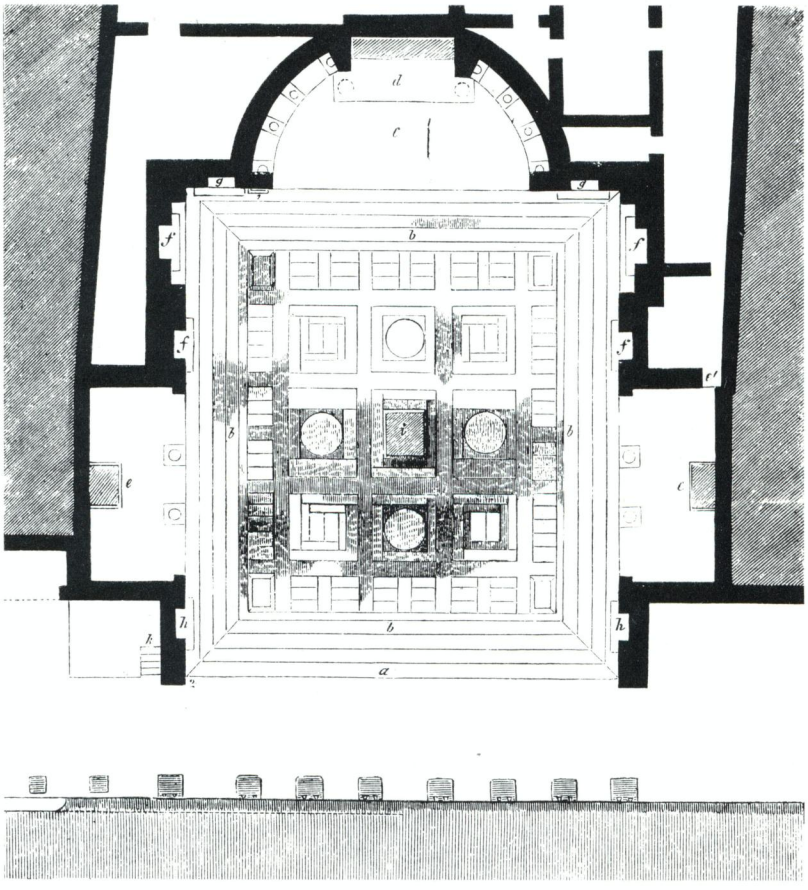
in the Sarno valley. The family quarters are solid and comfortable, with a single great room for dinner parties. There is evidence that the owner was a religious man. A household shrine in the atrium and a shrine to his ancestors off the peristyle, as well as a number of pictures and sculptures of religious character are testimony to his piety. He was also certainly a man of literary tastes; one room has a series of three illustrations of the fall of Troy, and many of the other pictures in the house have literary allusions.

Along the south side of the peristyle opens a series of exedral niches, two of them rounded, two rectangular. The rectangular central exedra, the largest, is decorated with full length portraits a little under life size. One is of the great comic poet Menander, identified by the inscription on the scroll he holds. Another poet with grey hair, his face almost completely destroyed, is opposite Menander. The older man is very likely a tragedian, for a table that holds a number of masks for tragedy is painted on the wall between the portraits. This niche must have been for reading, with place for a comfortable chair and a box or two of books, facing north, away from the noise and traffic of the main part of the house.

The room at the east end of this wing is squarish; it was undecorated in the last period of Pompeii and fitted with shelves, a storeroom. But there is a mosaic pavement of the period of the Second Style in which panels set off spaces where substantial pieces of furniture once stood against the back wall and east wall. In the past this room had been described as a bedroom for two beds, but the Romans did not have the twin beds of modern times, nor is this near the other bedrooms. In view of the proximity of a reading alcove, I believe large cabinets for a library must originally have filled these spaces. If this is, indeed, our first private library in Pompeii, we should probably re-examine similar rooms discovered in the past with this in mind. Because of the susceptibility of papyrus to damp, cabinets make much better sense for books than the shelves we were looking for earlier. There are very few houses in Pompeii of any pretentions that do not have niches where such cabinets stood, but in the past these were always thought to have been wardrobes and cupboards for household equipment. Modest libraries may have been common; we were simply looking for the wrong sort of evidence.



The rooms in the Casa del Menandro along the Porticus Meridionalis of the Viridarium have been identified as a private library and reading alcoves. After A Maiuri, La Casa del Menandro *(Rome 1932).*



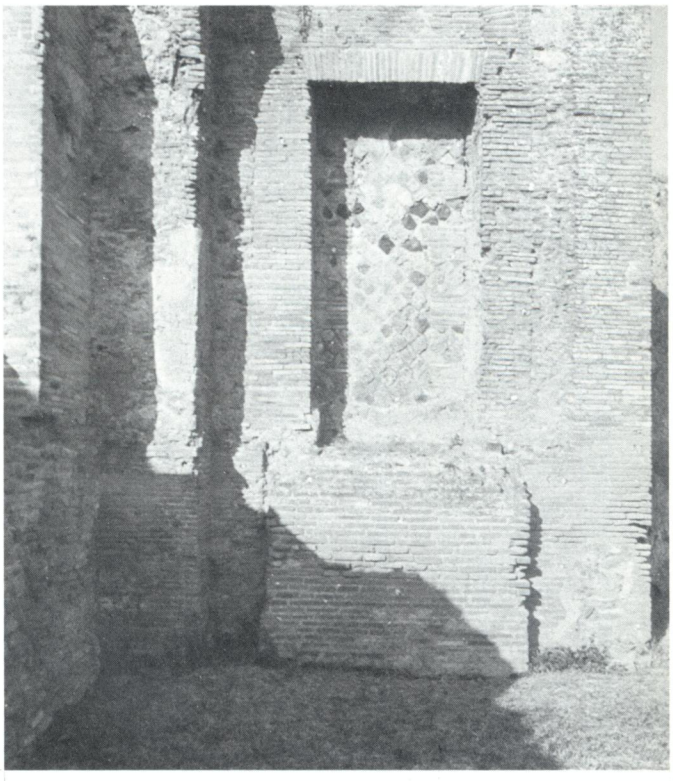
Plan of the so-called Sacellum Larum Publicorum on the forum of Pompeii. The pattern of the pavement, which is all that survives of the decoration, anticipates that of the Pantheon in Rome. From Overbeck-Mau, Pompeji.

There was probably even a large public library in Pompeii. On the east side of the forum, between the food market and the so-called *Templum Vespasiani*, stands a large building open to the forum square along its whole west front. Footings here show there was once a colonnade of eight large columns, probably supporting a second order above. This building is commonly called the *Sacellum Larum Publicorum*, but there is no basis for such a designation in any inscription or other document. The architecture is baroque in character. Large niches, rectangular to either side, apsidal at the back, interrupt the three main walls. Those at the sides had pairs of columns in the openings; the niche at the back had a curved colonnade run on a raised plinth to either side of a large central niche. Each of these large niches is flanked by a pair of symmetrical niches that might have held cabinets. A doubly recessed niche to either side at the inner end completes the series. There are in all eight small niches in the main room, with further space in the large niches off it.

The whole edifice was stripped by salvagers after the eruption of A.D. 79 destroyed Pompeii. Only some of the marble flags of the pavement survive to show that it was very richly worked in a pattern of circles and rectangles. It does not seem likely that so magnificent a pavement would have been left exposed to the weather. There is no evidence of drains, and the thickening of the lateral walls strongly suggests that there was a gable roof with an east/west axis. The area to be covered is not so great as that of the *Theatrum Tectum*, which we know from inscriptions to have been covered, so there is no difficulty about the engineering of a roof. The large niches will presumably have had independent roofs at a lower level.

This was once a very fine building and was undoubtedly one of the showplaces of the city. For Pompeii it was extraordinarily advanced architecture, comparable to the innovations being made at Rome at this time: a great cube open across the front, out of which developed important niches. It is recognizable as one of the

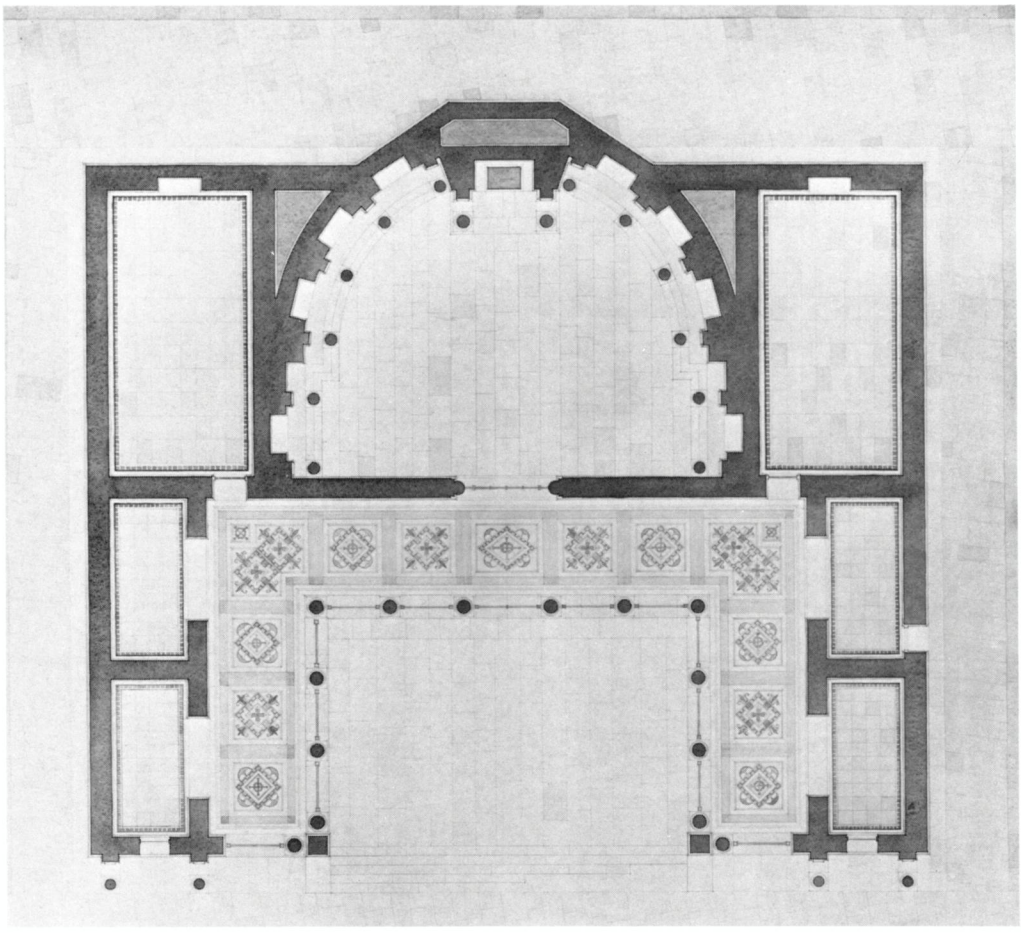
View of the Sacellum Larum Publicorum. The niches may have held wooden cabinets in which book boxes were kept.



Detail of niche of the Sacellum Larum Publicorum.

forerunners of the trilobate banqueting hall of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and in the plasticity of the walls it anticipates the *Aula Regia* of Domitian's palace on the Palatine. If we had it in its original form with colonnades and walls faced with colored marbles, it would be sumptuous as well as innovative. Certainly not a utilitarian building, it also cannot have been the curia, or council house, of Pompeii, as Overbeck-Mau has suggested, for the architecture is not suited to such a function, and the curia was at the south end of the forum. As a temple it makes even less sense; the square base at the center, often interpreted as remains of an altar, would have been under cover of a roof, a patent impossibility. The plan and size point rather to identification as a public library.

In its proportionate volumes and unity,



Plan of the library of Timgad in Algeria: Located near the forum, the apse of this library encroaches on one of the streets of the grid. Therefore, it probably does not date to the first period of this Trajanic colony. From Pfeiffer, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome *9 (1931), plate 16.*

situation and accessibility from the forum, as well as its rich decoration, this building belongs with the two best known libraries of the Roman world, that of Celsus at Ephesus in Turkey and that of Timgad in Algeria. The former is dated shortly after A.D. 114, the approximate date of Celsus' father's death, in whose honor it was built. The date of the latter is not known, but Timgad was a colony founded by Trajan (reigned A.D. 98-117), and this was not of its first period.

The library of Celsus is a rectangular hall with a rounded exedra opening on the principal axis. It is preceded by a two-story portico at the top of a flight of nine steps. The façade was embellished with statuary in niches. Three large doors, above which were similarly large windows, gave to the interior. The interior room was richly adorned with small columns raised on a high continuous plinth, between which opened rectangular niches that held wooden cupboards for the books. Ten of these in the lower story may have had others above, accessible by galleries. The axial exedra probably held a single statue.

The library of Timgad is almost entirely apse. The principal room is almost semicircular; only short, straight stretches extend the curve on either side. Again a row of columns on plinths lines the wall; eight niches for cupboards open between these, and there is a central niche with architectural emphasis for a statue. In front of the principal room was a court with colonnades on three sides from which one could reach six small rooms, perhaps for study in private. The whole was richly adorned with green and white marble.

To these we can now add the library of Pompeii. The features they share in common are the exedral character of the building as a whole that provided adequate natural light; the multiplication of niches for book cupboards, presumably to facilitate the filing and recovering of books; a central niche for an important statue; and lavish decoration in colored marble, perhaps partly protection against damp. The combination of all of these elements makes a fair set of requirements for a building type. When we meet such a building in the future we ought to be able to recognize it, even when, as in Pompeii, there is no inscription to identify it.



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Were There Libraries in Roman Spain?

Carl A. Hanson

While Roman Spain was home to learned writers such as the Senecas, Martial, Priscillian, and Prudentius, evidence of libraries that these and other scholars might have used in Iberia is scanty. This paper gathers information suggestive of the existence of libraries in Roman Spain and concludes that there were private and Christian collections in the peninsula during the period 100 B.C. to A.D. 500. No clear evidence was found to indicate that Roman Iberia had public libraries similar to those established elsewhere in the empire.

In toto orbe legor.
Ovid (*Tristia*, iv. 10. 28)

Scholars have long assumed, or at least implied, that there were libraries in Roman Spain, but actual evidence for their existence is largely circumstantial.[1] It is not until the mid-sixth century, during the era of the Visigoths, that available sources yield substantive detail on an Iberian library. Around A.D. 550 St. Martin of Braga established a monastic library at Dumium (Dumio) in Galicia with books brought to the peninsula from the Levant.[2] It seems quite unlikely, however, that this was the first library in Spain. The evidence provided below suggests that libraries appeared in Iberia well before the mid-sixth century.

It should be understood at the outset that existing evidence is not generally of a "hard" nature. Most conclusions drawn with respect to the existence of libraries in Roman Spain rest on inference and deductions. Nonetheless, these same conclusions are also based on some firmer evidence found in literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources. It is assumed that the literary sources' silence on the question of libraries is open to various interpretations. For example, the failure of contemporary authors such as Martial to mention personal libraries directly suggests that these were commonplace for the leading figures of a literate society. On the other hand,

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lack of any word on public libraries indicates that these were uncommon, if they existed at all.

Before elucidating the available evidence, a preliminary question should be posed: were there libraries in pre-Roman Spain? Some of the indigenous peoples of the peninsula apparently developed a literature of their own. According to the Greek geographer Strabo, the Turdetanians, a people occupying an area in southern Spain known as the Kingdom of Tartessos, "are ranked as the wisest of the Iberians; and they make use of an alphabet, and possess records of their ancient history, poems, and laws written in verse that are six thousand years old. . . ."[3] It is unknown whether the Turdetanians, whose civilization reached its height around 600 B.C., ever established libraries, but it is possible that they had some sort of tribal archive.

During the sixth century B.C. Phocaean Greek merchants and settlers founded a number of outposts on the eastern coast of Spain. Some of these commercial centers, particularly Emporion (Roman Emporia[e], modern Ampurias), survived into the Roman era. Libraries in Greece have been dated to the sixth century B.C. Numerous other Greek collections, public and private, are known to have appeared in the eastern Mediterranean during the next three centuries.[4] Given these facts, one might infer that Greeks in Spain also had libraries, at least private ones.

Relatively little is known about Punic Spain, much less whether libraries existed there. During the sixth century B.C. the Carthaginians occupied numerous coastal enclaves, including the ports of Carthago Nova (Cartagena) and Gadir (Roman Gades, modern Cádiz). With the exception of Cádiz, Carthage probably lost most of its Spanish outposts during the era of the first Punic war.[5] Writing in the first century A.D., the natural historian Pliny reported that there were libraries in Carthage, but most of their contents were dispersed among the petty kings of Numidia after Scipio Aemilianus captured the city in 146 B.C.[6] Whether Punic cities in Spain—particularly Cádiz, which fell to Rome in 205 B.C.—also had libraries is an open question.

We are on less conjectural ground when discussing the likelihood of libraries in Roman Spain. There are sources on education in Iberia that suggest that from the first century B.C. instructors held personal libraries. Circa 100 B.C. the Greek scholar Asklepiades of Myrleia, a city in Asia Minor, traveled to Spain. Asklepiades was one of the leading philologists of his time. He was greatly influenced by the school of philological study at Pergamum, even though he studied at Alexandria. He taught in Rome before going to Spain, where he settled among the Turdetanians and offered instruction in grammar. Strabo reported that he wrote an account, now lost, of the tribes of southern Spain.[7] It seems plausible that Asklepiades owned a private library befitting a distinguished scholar.

Plutarch's account of the rebellion led by Quintus Sertorius (80–72 B.C.) also suggests the presence of private libraries in Spain. Sertorius, a Sabine officer who was appalled by Rome's brutal treatment of indigenous peoples, joined them in revolt and led the Iberians to a succession of victories. Before his assassination in 72 B.C., Sertorius founded schools in Huesca for the education of native youth. According to Plutarch, Sertorius gathered together sons of the well-born and "set over them teachers of Greek and Roman learning. . . ."[8] The education offered at Huesca during the rebellion was probably rather basic, but an assemblage of books (i.e., rolls) was likely needed for instruction. One would further expect that the teachers employed by Sertorius had personal libraries.[9]

Q. Caecilius Metellus, one of the Roman commanders opposing the forces of Sertorius, apparently used the city of Corduba (Córdoba) as either his headquarters or a winter base in 75 B.C. Córdoba, which was founded in 152 B.C. (or in 169 B.C., according to some scholars), was, together with Cádiz, the major city of the region in southern Spain known as Baetica.[10] While in Córdoba Metellus lived extravagantly and received much flattery from local poets. According to one authority, who refers to a derisive comment by Cicero, Metellus "loved flattery and would stoop even to having his praises sung by heavily accented Cordoban bards. However much Cicero disdained provincial performances, it is most interesting that less than a hundred years after its foundation Córdoba had sufficient cultural life to produce its own poets."[11]

As is well known, Córdoba would later produce some of the leading literati of the Roman Silver Age. The cultural efflorescence that began in Córdoba during the first century B.C. suggests the possibility of libraries in the city, particularly private collections. One writer does in fact claim the existence of libraries in Córdoba.[12] However, no conclusive evidence for this assertion has been found. It is also arguable that by the first century A.D. libraries were to be found in a number of other Spanish cities. By that time Baetica, the richest region of Roman Spain, was divided into four jurisdictions: "those of Cadiz, Cordova, Ecija and Seville. Its towns number in all 175, of which 9 are colonies, 10 municipalities of Roman citizens, 27 towns granted early Latin rights, 6 free towns, 3 bound by treaty to Rome and 120 paying tribute."[13]

The wealth and increasing urbanization of Baetica provided an environment in which learning and literary pursuits could take root. This is clearly evident in the development of a fine educational system in Baetica and elsewhere in Spain. Though data on Iberian educational institutions are quite sparse, the evidence shows that centers of instruction were to be found in Cádiz, Córdoba, Tarraco (Tarragona), and various other cities. Inscriptions in verse from throughout the peninsula bespeak considerable knowledge of Latin culture and literature.[14] One historian noted that during the

first century A.D. "Latin literature was dominated by men of Spanish origin—the two Senecas, the poets Lucan and Martial, Columella and the great educator Quintilian—a tribute to the Latin authors of Spain and the excellence of its schools."[15]

Education in Spain was based on the three-tiered system found throughout the Roman world. Students entered school at the elementary level and were taught by a *paedagogus*. Those who entered the second level were taught by *grammaticae* and typically matriculated in their mid-teens. Their curriculum included arithmetic, geometry, grammar, music, astronomy, and the rudiments of philosophy and rhetoric. The third level, that taught by a rhetorician (*rhetor*), was generally reserved for young male scions of influential families. These students studied rhetoric and also engaged in physical education through sporting clubs.[16] Students typically completed this last level of education at about twenty years of age. Many became lawyers and urban officials while others pursued literary careers. An exemplary graduate of this system was the great epigrammatist Martial (c. A.D. 40–c. 104), who left his native Bilbilis (Calatayud), a city in northeastern Spain, for Rome after completing his rhetorical studies.[17]

Martial's instructors are not known (other than his parents Valerius Fronto and Flacilla), but they may have been Greek. As with Asklepiades, a sizable share of the educators in Spain appear to have had Greek origins.[18] One of these individuals, a *rhetor* named Troilus, taught in Cádiz. He is the only educator of his rank in Roman Spain whose name is known from an epigraph.[19] Another Greek, the grammarian Domitius Isquilinus, taught advanced literature in Córdoba. Given the apparently well-developed intellectual life of that city, it is likely that other advanced instruction was also available locally. When Seneca the elder studied in Córdoba, he was one of about two hundred students.[20] This number clearly suggests other instructors teaching other subjects.

For serious young scholars, Rome remained the intellectual heart of the Empire. There they found not only mentors and talented fellows with whom to exchange ideas and match wits, but also great public libraries in which to pursue their scholarly endeavors. The first public library in Rome was established circa 37 B.C. Its founder was Asinius Pollio (76 B.C.–A.D. 5), a consul turned poet and historian. Located in the Atrium Libertatis on the Aventine, the library included various collections procured by Pollio with wealth amassed during his conquest of Dalmatia circa 39 B.C. These collections may have included those of the scholar and book collector Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.) and Cornelius Sulla, the Roman general who captured Athens (and the surviving volumes of Aristotle's library) in 86 B.C.[21]

Both Varro and Pollio had served in Spain during the mid-first century B.C. Whether this played any role in their book collecting is unknown. C. Julius Hyginus, a noted grammarian who later served as librarian in the

Temple of Apollo in Rome, was reportedly a native of Spain.[22] Though tantalizing with regard to their possible influence on book collecting and establishment of libraries in Iberia, these connections must remain in the realm of speculation.

Nonetheless, the contact between Pollio and the elder Seneca in Rome invites examination. Prior to his lucrative Dalmatian campaign, Pollio had been dispatched to Spain in 44 B.C. There he presumably met and befriended Seneca, then a promising child of Córdoba. This friendship was renewed in Rome when Pollio opened his library. Seneca, then about fifteen years old, surely visited Pollio's new library. The young Cordoban traveled in the best literary circles, heard Ovid declaim around 30 B.C., and may have frequented other newly opened public libraries, including the Octavian Library (33 B.C.) and the Palatine Library (28 B.C.).[23]

After approximately twenty years in Rome, Seneca the elder returned to Córdoba around 8 B.C. and remained there until about A.D. 4. Sometime between 4 and 1 B.C. his second son, the stoic philosopher Lucius Annaes Seneca, was born in the Spanish city. During his approximately twenty years' sojourn in Córdoba, the elder Seneca might have had access to a library, possibly a private collection kept at his estate. At the very least, it seems likely that Seneca the writer, scholar, and intimate of Asinius Pollio would have had something to do with books and scholarship while in Córdoba.

Shortly before Pollio's death in A.D. 5, Seneca returned to Italy and renewed his acquaintance with the aged librarian. Not long thereafter, between A.D. 6 and 8, Seneca was apparently witness to the first of a series of book burnings in Rome.[24] While lamenting this sorry incident, he may have contemplated the possible threat to his own writings and those of writers he appreciated. If so, keeping copies in Córdoba would have been a prudent step. How often Seneca returned to Spain is unclear, much less whether he transported his and others' writings out of harm's way. But since the voyage could be made within twenty days, it is possible that he made short trips to Iberia in succeeding years. It is known that he died in Córdoba circa A.D. 40.[25]

By that time Córdoba, Cádiz, and other Spanish cities were home to numerous men of great wealth. In the case of Cádiz, Strabo reported that "I have heard that in one of the censuses of our own time there were five hundred men assessed as Gaditanian Knights—a number not equalled even in the case of the Italian cities except Patavium."[26] Southern Spain of the first century A.D. was indeed a region of great wealth, which derived primarily from mining, fishing, and agriculture. In describing the region around Córdoba, Strabo wrote that the land along the Guadalquivir, "and the little islands in the river, are exceedingly well cultivated. And besides that, there is the charm of the scenery, for the farms are fully improved with groves and gardens of the various plants."[27] What little we know of Spain

in this era provides us with a picture of prosperous private estates, wealthy cities, and great public buildings.[28] People of considerable learning lived in these cities, particularly Córdoba, and shared in a taste for literature prevalent throughout the Empire. As one writer noted, the "mention of Trimalchio's Greek and Latin libraries [in Petronius's *Satyricon*] is not simply satirical: it is indicative of a sort of cultural ideal common in imperial times."[29]

During the early Empire books were exported from Rome to the provinces. There were in fact numerous publishers and booksellers in Rome who ran a prosperous trade producing and marketing copies of countless works on a wide variety of subjects. The center of this activity was the Roman book market, the Argiletum. There was also a noteworthy trade in secondhand books. According to Horace (65–8 B.C.), damaged books (rolls damaged easily) were exported to Spain.[30] Martial, whose books were sold throughout the Empire, including Spain, fretted that his Roman publisher was growing rich off their sale while he made nothing.[31] Copies of books by other native sons, including Seneca the younger, Lucan, and Quintilian, might also have been exported to Spain. But regardless of authorship, the export of damaged rolls to the peninsula is clear evidence for the existence of book collections held by individuals resident in Spain.

The first clear evidence of literary publications in codex form is found in one of Martial's poems. In A.D. 84–86 the Spanish writer and his publisher Secundus apparently attempted to market the more portable parchment codex to the literate bourgeoisie of the Empire. But the experiment was stillborn, and the codex did not achieve parity with the more prestigious roll in numbers published until about A.D. 300.[32] One might nonetheless speculate that Martial kept a number of his writings as published in codex form and carried them with him in his private library when he retired to Spain in A.D. 98. If so, these codices, or perhaps those sold earlier to his Spanish readers, may have been the first to appear in the peninsula.

Many books exported to Spain undoubtedly found their way into collections in the houses of the cultured and the wealthy. Little remains of their domiciles (or they still await excavation), but most probably followed Roman models. The great architect of the era, Vitruvius, "regularly included the *bibliotheca* in his architectural plans for the Roman house."[33] In his renowned work *De Architectura*, probably published between 29 and 27 B.C., Vitruvius wrote that libraries in houses "should face toward the east; for their utilization demands the morning light; also the books in the library will not decay. For, where books are placed on the south and west they are ruined by worms and dampness. . ."[34] Seneca the younger (d. A.D. 65) later observed that a library was, like hot and cold baths, an essential feature of any stylish villa.[35]

Should archaeologists find a library dating to the Roman era in Spain, it

might well be in the remains of a wealthy landowner's villa. Another possibility lies with public baths that await excavation. In Rome a number of *thermae* housed reading materials for the patrons.[36] Baths were also found in Spanish cities such as Mérida, Itálica, and Tarragona, but it is not known if books were provided for bathers.[37]

In writing about the wealthy citizens of Rome, Seneca the younger mentioned "innumerable books and libraries in private hands."[38] There are a number of Spaniards known to us who may also have owned or had access to private libraries while in Iberia. Junius Columella, a Spaniard renowned for his *De Re Rustica* (A.D. 65), a classic work on agriculture written during his retirement in Italy, was quite possibly the beneficiary of one such private colection. Born in Cádiz around A.D. 4, Columella left for Rome sometime between the ages of twenty-five and thirty. He arrived with considerable skills as a writer and an apparently wide-ranging knowledge of various disciplines. Junius owed much of his education to his uncle and mentor, Marcus Columella. The elder Columella was an immensely wealthy citizen of Cádiz famed for his knowledge of history, jurisprudence, poetry, oratory, and Greek.[39] It is not known how he came by his knowledge, but one might surmise that the elder Columella owned an extensive personal library, perhaps in a villa built along Vitruvian lines. Whatever the case, the books used for Junius Columella's instruction must have been available in Spain.

It is also possible that Pomponius Mela, a Spanish geographer who published a small work titled *De Situ Orbis* around A.D. 43, relied on Greek sources found in Iberian collections. Mela was apparently unaware of the great work of Strabo published decades earlier, which suggests that he remained in Spain and relied on the work of Erastothenes and other Greek geographers.[40]

Martial, who spent the last years of his life in his native Bilbilis, probably had a private library. But he may not have used it very frequently during his first years back in Bilbilis. After "a most obstinate three-years' indolence" in Spain, he concluded that "unless we study even immoderately, retirement is at once without solace and excuse." This realization prefaced and apparently prompted him to write his last known work, book 12 of his *Epigrams*. When a friend, the lawyer Terentius Priscus, arrived in the winter of A.D. 101, Martial presented him with the work, which was later published in Rome. In the preface, which salutes Priscus and refers to a dinner of welcome for the lawyer, Martial wrote: "I have enjoined on myself a task that I used to allow myself as pleasure, and have devoted a very few days to study that I might greet your ears, my most friendly hearer, with their due feast of welcome."[41] This passage suggests that Martial consulted texts in his possession in order to entertain his guests with cultured dinner conversation.

During the first three centuries A.D. public libraries were established throughout the Empire, including those at Como, Athens, Edessa, and Timgad in what is now Algeria. From A.D. 98 to 138 two Spaniards, Trajan and Hadrian, reigned as Roman emperors. During those forty years considerable building took place in Spain, but no public library or record of its construction has been found.[42] Literary sources, which have been well plumbed by scholars, remain silent on the question. Until evidence for their existence comes to light, perhaps through archaeology, we must suppose, along with J. W. Thompson, that in Iberia and elsewhere in the Empire there were "provincial libraries concerning which no record remains."[43]

There is, however, one intriguing sepulchral inscription that offers such a record. Indeed, it stands as the sole available reference to a possible governmental library in Roman Spain. Found at Ondara near Alicante (Roman Lucentum), the monument bearing the epigraph may date to before A.D. 100. The inscription reads: "D.M.S. [In the name of the divinities]. For Titus Junius Galius Achilleus decurial scribe of the library of the three decurial quaestors, his wife Pacideia Hedone builds a common monument to him with whom she lived for thirty-five years, sharing a joyous life of amiable harmony; nor will it end with the grave."[44] This brief, affectionate passage in stone testifies to the existence of a library, possibly in Alicante. It seems unlikely that the library in which Achilleus worked was a "public" facility and was instead devoted to the needs of the quaestors, local municipal financial officials.[45]

Relatively little is known about Roman Spain during the second and third centuries A.D.[46] With the exception of Martial, who died around A.D. 104, literary figures of note were neither born nor to be found in the peninsula. But a wealth of epigraphic evidence attests to the continuity of education and the existence of books needed for its promotion.[47] It therefore seems reasonable to asusme that libraries played a role in the ongoing process of education.

Continuing establishment of schools also suggests that new libraries were created to aid in the instruction of students. Around A.D. 106, for example, a school of rhetoric was established in Tarragona, a city of approximately 30,000 people. Since Tarragona was capital of the province of Hispania Citerior, the school may have been founded in response to a need for lawyers trained to handle a variety of public and private cases in a large (and presumably litigious) urban center.[48] Moreover, Spanish lawyers and magistrates undoubtedly had their own private libraries and, when the occasion arose, carried pertinent rolls with them for use in public declamation. One statue found in Spain does in fact show a magistrate with a *scrinium*, a cylindrical container for rolls, at his feet (see plate 1).

By the late second century Spain fell victim to external attack, and Roman paganism was challenged by Christian beliefs. The period extend-



Plate 1. Statue of a Spanish magistrate with a scrinium *at his feet. The statue was found at Belo (present-day Bolonia), which is about ten miles west of Tarifa.*
(Source: Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 377)

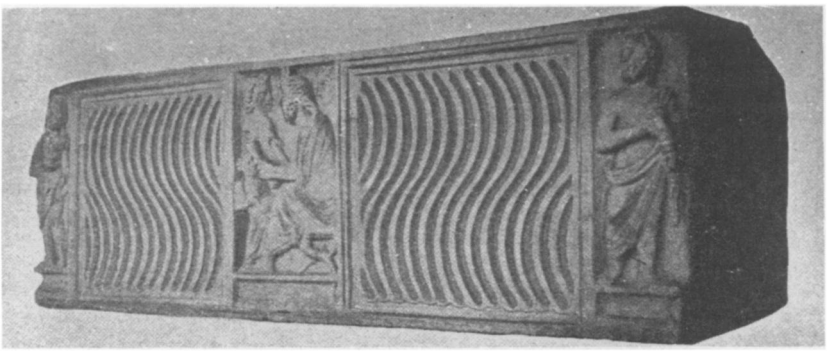


Plate 2. Christian sarcophagus found in Tarragona. Figure at center reads from a roll to a child. (Source: Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 740)



Plate 3. Christian mosaic found in Tarragona. Figure holding a small scroll may be a bishop. (Source: Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas*, plate no. 294)

ing from Julius Caesar's defeat of Pompey at the battle of Munda in 45 B.C. until the death of Hadrian in A.D. 138 had been one of relative tranquility and considerable prosperity for much of Iberia. But as with the rest of the Empire, things began to unravel from within and without after the mid-second century. In A.D. 172–173 and again in A.D. 175–176 Moors from north Africa invaded Baetica. Around A.D. 260 Franks attacked Tarragona and sacked the city.[49] What sort of destruction occurred as a result of these and other assaults is unknown, but books and libraries—and knowledge of them—were probably lost.

Meanwhile, new collections surely came into being. In the years after Hadrian's death small Christian libraries may have been found in private homes in Spain. Later, as was the pattern elsewhere in the Empire, they were probably moved into churches. The earliest known Christian church, that at Dura Europas in Syria, dates from circa A.D. 232. Much like pagan libraries, "which were usually situated near the temple, early Christian libraries were sometimes housed in the church atrium and sometimes in the lateral apse."[50]

During the Roman era three types of libraries came into being: liturgical libraries, academic or school libraries, and private study libraries.[51] Ascertaining when and where such libraries (or the first small collections in private homes) might have appeared in Spain is problematical since the beginnings of Christianity in the peninsula are themselves little known. It has been argued with some persuasiveness that St. Paul visited Spain circa A.D. 63–67, but there is no firm evidence for this.[52] By the third century A.D. a number of organized Christian communities were to be found in Spanish cities. We know, for example, that Fructuoso, the bishop of Tarragona, and two of his deacons were martyred in A.D. 259.[53]

The existence of a bishopric implies that at least some liturgical texts and books of the Bible were in the hands of Tarragonese Christians by the mid-third century A.D. This is borne out, almost in a literal sense, by archaeological evidence. Various Christian sarcophagi from the third century found at Tarragona have reliefs that depict apostolic figures holding a role in one hand. A *scrinium* typically rests at their feet. One interesting sarcophagal relief shows a seated figure reading from a roll to a youth.[54] It is not known if a biblical figure is represented or if the relief depicts a revered local teacher (see plate 2). In a superb mosaic found in Tarragona, a toga-clad figure, perhaps that of a bishop, faces forward and holds a roll in one hand.[55] Like the sarcophagi, this mosaic, which may date from the fourth century, attests to the vital role of religious works in the lives of Spanish Christians (see plate 3).

Some Christian libraries in Spain may have been lost during Diocletian's "Great Persecution" of A.D. 303–305. Collections in north Africa were indeed destroyed, but most Christian libraries in the Empire survived. A

number of Spanish Christians died in the persecution and "the governor Datianus demanded the surrender of scriptural teachings during the torture of the martyr St. Vincent on 22 January 304–305."[56]

During the fourth century a number of Christian writers and poets were active in Spain. The century in fact marked the first flowering of Hispanic Christian literature. Surviving works clearly suggest that their authors drew on private and/or church libraries. The centenarian Ossius (A.D. 256–357), bishop of Córdoba and staunch opponent of the Arian heresy, spent a good share of his life in the eastern Mediterranean region, but while in Spain he may have drawn on liturgical collections.[57] This may also have been the case with a contemporary of Ossius, the neoplatonist Chalcidius, who translated and commented on Plato's *Timaeus*.[58] Potamius, bishop of Lisbon, was another opponent of Arianism who apparently used local liturgical sources for his surviving treatise, *Epistula de substantia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.[59] Gregorius (c. A.D. 330–393), bishop of Illiberis (Elvira —modern Atarfe, about five miles northwest of Granada), published a number of treatises that also suggest access to a liturgical collection.[60] St. Pacianus (d. c. A.D. 385), bishop of Barcelona and one of the leading theologians of his age, used both Christian and pagan sources in his writings.[61]

Paulus Orosius (A.D. 390–c. 450), a disciple of St. Augustine, left Spain for north Africa in A.D. 409, fleeing the Vandal invasion. Orosius may have come from Braga or its vicinity. The erudition he brought to his work as theologian and historian led to his *Liber Apoligeticus* (c. A.D. 417) and the *Historiarum adversus paganos*, one of the first universal histories written by a Christian.[62] Given the fact that Orosius left Spain at age nineteen, he had probably already received most of his formal education. A church library in Braga or its environs may have played a role in that education. When St. Martin of Braga established his library at Dumio around A.D. 550, he quite possibly had at his disposal an older collection in Braga. Though this point must remain conjectural, one wonders whether the bishop of a major see would establish a library in a remote Galician monastery without having religious texts at his disposal in Braga.

Probably the best-known Spanish theologian of the fourth century was Priscillian, bishop of Avila. Unlike most of his counterparts in Spain, Priscillian was no proponent of orthodoxy and instead inspired a movement based on asceticism and apocryphal texts. He was accused of being a crypto-Manichee and ultimately burnt at the stake in Trier in A.D. 385. In his writings, all apparently composed in Avila, Priscillian tapped a wide variety of sources, including Origen, Hilary of Poitiers, Ambriaster, and the apocryphal Acts of Saints Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, and Andrew.[63] The range of texts used by Priscillian indicates that he had a library at his disposal in Avila. His detractors, mostly other bishops in Spain, may likewise have had liturgical collections in their respective sees.

The two leading poets of fourth-century Spain, Juvencus and Prudentius, might also have relied on local collections. Juvencus, who wrote during the first half of the fourth century, was well acquainted with biblical sources and classical poetry. He drew on the works of Ovid, Plautus, Horace, Lucan, Lucretius, and other pagan authors. With his *Historia Evangelica* (c. A.D. 330), he hoped to provide an epic Christian poem that would supplant the *Aeneid* of Virgil. Juvencus was Christianity's first epic poet; his *Historia* was frequently copied and well known in the Middle Ages and served to connect antiquity with medieval Christianity.[64] Given the range of sources he consulted, it seems likely that Juvencus had access to a varied and possibly extensive library.

The same may be said of Aurelius Clemens Prudentius (A.D. 345–c. 405), whose life is better known than that of Juvencus. Apparently born in Calahorra, Prudentius studied grammar, rhetoric, and law and became a lawyer. It is believed that he acted as governor of Tarragona before leaving Spain for the court of Emperor Theodosius in the late fourth century. Like Juvencus, he was influenced by pagan writers, particularly Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace. He also drew inspiration from the writings of Christian authors such as Ambrose, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Prudentius's poetry reconciled Christian and pagan themes even better than had the poetry of Juvencus, and in a new lyric style. His poetry exerted considerable influence over medieval education, as attested by the more than 300 extant manuscript copies of his work.[65]

It is not certain where Prudentius received his education, but if not in Calahorra it may have been in Tarragona.[66] Whether Juvencus was educated in Tarragona or elsewhere is unknown. Whatever the case, literary and archaeological evidence shows that Tarragona was a leading center of Christian activity in Spain and also an important locus of rhetorical instruction.[67] One would thus expect that church and secular libraries were to be found in the city during the fourth century.

Some time in the late fourth century a contemporary of Prudentius, a Galician churchwoman named Egeria, visited the Holy Land. The result of this pilgrimage was her *Itinerarium*, a fundamental source on monastic life in Palestine and Asia Minor. Egeria's peregrination included visits to Hebron, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem.[68] At about this same time (c. A.D. 400) St. Jerome, who was then in charge of the great Christian library in Bethlehem, wrote "with pride that copyists were sent to Palestine from as far away as Spain to transcribe his works. . . ."[69] Whether Egeria did any such transcribing is unknown, but Spanish copyists coming to Bethlehem would probably have deposited their transcriptions in church collections once back in Iberia.

Perhaps during the time that Egeria made her pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Paulinus of Nola, a Christian Gallic aristocrat, forsook his career as governor of the Sicilian city of Catana (Catania) and traveled to Spain.

He remained at his wife's estate near Barcelona from A.D. 389 to 394. Little is known of what Paulinus did during his years in Iberia, but he later (c. A.D. 410) became bishop of Nola in southern Italy. Paulinus was an accomplished writer who at one point wrote a poem based on the work of Suetonius. Indeed his poems and letters "abound in classical allusions."[70] Whether he brought a personal library with him to Barcelona, used one at his wife's estate, or even had any books at his disposal is unknown. The case would be clearer if, as with Priscillian and Juvencus, writings relying on identifiable literary sources could be attributed to his time in Spain.

Religious libraries in Iberia may not have been exclusively Christian. Jews had settled in the peninsula during the first century A.D. and probably earlier in the case of scattered merchants. In all likelihood Jews first lived in cities on the east coast of Spain (e.g., Ampurias, Tarragona, Cartagena) where various other peoples from the eastern Mediterranean region were to be found. Synagogues may have appeared by the second century A.D. The remains of a fourth-century synagogue have been excavated at Elche. During that century Gregorius of Elvira and Prudentius both wrote polemics on the perceived Jewish threat to Christian Spain.[71] As another "people of the book," the Jews of Roman Spain may have had religious collections housed in synagogues.

Beginning with the Vandal invasion of A.D. 409, the Roman era in Spain succumbed to a series of destructive rampages. Writing some two centuries later, St. Isidore of Seville related that the Vandals and two other invading peoples, the Alani and the Suevi, "did much killing and ravaging in their bloody raids, set cities afire, and exhausted the property which they plundered, so that human flesh was devoured by the people in the violence of their hunger." After two years of pillaging, destruction, and outbreaks of pestilence, the three tribes partitioned Spain among themselves. An uneasy peace apparently held during the next eighteen years. Then Gunderic, leader of the Vandals, attacked the Suevi, plundered the Balearic Islands, invaded Cartagena, and destroyed Seville.[72]

Hydatius (c. A.D. 390–c. 470), bishop of Chaves and chronicler of Iberia's tumultuous fifth century, related that the Suevi pillaged Tarragona and Cartagena circa A.D. 456. The Visigoths, who had first entered the peninsula in A.D. 415, retaliated against the Suevi and sacked Braga, Astorga, and Palencia. Hydatius lamented that the Visigoths used the churches in those cities as stables. In A.D. 460 the Suevi hit closer to home, sacking Hydatius's see at Chaves.[73]

Despite the depredations of fifth-century invaders, books (and perhaps even libraries) appear to have survived. Hydatius's *Chronica*, the fundamental source for the years A.D. 379 to 469 in Spain, is itself a survivor and also suggestive of works used in its compilation. Some of these sources may have been consulted in the Holy Land, to which Hydatius had traveled in

A.D. 406. While there he made the acquaintance of St. Jerome and surely used the library at Bethlehem. In A.D. 427 he was appointed bishop of Chaves, which is near Braga. After returning to Spain, Hydatius spent the next forty years gathering information for his *Chronica*. Though imitative of the writings of Roman annalists and historians, the work was inspired primarily by the chronicle of St. Jerome, which left off in A.D. 378.[74] It seems plausible that Hydatius brought transcriptions made in the Holy Land to his bishopric in Chaves. These would have been of obvious use in preparing the first half of his *Chronica*. What happened to these and other possible sources or, for that matter, what transpired with regard to books and libraries in Spain from Hydatius's death circa A.D. 470 until establishment of the monastic library at Dumio circa A.D. 550 is unknown.

Although arguments for the existence of libraries in Roman Spain depend primarily on related evidence and inference, it appears likely that they did in fact exist. When taken together, the evidence gathered here points to libraries in Iberia well before A.D. 550. Private collections may date to the time of Asklepiades (c. 100 B.C.), or perhaps even earlier. Christian libraries may have appeared by the third century A.D. Information on early Jewish activity in Spain is very sketchy, but it is possible that synagogue collections were established at about the same time. Epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that Alicante (or its environs) had a "financial" library at the service of local quaestors. The question as to whether public libraries comparable to those found in Rome and elsewhere in the Empire existed in Spain remains unanswered. If public libraries existed, possible sites might have included Córdoba, Cádiz, Seville, Itálica, Mérida, Tarragona, and Barcelona.

The destruction that came with the Vandals, later invaders, natural disasters, fires, and other calamities may in large part explain the lack of information on libraries in Roman Spain. Earlier invasions by Moors and Franks and Diocletian's persecution may also have led to loss of libraries in "the most thoroughly romanized province in the West."[75] In an Empire rich in libraries it would have indeed been anomalous to find none in the peninsula that produced the Senecas, Lucan, Columella, Martial, Quintilian, and the Christian authors of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Notes

1. See, for example, Henri Le Clercq, "Bibliothèques," in Ferrand Cabrol (ed.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chretienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Libraire Letouzy et Ané, 1907–1953), II, pt. 1, col. 874; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., revised by P. M. Fraser, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 143, 346; L. Galmes, "Bibliotecas Eclesiasticas," in Q. A. Vaquero, T. M. Martinez, and José Vives Gatell (eds.), *Dictionário de historia eclesiastica de España*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Instituto Enrique Florez, 1972–1975), I, 251.

2. Jules Tailhan, "Appendice sur les Bibliothèques espagnoles du haut Moyen Age," in *Nouveau Mélanges d'Archeologie, d'Histoire et de litterature sur le Moyen Age . . .* (Paris: Didot, 1877), IV, 231-232.

3. Strabo, *The Geography* 3.1.6. According to the edition of Strabo cited here—H. L. Jones (trans.), *The Geography of Strabo*, Loeb Classical Library, ed. T. Capps, T. E. Page, and W. H. D. Rouse, 8 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917-1933), II, 13—some "think the text should be emended to read 'six thousand verses in length.'" For discussion of Tartessos, see Manuel Tuñon de Lara (ed.), *Historia de España*, 10 vols. projected (Barcelona: Editorial Labor, S. A., 1980-), I, 125-132.

4. Greek libraries are discussed in Elmer D. Johnson, *History of Libraries in the Western World*, 2nd ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1970), pp. 48-67.

5. Tuñon de Lara, *Historia de España*, I, 116-118, 213.

6. Pliny, *Natural History*, XVIII.v.22-23.

7. Strabo, *The Geography* 3.4.3; Antonio García y Bellido, *España y los españoles hace dos mil años* (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe Argentina, S.A., 1945), p. 147. A sepulchral inscription found at Cádiz bears the name of another Asclepiades, who died at age thirteen. Since this name appears only twice in nearly 7,000 Roman inscriptions (the other was found in León), it is possible that the Cádiz youth was named after the Greek philologist. See José Vives, *Inscripciones latinas de la España romana*, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1971/2), I, 294, no. 2778.

8. Plutarch, *Lives*, XIII.5-XIV.2.

9. Sertorius may himself have had a personal library, or, at the very least, a private archive. After his assassination, "all the papers of Sertorius" were burned. See ibid., XXVII.3.

10. For discussion of the divided opinion on the date of Cordoba's founding, see Alejandro Ibañez Castro, *Cordoba hispano-romana* (Córdoba: Diputación Provincial, 1983), pp. 58-62.

11. Robert C. Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, University of California Classical Studies, vol. 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 17.

12. Johnson, *History of Libraries*, p. 75.

13. Pliny, *Natural History* III.i.7.

14. Sebastián Mariné Bigorra, *Inscripciones hispanos en verso* (Barcelona: Escuela de Filología, 1952), *passim*. The historian Suetonius noted that the study of literature was widespread in the provinces by the first century B.C. See Suetonius, *Grammatica* 3.

15. Donald R. Dudley, *The Romans: 850 B.C.-A.D. 337* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 229.

16. Tuñon de Lara, *Historia de España*, I, 401.

17. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (ed.), *Historia de España*, 34 vols. to date (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1935-), II, 538-539.

18. For a table listing Greek educators known from epigraphs, see Luís Sagrado San Eustaquio and Santos Crespo Ortiz de Zarate, "La enseñanza de la Hispania romana," *Hispania antiqua* 5 (1975): 130.

19. Ibid., p. 127. In this article the authors assert that Troilus is the only *rhetor* whose name is known. But Aulus Gellius, an Italian *grammaticus* of the second century A.D., venerated Antonikus Iulianus, a Spanish *rhetor*. See Roberto Grosse, *Las fuentes desde César hasta el siglo V de J.C.*, fasc. 8 of *Fontes hispaniae antiqua* (Barcelona: Libreria Bosch, 1959), p. 305.

20. Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, pp. 51, 113, note 227. Isquilinus, a *magister gramm.*, may have trained many students since he lived to 101. See Vives, *Inscripciones*, I, 524, no. 5717.

21. Johnson, *History of Libraries*, p. 70; Leslie W. Dunlap, *Readings in Library*

History (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972), pp. 29-30. Dunlap argues, albeit unconvincingly, that Pollio's was not the first public library, the honor instead going to the Octavian library, founded in 33 B.C. (pp. 30-31).

22. Suetonius as cited in Clarence E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915), p. 50. For the careers of Hyginus and other librarians in Rome, → Lorne D. Bruce, "The *Procurator Bibliothecarum* at Rome," *Journal of Library History* 18 (Spring 1983): 143-162.

23. For Seneca's literary and oratorical contacts in Rome during his first stay there, see Miriam Griffin, "The Elder Seneca and Spain," *Journal of Roman Studies* 62 (1972): 5-7.

24. Frederick H. Cramer, "Bookburning and Censorship in Ancient Rome," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945): 172-173.

25. Griffin, "The Elder Seneca," p. 8.

26. Strabo, *The Geography* 3.5.3.

27. Ibid., 3.2.3.

28. Depictions of temples in Córdoba and Mérida may be found in Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, p. 153, fig. 6; and Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 632 facing.

29. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 65-66.

30. Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London: Duckworth, 1985), p. 50.

31. Felix Reichmann, "The Book Trade in the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly* 8 (January 1938): 71-72.

32. Colin H. Roberts and T. H. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 24-29, 37.

33. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 65-66.

34. Quoted in ibid., p. 23. Also see André Langie, *Les bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'Empire Romain* (Fribourg: Fragnière Frères, 1908), p. 103. One authority notes that the eastern orientation urged by Vitruvius "was often ignored." See Lorne D. Bruce, "Palace and Villa Libraries from Augustus to Hadrian," *Journal of Library History* 21 (Summer 1986): 543.

35. Seneca, *De Tranquillitate animi* 9.7. Also see Reichmann, "The Book Trade," pp. 75-76.

36. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 63; Bruce, "Palace and Villa Libraries," pp. 529-531; Langie, *Les bibliothèques*, p. 73.

37. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 639-640.

38. Seneca, *Dial.* ix. 9, 4.

39. *Enciclopedia vniversal ilvstrada europeo-americana*, 70 vols. in 72 (Barcelona: J. Espasa, 1907?-1930), XIV, 416-418. In the second century A.D. the philosopher Flavius Philostratus noted that Greek culture still held strong influence in Cádiz. See Grosse, *Las fuentes*, p. 325.

40. *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, 9th ed., 24 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1878), XV, 832-833; C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Romans in Spain, 217 B.C.-A.D. 117* (London: Methuen, 1939), p. 212.

41. Martial, *Epigrams* XII, preface. In his preface Martial also lamented that, unlike Rome, there are no libraries, presumably public collections, in Bilbilis.Since Bilbilis was a fairly sizable community, this lack of facilities suggests that the curial class there, and perhaps in other centers as well, lacked sufficient income to fund establishment of public libraries.

42. The emperor Trajan, a native of the Spanish city of Itálica, established libraries in his baths and forum in Rome. He also had a great palace in Itálica, but

no evidence has been found as to whether it housed a library. See Fernando de Zevallos, *La Itálica* (Seville: José M. Ariza, 1886), p. 88.

43. J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, with a supplement by Blanche B. Boyer (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1965 reprint), p. 9.

44. Vives, *Inscripciones*, I, 605, no. 6430. I thank Professor Donald D. Sullivan of the University of New Mexico for his help in translating this inscription. A later inscription suggests that an archive may have existed in Roman Tarragona. See ibid., p. 600, no. 638.

45. Discussion of quaestors may be found in Nicola Mackie, *Local Administration in Roman Spain A.D. 14–212* (Oxford: BAR, 1983), pp. 166–167.

46. In many respects we know more about the period prior to Seneca the elder's death circa 40 A.D. than we do about the following two centuries. See Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, pp. 30–32.

47. Vives, *Inscripciones*, I, *passim*.

48. Grosse, *Las fuentes*, pp. 290–291.

49. Ibid., pp. 41–42.

50. Thomas M. Tanner, "A History of Early Christian Libraries from Jesus to Jerome," *Journal of Library History* 14 (Fall 1979): 409. Also see F. J. Witty, "Libraries, Ancient," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 17 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967–1979), VIII, 719–720.

51. Tanner, "A History," p. 408.

52. Zacarias Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica de España*, 3 vols. in 5 (Madrid: Compañia Iberoamericana de Publicaciones, S.A., 1929–1936), I, 105–145.

53. M. Lavarenne (ed. and trans.), *Prudence* (Paris: Société d'Edition les Belles Lettres, 1951), pp. 93–94.

54. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 738–740.

55. José Vives, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, 2nd ed. with supplement (Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes, 1969), p. 93.

56. Lorne D. Bruce, "A Note on Christian Libraries during the 'Great Persecution,' 303–305 A.D.," *Journal of Library History* 15 (Spring 1980): 131. For detailed discussion of the persecution in Spain, see Garcia Villada, *Historia eclesiástica*, I, 262–300.

57. U.D. del Val, "Osio de Cordoba," in *Dicionário de historia eclesiástica*, III, 1844–1845.

58. *Paulys Real-Encyclopadie der Classichen Altertumswissenschaft*, 47 vols. in 49 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlerscher, 1894–1965), 6:2042–2043.

59. U.D. del Val, "Potamio de Lisboa," in *Dicionário de historia eclesiástica*, III, 2011–2012.

60. U.D. del Val, "Gregorio de Elvira," in ibid., II, 1055–1056.

61. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 551.

62. U.D. del Val, "Orosio, Pablo," in *Dicionário de historia eclesiástica*, III, 1841–1842.

63. Extended discussion of Priscillian and the sources used in his writings may be found in Henry Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). See particularly pp. 57–110.

64. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 552; U.D. del Val, "Juvenco, Cayo Vetio Aquilino," in *Dicionário de historia eclesiástica*, II, 1262.

65. U.D. del Val, "Prudencio Clemente, Aurelio," in ibid., III: 2031; Henry John Thomas (trans.), *Prudentius*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1949–1953), I, ix–xvi.

66. According to the Gallic poet Ausonius (c. 310-395 A.D.), fourth-century Calahorra was a famed center of rhetorical instruction: *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium* I.7-8.

67. José Maria Blazquez et al., *Historia de España Antiqua*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Catedra, S.A., 1978), II, 507; Grosse, *Las fuentes*, p. 292.

68. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II, 556-558.

69. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 20.

70. W. H. C. Frend, "Paulinus of Nola and the Last Century of the Western Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969): 4-6. For Paulinus's library at Nola, see Tanner, "A History," p. 422.

71. L. Garcia Iglesias, *Los Judios en la España antiqua* (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1978), pp. 43-59.

72. Guido Donini and Gordon B. Ford, Jr. (trans.), *Isidore of Seville's History of the Kings of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 34-35.

73. Theodor Mommsen (ed.), *Chronica Minora Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmanns, 1894), II, 27-32; Casimiro Torres Rodriguez, "Hidacio, el primer cronista español," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 62/3 (1956): 784.

74. Ibid., pp. 769, 785, 788.

75. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History*, I, 211.





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THE CIRCULATION OF LITERARY TEXTS IN THE ROMAN WORLD

It is often assumed that we know very little about how literary texts circulated in the Roman world because we know very little about the Roman book trade.[1] In fact, we know a great deal about book circulation, *even though* we know little about the book trade. Romans circulated texts in a series of widening concentric circles determined primarily by friendship, which might, of course, be influenced by literary interests, and by the forces of social status that regulated friendship. Bookstores and 'public' libraries, which made a text available to individuals personally unknown to the author and his friends, were comparatively late developments. To trace the circulation of a Roman literary work, we shall use a schematic model to follow a literary text from its initial conception through the widening circles through which it moved.

THE INNER CIRCLES: THE AUTHOR'S FRIENDS

Once a work was drafted, authors commonly sent a copy to a close friend for comments and criticism. The copy was made in the author's home at his own expense by his slaves. He tacitly assumed that his friend would not show the draft to anyone else.[2] Cicero often asked the advice of Atticus, who attached small wafers made of red wax to the passages he thought needed revision and then returned the draft to Cicero, who claimed he waited in fear of the wafers.[3] Cicero, in turn, advised others on their works, as Brutus asked him to do for a speech he had given at a meeting on the Capitol but not yet made public in written form.[4] Pliny often asked his friends for advice on his compositions.[5]

Although authors wanted honest criticism, they did not seek impersonal criticism. The ancient sources do not preserve a single case of an author requesting comments from a stranger. Rhetoricians, for example, did not ask for the opinions of other experts unless they were friends. The restricted sphere in which comments were sought and given encouraged insularity, since the author's friends shared his background and therefore his attitudes toward such things as what was appropriate and the standards by which a work of literature should be judged.

Once the author had received his friend's comments and initially revised the draft, he slightly widened the circle to which his work was accessible. This could be done by sending draft copies, again made in his home by his slaves at his expense, to several more friends.[6] He could also invite a few friends to his home and recite the work to

[1] Only the author's name will be used to refer to the following frequently cited works: Kenney = E. J. Kenney, 'Books and Readers in the Roman World', in *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, II, *Latin Literature*, ed. E. J. Kenney (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 3–32; Kleberg = T. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike* (Darmstadt, 1967), trans, E. Zunker from the original ed. (Stockholm, 1962); Quinn = K. Quinn, 'The Poet and His Audience in the Augustan Age', *ANRW* 30.1 (Berlin, 1982), pp. 75–180; Sommer = R. Sommer, 'T. Pomponius Atticus und die Verbreitung von Ciceros Werken', *Hermes* 61 (1926), 389–422.

[2] Cf. Cic. *Att.* 15.27 (SB 406).2; 13.21a (SB 327).

[3] See *Att.* 16.11 (SB 420).1; 15.14 (SB 402).4, with Shackleton Bailey's n. *ad loc.*

[4] *Att.* 15.1a (SB 378).2.

[5] See, e.g., *Ep.* 7.20, about exchanging works for comment with Tacitus.

[6] Catullus 35 may reflect such a situation, but the poem has not and probably cannot be elucidated with complete confidence. See Quinn's commentary *ad loc.* a → F. O. Copley,

them in order to elicit their comments and reactions. Such private sessions were always small, since too large a gathering would obstruct the free flow of give and take between the author and his friends. Pliny comments, 'Recitaturus oratiunculam quam publicare cogito, advocavi aliquos ut vererer, paucos ut verum audirem'.[7] In another letter he explains that the author who recites his work to his friends can make his decisions 'quasi ex consilii sententia'.[8] Many other authors tested the waters in this way, including Silius Italicus, Vergil, and Horace.[9]

The small audiences at these test flights were made up of the author's friends or, in a more general sense, people with whom he was already in social contact, including patrons and clients. Just as an author did not send his first draft to a stranger, so he did not invite strangers to an experimental reading of a work in progress. This guaranteed an audience basically sympathetic, but also, one imagines, often basically unchallenging, which probably also encouraged insularity and discouraged taking literary risks. When Pliny recited his light poems, the most stringent disapproval he tempted was, as he knew, that some people thought someone of his stature should not recite such poetry (*Ep.* 5.3). Once he had decided to recite the poems, he probably received direct criticism only of the style.

These first readings were entirely closed. The audience would naturally discuss the work during and after the recitation, but the text itself did not circulate. The members of the audience were not given copies to take home and scrutinize at their leisure and, potentially, to share with others. The work remained entirely in the control of the author, who could decide whether it would ever reach a wider public either in further recitations or in written form.[10]

For the purposes of my discussion, I shall assume that the text is now polished and in its final form, although, obviously, the testing and revision of a work could go on indefinitely. It is only when the author sends copies to a wider group of friends that the written form of a text attains any great significance in its circulation. There is no impersonal, commercial copying at this stage; the copies are still made in the author's home by his slaves or in the home of a friend.[11] Atticus, for instance, made copies of his friend Cicero's works.[12] These private copies could be and probably were very good ones, since the author would carefully monitor the quality of the copyist's work in these presentation copies. As a special favour the author might proofread the copy and correct the mistakes himself.[13]

Authors presented gift copies only to their friends. We do not hear of a single author who sent a gift copy to a complete stranger. The first recipients were the dedicatee of the work[14] and other friends intimately connected with it. Cicero assumes that Atticus has a copy of Tyrannio's study of Homeric prosody because the book was dedicated to him[15] and elsewhere tells Atticus, 'Laudationem Porciae tibi misi

'Catullus, 35', *AJP* 74 (1953), 149–60, who suggests that Caecilius has sent a version that he considers ready to be released.

[7] *Ep.* 5.12.1. Although the sincerity of Pliny's desire for serious criticism has been questioned (Quinn, 163), such scepticism is belied by Pliny's virtual obsession with testing his work on small groups of friends (Kenney, 11).

[8] *Ep.* 5.3.8; cf. 5.12.1; 8.21.4.

[9] Respectively, Pliny, *Ep.* 3.7.5; Don. *Vita V.* 33; and *Vita Hor.* Cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 4.10.41ff., although the works there may be at a more advanced stage of revision.

[10] Cf. Quinn, 83 n. 23.

[11] See Shackleton Bailey's n. on Cic. *Att.* 13.21a (SB 327).1, on the *Acad.*

[12] See the fundamental paper of Sommer, op. cit. (n. 1).

[13] Cf. Mart. 7.11, 7.17; Pliny, *Ep.* 4.26.1.

[14] Cf. Cic. *Att.* 13.21a (SB 327).1.

[15] *Att.* 12.6 (SB 306).2, with Shackleton Bailey's n. *ad loc.*

correctam. Eo properavi ut, si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, haec mitteretur'.[16]

Once the author had sent copies to these individuals, he sent copies to other friends. Ausonius, for instance, thanks Pontius Paulinus for sending him a copy of his versified condensation of Suetonius' three books on kings (25.19 Prete). Sidonius Apollinaris tells Lucontius, 'annuo iniunctis, quia dignus es, ut talia legas', when he sends his poetic trifles (*nugas*) (*Ep.* 4.18.3). Martial plays on this custom when he asks, 'Cur non mitto meos tibi, Pontiliane, libellos? | Ne mihi tu mittas, Pontiliane, tuos'.[17] Sending Pontilianus a gift copy would be admitting him to a closer friendship than the epigrammatist wishes to exist.

THE OUTERMOST CIRCLE: STRANGERS

In most cases, the sending of author's gift copies of a finished text meant the effective release of the work from the author's control. It then became possible for people unknown to the author to acquire a text by making a copy from a friend's copy. When strangers could acquire copies of a work, that work can be said to have been *made public* or to have been *released.*[18] The release of a text involved only a decision by the author that other people could make their own copies. If no one wanted to make a copy, no copies would ever be made except by the author himself for presentation to his friends.[19]

No commercial transaction whatsoever took place. If the author made another presentation copy, he paid for its creation. If someone else had a copy made, that person paid for the materials and the copying. The author was not compensated. The expense incurred is at issue when Martial writes: 'Exigis ut donem nostros tibi, Quinte, libellos. | Non habeo sed habet bybliopola Tryphon. | "Aes dabo pro nugis et emam tua carmina sanus? | Non" inquis "faciam tam fatue." Nec ego' (4.72). Quintus wants Martial to give him a copy because then Martial will bear the cost, but Martial sends him to a bookstore, not because that will produce a profit for the poet but simply because it will save Martial the cost of making a gift copy.

Most readers depended largely if not entirely on privately made copies.[20] Such

[16] *Att.* 13.48 (SB 345).2.

[17] 7.3. For a Martial poem announcing a gift, see 9.58. Tacitus ironically comments that Caesar and Brutus 'fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt' (*Dial.* 21.6). D. Bo notes, *ad loc.*, that the libraries must be private since Rome did not have any public libraries at that time.

[18] The basic discussions are Sommer and B. Van Groningen, '*ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ*', *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963), 1–17. See also, most recently, Kenney, 19, and J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (Salem, 1981), pp. 232–5. The term 'publish' should not be used because it unavoidably bears a burden of modern implications. The model of gradually widening circles might seem to leave no room for the special case of authors who died before their works, or at least some of them, had been fully released to the public, e.g., Vergil's *Aen.* and Lucretius. Even in such cases, however, the earlier steps of composition, limited circulation, and initial revision would not be missing. Literary executors, of course, might not abide by an author's wishes, as Varius and Tucca (and Augustus) set Vergil's aside, but they presumably still released works to strangers through the normal channels.

[19] Although it should not be made to bear undue weight, we may see evidence of works that existed only in author's copies in Varro's statement that, of the many books he had written, 'aliquammultos, cum proscriptus esset, direptis bibliothecis suis non comparuisse' (cited by Gellius 3.10.17).

[20] Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*[2] (Oxford, 1951), pp. 70–1.

copies met all needs before the Ciceronian period[21] and, I suspect, most needs after it. Seneca, for instance, urges Polybius to be strong in spite of his sorrow because, 'Omnes illi, qui opera ingenii tui laudant, *qui describunt*, quibus, cum fortuna tua opus non sit, ingenio opus est, custodes animi tui sunt' (*Cons. Polyb.* 6.3).

An ancient author had various ways of making a text available for copying by others. First, as we have seen, he could send a gift copy to a friend without placing any restrictions on its being copied. Symmachus writes to Ausonius that, although he was not given a copy of Ausonius' poem on the Moselle, he managed to obtain one; he adds: 'spargas licet volumina tua et me semper excipias, fruemur tamen tuo opere, sed aliorum benignitate' (Symmachus, *Ep.* 1.14). Second, he could recite the work to friends and allow them to have copies made, the situation imagined in Juvenal's Third Satire, where Umbricius despairingly asks, 'Quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio; librum, | si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere' (3.41–2). Third, he could deposit a copy in one of the great public libraries, where it was, so to speak, in the public domain and could be copied by anyone who wished. Quintilian, in response to an imaginary critic who objects that his survey of literature left out this or that poet, insists that, 'Nec sane quisquam est tam procul a cognitione eorum remotus ut non indicem certe ex bibliotheca sumptum transferre in libros suos possit' (10.1.57), which implies that copying could be done in libraries. An Alexandrian 'edition' of a classic work, for example, could be a single copy placed in the Library out of the author's control and available for copying.[22] Rome, however, did not have a single public library until Asinius Pollio founded one probably in the 30s B.C.[23] Although we should not imagine borrower's privileges extended to the entire population of Rome, inclusion in a public library could still have an effect in the small literary world of Rome. Tiberius' extreme delight in the works of the poets Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius led him to include their writings and busts in 'publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores'; as a result scholars dedicated works on those authors to the emperor and may well have offered them to the imperial public libraries.[24] Fourth, an author could allow or encourage his friends to make the book known.[25] Cicero asked Atticus to make his Greek work on his consulship known in Athens and other Greek towns.[26] The easiest method was for the friend to have the work recited to his friends, as Martial assumes Pudens will do with his epigrams.[27] Presumably a guest could ask to borrow the text to copy. Fifth, an author could deposit a copy with a bookdealer. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

THE CIRCULATION OF NON-CURRENT TEXTS

Private circulation was not restricted to new works. Non-current works, ranging from the very old to the relatively recent, also circulated privately, without the substantial intervention of any commercial system of distribution. The channels of circulation ran from one friend to another, never between strangers. A Roman did not ask someone

[21] Sommer, 392; Kenney, 19–20.

[22] Van Groningen, '*ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ*' (above, n. 18), 16; E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton, 1968, rev. ed., Oxford, 1980), pp. 112–13.

[23] Even then it is not clear how genuinely public the Roman public libraries were. I suspect that, while they may not have actively excluded the lower class, they probably did not need to. → A. J. Marshall, 'Library Resources and Creative Writing at Rome', *Phoenix* 30 (1976), 261.

[24] See Suet. *Tib.* 70.2. Cf. Joseph. *Vita* 361; *Contra Ap.* 1.50–1.

[25] → P. White, '*Amicitia* and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome', *JRS* 68 (1978), 86.

[26] *Att.* 2.1 (SB 21).2; cf. 12.40 (SB 281).1.

[27] 7.97.11; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2. *ep.*

he did not already know to send a book even about a subject in which both were interested. This probably restricted both the number of texts in circulation and the number of people to whom particular texts were accessible.

Non-current texts were often given as presents to friends. The author himself might, at his own expense, send a copy of one of his works to a friend long after its composition and initial circulation. For example, Pliny sends, by request, a number of rolls at the same time to his friend Terentius Iunior, who lives on a country estate (*Ep.* 8.15.1). Martial tells his friend Norbanus, away from Rome in Vindelicia with the army, that he is sending author's copies of previous books of epigrams to entertain him.[28] Theodosius writes to Ausonius to ask for copies of both his earlier and his current works.[29]

Other authors' books were also often sent as presents to friends. Martial 14.183–96 is a list of epigrams to accompany such gifts, which include the *Batrachomachia*, Homer, the *Culex*, Vergil, Menander's *Thais*, Cicero, the first book of Propertius, Livy, Sallust, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Tibullus, Lucan, Catullus, and Calvus' *On the Use of Cold Water*.[30] Ausonius sent copies of the *Fables* of Titianus and the *Chronicles* of Nepos to the praetorian prefect Probus as a present for the education of his children (25.10 Prete).

Friends often borrowed books from each other, as Cicero's correspondence reveals.[31] For instance, in 49 B.C., while thinking about making an appeal for peace among the struggling political factions, he asks Atticus to send him a Greek work *On Concord*.[32] Atticus did not send the book soon enough, so Cicero writes to ask again.[33] Having finally received the book, Cicero returned it.[34] On 28 May 45 B.C., he asks for two books by Dicaearchus and then on 2 June acknowledges receiving the first book and says he still awaits the second.[35]

A friend could also facilitate requests to others, as Atticus did, for instance, when Athenodorus the Bald was slow to send Cicero an abstract the orator had requested.[36] Cicero also asks his friend to send him Panaetius' treatise *On Providence*, which he can acquire from Philoxenus.[37] Atticus was also asked to procure Theophrastus' *On Ambition* for Cicero from the books of his brother Quintus.[38] In Cicero's zeal for works on his consulship, he sent Atticus his own Greek work on the subject and promised to send others' works, too, if other people should write on it.[39]

When one friend loaned a book to another, the recipient could make a copy at his own expense if he wished. When Cicero borrowed the work of the poet Alexander of Ephesus from Atticus, he copied it and then returned it.[40] Julian says that George had loaned him some books to copy when Julian was in Cappadocia and George was in Caesarea and that they had been returned (*Ep.* 23, 378c). Nymphidius borrowed

[28] 9.84. Men on military service obviously faced particularly difficult problems acquiring books (cf. Mart. 10.78.9–13). Maecilius Nepos took Pliny's *libelli* to the provinces when he served as a prefect (*Ep.* 4.26.2, with Sherwin-White's n. *ad loc.*).

[29] Auson. 1.3 Prete; Ausonius replies in 1.4 Prete.

[30] These poems have aroused substantial scholarly debate. Was the Livy, for instance, a complete text or an epitome? For discussions, see Kenyon, *Books* (above n. 20), pp. 94–5; R. P. Oliver, 'The First Medicean MS of Tacitus and the Titulature of Ancient Books', *TAPA* 82 (1951), 248 n. 52 (*contra* T. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* [Leipzig, 1907]); and Kleberg, p. 76.

[31] Sommer, 398, mentions many examples in Cicero's *Letters*.

[32] *Att.* 8.11 (SB 161).7, where, *ad loc.*, Shackleton Bailey briefly outlines the exchange.

[33] *Att.* 8.12 (SB 162).6.

[34] *Att.* 9.9 (SB 176).2.

[35] *Att.* 13.31 (SB 302).2 and 13.33 (SB 309).2.

[36] *Att.* 16.11 (SB 420).4.

[37] Cic. *Att.* 13.8 (SB 313), in which Cicero also asks Atticus to send Brutus' epitome of the history of Caelius.

[38] *Att.* 2.3 (SB 23).4.

[39] *Att.* 1.20 (SB 20).6.

[40] *Att.* 2.20 (SB 40).6 (with Shackleton Bailey's n. *ad loc.*) and 2.22 (SB 42).7.

the work of Mamertus Claudianus from Sidonius Apollinaris in order to copy it (Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 5.2). If the sender had a copy made for his friend's convenience, the borrower covered the expense. When Cicero was contemplating a geographical work, he tells Atticus, 'Fecisti mihi pergratum quod Serapionis librum ad me misisti... pro eo tibi praesentem pecuniam solvi imperavi, ne tu expensum muneribus ferres'.[41]

Since a relatively small number of copies of a text was in circulation at any given time, locating a copy could be difficult and time-consuming. Cicero comments that, although he used to read the orations of C. Fimbria when he was a boy, he can hardly find them any more (*Brut.* 129). Diodorus Siculus claims that his universal history is particularly useful because readers would not have to go to the considerable difficulty of acquiring all the histories his work supplants (1.3.8). Julian tells Priscus, 'Seek out for me all of Iamblichus' writings to his namesake. You're the only person who can do that, since your sister's in-law owns a well-corrected copy' (*Ep.* 2).

A friend could provide enormous help, particularly to someone away from the major urban centres. Sidonius Apollinaris sent Namatius, a naval officer on the Atlantic coast, two works of other authors that he had requested (*Ep.* 8.6.18). In an Oxyrhynchus Papyrus from the second century A.D. (2192), one friend writes to another: 'Make a copy of Hypsicrates, *Characters in Comedy*, Books Six and Seven, and send it to me. For Harpocration says they're among the books of Pollion. It's likely that other people also own them. He also has epitomes of Thersagoras' work on the myths of tragedy.' At that point a different hand notes,

> Harpocration says Demetrius the bookdealer has them. I have told Apollonides that he should send me, from my own books, certain ones that you'll learn about from Seleucus himself later. If you find any I don't possess, make copies and send them to me. The circle of Diodorus has some I don't.

A final example shows both how individual and how avid literary exchange could be: Sidonius Apollinaris writes to his friend Faustus that a priest, while on his way to Britain carrying books written by Faustus, stopped for two months in Auvergne but did not reveal that he had the volumes. After the priest left, Sidonius found out and chased him down a day's travel away; 'capti hospitis genua complector, iumenta sisto, frena ligo, sarcinas solvo, quaesitum volumen invenio produco lectito excerpo, maxima ex magnis capita defrustans.'[42]

SOME EFFECTS OF THE PRIVATE CIRCULATION OF LITERARY TEXTS

A text might slip out of an author's control contrary to his intention or even without his knowledge. Ausonius became angry with Symmachus when Symmachus did not maintain confidentiality when sent one of the poet's works (Symmachus 1.31). Cicero complained to Atticus that Balbus had copied *De Finibus*, Book 5 from Atticus' copy although Cicero did not want it released yet and had not yet given Brutus, the dedicatee, a copy. He adds that Caerellia has apparently also made a copy of *De Finibus*. He asks Atticus to keep the *Academica* to himself until Varro, the dedicatee, has received a copy.[43]

Readers often did not and could not know whether the author had actually released his work to the public. This issue, however, sounds more significant than it may in

[41] *Att.* 2.4 (SB 24).1, with Shackleton Bailey's n. *ad loc.*; discussed by Sommer, 399.

[42] *Ep.* 9.9.6–8; cf. 9.7.1.

[43] Cic. *Att.* 13.21a (SB 327); discussed by Sommer, 410–11. See also 13.22 (SB 329).3; 13.23 (SB 331).2.

fact have been for readers, since the main question would be whether the text they had acquired was the author's final version or an incompletely revised text. The author, however, did not want an unpolished version to circulate, since it could damage his reputation.[44]

In fact, readers had no guarantee that a work was even *by* its putative author. When Cicero's speech *Against Clodius and Curio* leaked into circulation against his wishes, he exploited the potential ambiguity by suggesting to Atticus that they try to pass it off as a forgery.[45] Quintilian explains that he was all the more eager to write his *Institutio oratoria* '...quod duo iam sub nomine meo libri ferebantur artis rhetoricae neque editi a me neque in hoc comparati'.[46]

Since private copies were usually made in small numbers, an author could revise his work at any time. Cicero, for instance, asked Atticus to correct the text of *Acad.* 2.94 because he had learned that *inhibere* was used incorrectly[47] and to notify the dedicatee of the change. Atticus was also asked to delete a mistakenly used name in Cicero's defence of Ligarius.[48] A substantially revised version of a text might or might not supplant the earlier version. For example, although Quintilian knew of two versions of one of Cicero's treatises, Ammianus knew only the earlier version.[49] But when Cicero asked Atticus to substitute 'Aristophanes' for 'Eupolis' in the *Orator* (29), the correction was made and is preserved in our manuscripts.[50]

Private circulation implies that suppression or official discouragement could never be entirely successful[51] nor were they expected to be. When a book was removed or barred by order of the emperor from the imperial public libraries, the author would be disgraced, but his writings were not destroyed, since they could still circulate in private hands.[52] Ovid's works written in exile, for instance, did not meet a welcome in the imperial libraries – one of the exile poems even lists the public libraries from which the book was banned (*Tr.* 3.1.65–72) – , but there is no question of exclusion from private libraries. Books were even burned in Rome, such as the writings of Labienus,[53] but private circulation circumvented even such censorship.

THE ROMAN BOOKTRADE[54]

Bookdealers, like many businessmen in Rome, tended to be freedmen, men of low social status. We come across a few names: the Sosii, for instance, who worked with Horace; Dorus, who Seneca says handled Livy; and Pollio Valerianus, the freedman

[44] See Cic. *Att.* 13.21a (SB 327).1.

[45] *Att.* 3.12 (SB 57).2.

[46] 1.pr.7. He explains that, 'Namque alterum sermonem per biduum habitum pueri quibus id praestabatur exceperant, alterum pluribus sane diebus, quantum notando consequi potuerant, interceptum boni iuuenes sed nimium amantes mei temerario editionis honore uulgauerant' (ibid.). Cf. 3.6.68 and 7.2.24.

[47] *Att.* 13.21 (SB 351).3; in fact, *inhibere* was an earlier alteration.

[48] Cic. *Att.* 13.44 (SB 336).3. Cf. Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 2.8.2.

[49] R. M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford, 1978), p. 60.

[50] Cic. *Att.* 12.6a (SB 243).1.

[51] J. Fairweather, *Seneca the Elder* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 15.

[52] G. Williams, 'Phases in Political Patronage of Literature in Rome', in B. K. Gold, ed., *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome* (Austin, 1982), p. 20.

[53] Sen. *Contr.* 10. praef. 5–7.

[54] Of all the topics connected with the circulation of literary texts in Rome, the booktrade is the most prone to distortion because of the influence of supposed modern parallels. If we do not abandon the modern model, we shall be trapped into anachronistically postulating the existence of a complex system for which we have little or no evidence (e.g. Kleberg's discussion of pre-Ciceronian authors, p. 23). As long ago as 1926 Sommer demolished the notion of Cicero's

Secundus, and Trypho, who dealt with the books of Martial.[55] They were, in simple terms, the owners of small shops that dealt in luxury items. Perhaps as significant, they apparently only handled current literature and did not sell older works.[56]

Their business was conducted at the retail level: each bookdealer made the copies he sold. There was little or no distribution system to support the individual shop-owner[57] and, therefore, virtually no broadly-based geographical distribution except on the individual level.[58] If a bookshop owner in a provincial city sold a copy of a book, it implies that he had made that copy, not that he had bought a large number of copies from a Rome-based distributor.

Most of the copies bookdealers sold were probably made at the specific request of a customer. The shop-owner merely needed to have on hand or to acquire exemplars of various texts from which he could make copies as necessary. A stock might be maintained of some texts, however, since Martial directs potential purchasers of his epigrams to the shop of Atrectus, who 'de primo dabit alterove nido | rasum pumice purpuraque cultum | denaris tibi quinque Martialem' (1.117.15–17).

We have no idea at all how many copies of a work might be made. A famous letter of Pliny mentions that Regulus had one thousand copies made of his eulogy for his son, but that is an unusual kind of text and Pliny thinks the number excessive and in bad taste.[59] The question is actually close to meaningless in a world of individually made copies, since the number of copies would increase directly in proportion to the number of readers who wanted one and was not related to the number made at any particular time.[60]

friend Atticus as in any sense a commercial 'publisher', but decades later some scholars still inaccurately refer to 'the mass-production scriptoria of the big publishers of the ancient world, such as Atticus' (T. C. Skeat, 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production', *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 42 [1956], 189). Many questions about the Roman booktrade simply cannot be answered on the basis of the surviving evidence (Kenney, 20), but several crucial issues can be sketched out.

[55] Sosii: Hor. *Epist.* 1.20.2, *Ars P.* 345; Dorus: Sen. *Ben.* 7.6; Pollio: Mart. 1.113.5; Secundus: Mart. 1.2.7–8; Trypho: Mart. 13.3.4. The publication of Martial's poems has been discussed by many scholars, e.g. E. T. Sage, 'The Publication of Martial's Poems', *TAPA* 50 (1919), 168–76; W. Allen, Jr *et al.*, 'Martial. Knight, Publisher, and Poet', *CJ* 65 (1970), 345–57; and Kleberg, p. 39.

[56] Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism* (above, n. 18), p. 235.

[57] When Kleberg contends that booksellers doubled as 'publishers' responsible for distribution, first in the form of contacts with booksellers (p. 37), he imports seriously anachronistic conceptions into the Roman marketplace.

[58] Philostr. *VS* 2.21 (603), on Proclus of Naucratis, provides an extremely rare potential counter-example. See also Hor. *Epist.* 1.20.9–13, which may involve the sending of out-of-fashion books to the provinces, although the ancient commentators took it differently (see E. Galletier, 'L'Épître d'Horace à son livre (1.20) et les commentaires antiques', *Revista Clasica* 8 [1936], 30–1).

[59] Pliny, *Ep.* 4.7.2, with Sherwin-White's n. *ad loc.* and Sommer, 414 n. 3. Kleberg, p. 62, thinks 1000 copies may not have been unusual.

[60] Kleberg (p. 63) overlooks this when he anachronistically discusses the risk of too large an 'edition' to booksellers and those he terms 'publishers'. Cf. E. G. Turner, *I libri nell'Atene del V e IV secolo a.C.*, trans. M. and L. Manfredi, in G. Cavallo, ed., *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico* (Rome, 1975), p. 21 (rev. version of *Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* [London, 1952; inaug. Lecture, University College London, 1951]). Two secondary sources of texts can be mentioned here. First, school texts, whether copied by the students at the master's dictation or not, no doubt drastically increased the number of a very few works. Second, the sale of used books, if it occurred at all, may have affected the circulation of literary texts to a limited degree. It is easy to overestimate the importance of used book sales, however, since the evidence is extremely slight, as should be expected. From what sources would a used book dealer obtain his wares? The 'fasces librorum' Gellius buys at Brundisium (9.4.1–5)

Nor do we know how the individual copies were made.[61] The most common method was undoubtedly having slaves make one copy after another from a master copy, as probably happened with Regulus' one thousand copies of his eulogy of his son.[62] Various other methods have also been suggested. To extrapolate the *pecia* system back in time, a text might be divided into sections which would then be passed out to a number of different copyists.[63] Alternatively, one person might dictate a text to several others who would write it out, thus producing an economy of time.[64] Our modern insistence on economies of speed and scale, however, makes it difficult for us to keep in mind that such economies did not necessarily motivate the Romans.

Book prices in bookstores also elude conclusive discussion, since they appear only very occasionally in the surviving sources. For example, as we have seen, Martial mentions that a deluxe copy of one of his books costs five denarii.[65] Three basic points, however, reduce the importance of the question. First, book prices would not have concerned the large majority of the population of the Roman world for the simple reason that they could not read.[66] Second, the economic structure of that population – with a very small number of very wealthy people, a very large number of very poor people, and no significant middle class in the modern sense – put books at any price out of most people's reach.[67] Third, as we have seen, the booktrade was merely an ancillary system of circulation beside the private channels that probably supplied the vast majority of literary texts. In short, not many people owned books in the first place and, of those who did, not many bought them at bookshops.

More tantalizing questions are who patronized bookdealers and why. The answer may lie in the fact that Roman bookdealers were not in competition with the private channels of circulation in which so much of Roman literature moved. If a Roman could acquire a text through those private channels, there was no reason for him to buy from a bookdealer.[68] Neither Cicero nor Pliny, for instance, two of our major sources for the circulation of literary texts, ever mentions going to a bookshop. This, of course, does not prove that they never visited such a shop, but it may suggest that they obtained any texts they wanted through their friends. If a reader's circle of friends included neither the author of the text nor someone who owned a copy, then bookstores might provide a helpful service. Catullus, for example, says that he will torment a friend by buying books of bad poetry and giving them to him (14.17–20). The joke may be based not only on the low quality of the poetry itself but also on

are *not* specified as used books: they are merely in bad condition (9.4.4; *contra* B. Baldwin, *Studies in Aulus Gellius* [Lawrence, Kansas, 1975], p. 17). Antiquarian or rare books, however, were sold (see, e.g., Gellius 5.4.1), but such books were valuable for their age or other qualities, not for normal use; → J. E. G. Zetzel, '*Emendavi ad Tironem*: Some Notes on Scholarship in the Second Century A.D.', *HSCP* 77 (1973), 225–43, on forgeries; cf. T. Kleberg, 'Antiquarischer Buchhandel im alten Rom', *Vetenskapssamhallets i Uppsala* 8 (1964), 21–32.

[61] Skeat, 'Dictation' (above, n. 54), 179–91, provides a very useful and judicious history of the question.

[62] See Sherwin-White, ad Pliny, *Ep.* 4.7.2.

[63] Kleberg, p. 31.

[64] Skeat, 'Dictation' (above, n. 54).

[65] 1.117.17. Much modern discussion has focused on Martial's epigrams for presents of books, 14.183–96 (see above, n. 30). The enormous variation in the gifts for which Martial gives epigrams in the rest of Book 14, however, precludes any definitive discussion of book prices on the basis of those poems.

[66] Cf. Kenyon, *Books* (above, n. 20), p. 80.

[67] J. J. Phillips, 'Book Prices and Roman Literacy', *CW* 79 (1985), 36–8, overlooks this. See T. P. Wiseman, '*Pete nobiles amicos*: Poets and Patrons in Late Republican Rome', in B. K. Gold, ed., *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome* (Austin, 1982), 39; Marshall, 'Library Resources' (above, n. 23), 254–5.

[68] See Mart. 4.72, quoted above.

the implication that the poets he mentions were so terrible that no one in his circle would know them or own a copy of their poetry.

Since even the élite used bookstores as gathering-places[69] and since booksellers put up advertisements on their doorposts,[70] the shops would expose the work of unknowns to the literary upper crust. That exposure might conceivably and eventually produce social contact, which, at least theoretically, might provide a way to break into the concentric circles of circulation and friendship and might even result in the discovery of a patron.[71] Monetary gain directly from the sale of copies was not a factor.[72]

Other advantages have been suggested by modern scholars but are overstated. First, a bookstore was a place to send people who wanted a copy,[73] as Martial sends the obnoxious Quintus,[74] to whom he does not want to give a gift copy and with whom he does not want to acknowledge the degree of friendship that would imply. This, however, would only be done in awkward situations, not as a common practice. Second, bookshops have been thought to provide some safeguard for the accuracy of the text, at least early in its circulation,[75] although the relatively unregulated circulation of texts would substantially limit this advantage.

The booktrade appears to become more important during the first century A.D., so that by Pliny's time it seems to have become an accepted method for the circulation of literature,[76] although by no means the only method. Martial, as we have seen, often mentions the dealers who handle his books. Pliny asks Suetonius, 'Patere me uidere titulum tuum, patere audire describi legi uenire uolumina Tranquilli mei' (*Ep.* 5.10.3). The orator is delighted to hear that his works are popular with people who buy them in bookshops.[77] Quintilian is given heart by the encouragement of Trypho, who sells his books (*Praef.* 3). By Pliny's time, at least some authors thought it appropriate to give a copy of a work to a bookseller, who could then make and sell copies if anyone wanted them. Even if bookshops did become more important, however, private channels did not lose their importance. Such channels would have continued to serve the literary needs of the established literary and social élite and would also have continued to provide non-literary works such as commentaries and lexica.[78]

[69] See Gell. 5.4.1; 13.31.1; 18.4.1. Cf. Athenaeus 1.1.d–e. Catullus writes of looking for a friend *in omnibus libellis* (55.4). Quinn, *ad loc.*, argues that although 'C. no doubt means places where books were displayed for sale', we do not 'need to assume (as some do) that *libelli* = "bookshops"'. The assumption, however, is a natural one.

[70] See Mart. 1.117.11.

[71] Cf. P. White, 'Positions for Poets in Early Imperial Rome', in B. K. Gold, ed., *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome* (Austin, 1982), 62. R. P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 137–8, argues that the importance of literary talent and education in social mobility resided primarily in acquiring contacts, which would then, on the standard basis of personal relationships, work the advancement.

[72] See White, 'Positions for Poets' (above, n. 71), 52–3.

[73] Kenney, 21.

[74] Mart. 4.72, quoted above.

[75] Kenney, 21.

[76] Kenney, 22; cf. Sherwin-White, ad Pliny, *Ep.* 4.7.2. It is very difficult to evaluate this issue because of the nature of our sources and their distribution in time. Martial provides many of the extant references to bookshops, but at approximately the same time Pliny is surprised at the very existence of bookshops in the Three Gauls (*Ep.* 9.11.2) and does not mention visiting any Roman bookshops himself. Bookshops may occur relatively frequently in Martial's epigrams simply because his poetry is a collection of ephemeral and topical pieces, which would be likely to mention various kinds of shops.

[77] *Ep.* 1.2.5–6. Sherwin-White, ad 1.2.5, argues that the distribution of Pliny's books was entirely in the hands of booksellers. Pliny distributed copies on his own as well, however.

[78] On non-literary works, → S. West, 'Chalcenteric Negligence', *CQ* 20 (1970), 290.

The increasing importance of bookshops may be due to several factors. First, authors in Pliny's time may have wanted to reach further beyond the narrow circles of their own friends and their friends' friends.[79] It would be misleading to think of this as an increase in authors' ambitions, since this might seem to imply that earlier writers were men of modest ambitions. Rather, the change may have represented a somewhat broader conception of the potential audience for a literary work. Even so, wider distribution does not imply an enormous increase in the number and diversity of the reading public, since the potential audience remains the intellectual aristocracy. The change would still be profound, nonetheless, since it implies the partial freeing of literature from the bonds of friendship.

Second, a larger role for bookshops may reflect the emergence of a relatively new type of Roman writer. For older Roman writers, literature was always seen as merely one facet of the life of an aristocrat, albeit a very important one. Although writing and reading undoubtedly affected their social relationships, those relationships were also based on other ties such as politics, marriage alliances, and family traditions. For the newer writers such as Martial, however, arriving in Rome from abroad, lacking the ties of politics and the other elements of aristocratic friendship, literature provided a point of access to the aristocracy, a way of making contact with the élite. For them literature played a functional role in addition to its earlier one. Any financial advantage, however, came from the well-established system of patronage.

Third, since, as has been argued above, bookshops enjoyed no special status above that of any luxury shop, that very commonality of commercial status may hint that literature was becoming something that could be bought and sold like perfume or expensive fabric. Since literature had been and remained a symbol of social status, its reduction to a marketable commodity may indicate a weakening of the hold of the traditional aristocracy on the control of access to social status. In earlier Roman society, one had to be a member of an aristocratic group to acquire access to works that circulated primarily within that group. In this later period, bookstores made it at least theoretically possible for access to literature to precede and perhaps even to facilitate access to certain refined circles.

Yet, for all these suggestions, Roman literature remained the preserve of the aristocracy except in oratorical events and public performances. If bookshops helped literature move out of the strict control of aristocratic groups of friends, they actually did so only to help outsiders gain access to those élite circles.[80]

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[79] Cf. Quinn, 152, although I question whether 'The problem which dogs Roman literature throughout its history is the lack of an audience large and representative enough to make the writer feel he is fulfilling a valid social function'.

[80] My thanks go to Katherine A. Geffcken, Mary R. Lefkowitz, Miranda C. Marvin, James N. Rash, and the editors and referees of *CQ* for helpful suggestions and to Wellesley College and the American Council of Learned Societies for supporting my research.



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THE USED-BOOK TRADE IN THE ROMAN WORLD

RAYMOND J. STARR

IT IS COMMONLY ASSUMED that the Romans knew a used-book trade much like that of today.[1] Most of the ancient sources cited by modern scholars to prove the existence of a trade in used books, however, do not stand up to critical examination. In fact, although the Roman world appears to have had a small second-hand-book trade, that trade left almost no traces of itself in the surviving sources. It was probably restricted largely to school texts circulating outside the circles of aristocratic readers and writers who provide most of our surviving evidence. At most, a used-book trade potentially affected a comparatively small group: those lucky enough to have had a literary education but not wealthy enough (or inclined) to own or employ their own copyists or to buy many new books (see below, 155–156). For the aristocracy, the used-book trade was probably of very limited significance for the circulation of almost all literary texts.[2]

First, a word of definition: the phrases "used-book trade" and "second-hand-book trade" may seem at first to have a self-evident meaning, but that is deceptive. English distinguishes between "used" or "second-hand" books and "rare" books, but scholars writing in German would speak of an "antiquarischer" book trade, which embraces what one might call antiquarian books or rare books as well as simply used books. Different cultures place radically different values on "used" items and on "used" items of various types. In recent years, for instance, advertisements proclaim the virtues of "previously owned" luxury cars, wishing to avoid the negative associations called up by the phrase "used cars." The status of a "used"

The following works will be cited by author's name alone: T. Kleberg, "Antiquarischer Buchhandel im alten Rom," *Vetenskapssamhällets i Uppsala* 8 (1964) 21–32 (= Kleberg [1964]); T. Kleberg, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike*, tr. E. Zunker (Darmstadt 1967) from the orig. ed. (Stockholm 1962) (= Kleberg [1967]); A. J. Marshall, "Library Resources and Creative Writing at Rome," *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 252–264; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (Baltimore and London 1985); R. J. Starr, "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *CQ* NS 37 (1987) 213–223.

[1]Marshall (253) suggests that "Romans came to know the dusty delights of second hand bookshops." Cf. Rawson 50; O. A. W. Dilke, *Roman Books and Their Impact* (Leeds 1977) 27. The used-book market is not discussed at all in most handbooks, although see below, n. 3. Although it would qualify among the subjects E. J. Kenney calls "matters of speculation" ("Books and Readers in the Roman World," in E. J. Kenney [ed.], *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature 2: Latin Literature*, [Cambridge 1982] 20), some progress is possible.

[2]For background on the circulation of literary texts in the Roman world, see Starr, with further references in notes.

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object will depend on how the particular society values that kind of object and on how it values "usedness" in general, as well as on particular cultural circumstances, such as, in the case of books, the initial cost of paper and publication (in whatever form) and accessibility through public or private channels. As will be explored at the end of this paper, a Roman book was obviously something very different from a modern book, and the different cultural context heavily affects the nature of the Roman book trade. For now, it will be sufficient to define our terms as precisely as possible. This paper will confine itself to "used books" in the English sense of previously owned books bought by individual purchasers primarily for use as books to be read, as opposed to what I shall call "antiquarian" or "rare" books, books that have special value, for whatever reasons, as objects rather than simply as texts to be read.[3] This distinction is fluid and establishable only by the transaction in which a volume changes hands, since the seller may argue that he is selling an antiquarian treasure, while the prospective buyer may reply that the volume is much less valuable, merely an old, badly damaged book. The final price would determine the book's status, which could go up or down when the book changed hands the next time.

Many of the passages used by modern scholars to establish the existence of a used-book trade concern not "used books" as defined above but rather antiquarian books.[4] Gellius recalls that the *grammaticus* Fidus Optatus showed him *librum Aeneidos secundum mirandae vetustatis emptum in sigillariis viginti aureis, quem ipsius Vergili fuisse credebatur* (2.3.5) and elsewhere mentions that at a *libraria* in the Sigillaria *expositi erant Fabii annales, bonae atque sincerae vetustatis libri, quos venditor sine mendis esse contendebat* (5.4.1). Finally, in his wild attack on the ignorant book-collector Lucian insists that it would do the fool no good to buy many books in trying to overcome his lack of background and education, even if he should acquire copies made by Demosthenes himself of his own works and of Thucydides and the library Sulla sent from Athens to Italy, i.e., the library of Aristotle.[5] None of these texts is a normal used book; they are

[3]See Kleberg (1967) 58, and L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*[2] (Oxford 1974) 27–28. Kleberg (1964) discusses the "antiquarischer" book trade; he draws some distinctions between different types of noncurrent texts, but his treatment is hampered because he uses the modern world of books in creating a model for the ancient book trade (e.g., 21–22), a problem which vitiates the value of the discussion → F. Reichmann, "The Book Trade at the Time of the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly* 8 (1938) 40–76, esp. 65–67 on the book trade.

[4]The three passages in this paragraph are all cited as evidence by Marshall 253, n. 7.

[5]*Ind.* 102 (as cited by Marshall 253, n. 7) = 3–4 in the OCT. Kleberg (1964) 27 also cites Gellius 13.31 and 18.4, scenes which take place in bookshops. In neither case is it completely clear that the books in question were found in the shops, although it is more likely in 13.31. Even there, however, it is an antiquarian book.

all antiquarian texts, some of them even thought by the ancients to be autograph copies.[6]

The marketability of antiquarian books led some dealers to practice active fraud. Dio Chrysostom (21.12) comments that booksellers, knowing that antique books (τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν βιβλίων) are valued because they are "better written and on higher quality paper," bury wretched modern volumes in grain so that the books take on a color similar to that of old volumes (τοῖς παλαιοῖς) and can be sold as old books (ὡς παλαιά). The passage definitely demonstrates a demand for volumes that are not new, but the reasons he cites—better writing and better paper—suggest an extremely limited (and easily fooled) market interested not in used books but in extremely old books. Such enterprising techniques, however, were not always required if the customer was sufficiently naive. Lucian (*Adversus indoctum* 1) heaps scorn on the ignorant book-collector because

μάλιστα δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κάλλιστα ὠνῇ, ἀλλὰ πιστεύεις τοῖς ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἕρμαιον εἶ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιψευδομένων τοῖς βιβλίοις καὶ θησαυρὸς ἕτοιμος τοῖς καπήλοις αὐτῶν. ἢ πόθεν γάρ σοι διαγνῶναι δυνατόν, τίνα μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, τίνα δὲ φαῦλα καὶ ἄλλως σαπρά, εἰ μὴ τῷ διαβεβρῶσθαι καὶ κατακεκόφθαι αὐτὰ τεκμαίροιο καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς σέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν παραλαμβάνοις; ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἢ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐν αὐτοῖς τίς ἢ ποία διάγνωσις;

Here the customer does not seem to be falling for an elaborate ruse, but simply for fast talk from the dealer.[7]

Other passages used to document a used-book trade concern books that are merely damaged or in poor condition, not used or second-hand books (see Kleberg [1967] 59–60). First, Gellius 9.4.1–5:[8]

cum e Graecia in Italiam rediremus et Brundisium iremus egressique e navi in terram in portu illo inclito spatiaremur, ... fasces librorum venalium expositos vidimus. atque ego avide statim pergo ad libros. erant autem isti omnes libri Graeci miraculorum fabularumque pleni, res inauditae, incredulae, scriptores veteres non parvae auctoritatis ... ipsa autem volumina ex diutino situ squalebant et habitu aspectuque taetro erant. accessi tamen percontatusque pretium sum

[6]See J. E. G. Zetzel, "*Emendavi ad Tironem*: Some Notes on Scholarship in the Second Century A.D.," *HSCP* 77 (1973) 225–245, who discusses forgeries. In general, see W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: Ein Versuch ihrer Deutung* (Munich 1971); on medieval *Fälschungen*, see H. Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* 1 (Stuttgart 1972, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica, Band 24.1) ch. 1, "Über Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Überlegungen zum mittelalterlichen Wahrheitsbegriff," 65 ff.

[7]But where did the dealer get the volume? Is it possible that there was a wholesale trade in used books, which were then sold at retail fraudulently as antiquarian books? The theory seems strained, although possible. The question is beyond proof.

[8]Used as evidence by B. Baldwin, *Studies in Aulus Gellius* (Lawrence, Kansas 1975) 17, and by Dilke (above, n. 1) 27–28.

et adductus mira atque insperata vilitate libros plurimos aere pauco emo eosque omnis duabus proximis noctibus cursim transeo.

These books share two important features common to what we today call used books: low price and poor condition. Nothing in the passage, however, suggests that the volumes were used books. Gellius says explicitly that the books' poor condition resulted *ex diutino situ*. He comments that the *scriptores* were *veteres*, but that, of course, has nothing to do with whether the books were used, nor does it necessarily mean that the books were copies made even close to their authors' lifetimes. If Gellius found the books specifically in a bookshop, which is not clear,[9] perhaps the bookseller had had the books for some time and had not succeeded in selling them, hence their poor condition.

Second, Statius *Silvae* 4.9,[10] where Statius humorously complains to Plotius Grypus:

> *tu rosum tineis situque putrem,*
> *quales aut Libycis madent olivis*
> *aut tus Niliacum piperve servant*
> *aut Byzantiacos colunt lacertos;*
> *nec saltem tua dicta continentem*
> ...
> *sed Bruti senis oscitationes*
> *de capsa miseri libellionis,*
> *emptum plus minus asse Gaiano,*
> *donas.* (10–14, 20–23)

Like the books Gellius bought at Brundisium, Plotius Grypus' gift to Statius is merely in poor condition, especially, again, with respect to *situ*.

Two other passages are cited by modern scholars. First, Gellius tells us that *commentarium de proloquiis L. Aelii . . . studiose quaesivimus eumque in Pacis bibliotheca repertum legimus* (16.8.2).[11] Although this passage is good evidence for a library in the Forum of Vespasian,[12] it proves nothing about used-book shops. Presumably, Gellius' search was conducted in his friends' libraries and in the public libraries of Rome.[13] Second, Libanius

[9]Kenney (above, n. 1) 20. Kenney also notes that the episode may never have actually happened.

[10]Discussed by Kleberg (1964) 27–28.

[11]Used by Marshall 253, n. 7, where Gellius 18.1.11 is also cited, although its relevance to used books is not clear.

[12]See C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago 1915) 16–17; recently, L. L. Johnson, "The Hellenistic and Roman Library: Studies Pertaining to Their Architectural Form" (diss., Brown Univ., Providence 1984) 99–101.

[13]Numerous parallels could be cited; on the use of friends' collections, see, e.g., Cic. *Att.* 8.11.7 (SB 161), with Shackleton Bailey's note, *ad loc.*, and, for more examp → R. Sommer, "T. Pomponius Atticus und die Verbreitung von Ciceros Werken,"

provides a colorful story in his autobiographical First Oration (1.148–150).[14] He was especially fond of his copy of Thucydides because of its small writing and the ease with which it could be carried.[15] He praised the book so much that he attracted burglars. He caught some of them in the act, but finally a thief succeeded, even starting a fire as a diversion to aid his escape. Libanius sent descriptions of the book to his friends, and, in a recognition scene straight out of New Comedy,[16] a teacher recognizes the book in the hands of a student who had purchased it, and it is triumphantly recovered by its rightful owner. The stealing and subsequent sale of a valuable text from a well-known professor, however, hardly qualifies as evidence for any systematic trade in used books.[17]

Two passages comprise virtually all the surviving ancient evidence for the sale or purchase of individual volumes or of comparatively small numbers of volumes, the natural stock of a used-book dealer. Even in these passages, however, the interpretation is far from definite. First, lines 10–13 of Horace *Epist.* 1.20, addressed to his book as though to a young slave:[18]

> *carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas.*
> *contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi*
> *coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis*
> *aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.*

Ps.-Acron *ad* 1.20.9 takes the final line to mean *fient ex te opistographae epistolarum*, but his interpretation is unlikely, since the other fates Horace

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Hermes 61 (1926) 389–422, at 398, and Starr 216–218; on the use of public libraries, see, e.g., Fronto *Ep.* 4.5.2, p. 62 Van Den Hout.

[14]Used as evidence by A. F. Norman, "The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch," *JHS* 80 (1960) 122–126, at 122.

[15]Norman, *op. cit.* 124, suggests on the basis of the description of the writing that the book may have been originally copied in the previous century. Excessively small writing leads to complaints in Sen. *Dial.* 4.26.2; cf. Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 23.

[16]See A. F. Norman's note *ad* 148 in his edition, *Libanius' Autobiography (Oration I)* (Oxford 1965).

[17]This drama demands the inclusion of two much later parallels, taken from N. G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C. 1975) 4: "Michael Choniates, after losing his library in the sack of Athens in 1205, recovered some of his books and gave instructions to two of his friends to look out for a few particularly prized volumes that had not yet been found again: Euclid's *Elements* and Theophylact's commentary on the Pauline epistles, the latter being written in Michael's own hand .... [in the fifteenth century] Constantine Lascaris recovered in Messina a text of Greek tragedy that he had lost eighteen years before." Wilson's dry conclusion (*ibid.*) also merits quotation: "It remains, of course, a question whether these two coincidences should be regarded as typical experiences in the life of any Byzantine bookman."

[18]Cited by Rawson 50; discussed by Kleberg (1964) 28. Cf. Reichmann (above, n. 3) 64, who indulges in speculation about the economic importance of "expanded export business" on the basis of Hor. *Ars P.* 345 (*hic meret aera liber Sosiis, hic et mare transit*), on which see C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: The* Ars poetica (Cambridge 1971) *ad loc.*

imagines for the book all preserve it as a book, in whatever shabby condition. The lines may imply the export of damaged or merely old or out of fashion books to provincial cities and may not necessarily involve used books as defined above.[19] *vinctus*, easily understood with reference to the slave, suggests bundles of rolls, like the *fasces librorum* Gellius sees at Brundisium. Horace may be referring to copies, perhaps now in poor condition, made by booksellers in anticipation of sales that did not materialize and not to used books. That interpretation, however, could be challenged. The passage describes the book as a handsome young slave, who will be *carus* at Rome so long as age does not remove his good looks. As his youth deserts him, he slips down the social ladder into more sordid affairs until he is eventually sold abroad. The amatory image of repeated, progressively more degrading affairs might imply the book repeatedly changing hands through sale. This passage, then, might be evidence, however tentative, for a trade in used books. The parallel between *vinctus* here and *fasces librorum* in the Gellius passage might be a tenuous argument to draw the Gellius passage into this context.

Only one other piece of evidence exists, in a very minor source and previously unnoticed. Here, too, the interpretation must be approached very skeptically. The late Roman or early Byzantine jokebook, the *Philogelos*, preserves this joke:[20]

σχολαστικὸς εὐτράπελος ἀπορῶν δαπανημάτων τὰ βιβλία αὐτοῦ ἐπίπρασκε· καὶ γράφων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔλεγε· Σύγχαιρε ἡμῖν, πάτερ, ἤδη γὰρ ἡμᾶς τὰ βιβλία τρέφει.

This joke raises a number of questions, all of them important for our topic and none of them answerable. To whom are we to imagine the speaker sold his books? An individual, perhaps a fellow student? A bookshop? Was the sale of schoolbooks, since that is what seems to be involved here, ordinary or unusual? Finally, if the books are to be thought of as sold to a bookstore and if such sales were ordinary, *where* and *when* was the practice common? Throughout the Roman world? Only in the Greek east? Throughout the Imperial period? Only in the late Roman and early Byzantine period, from which the *Philogelos* appears to originate (although, of course, jokes might float unrecorded for hundreds of years)? In spite of the range and seriousness of these questions, it seems excessively skeptical not to imagine a situation along the following lines: in major cities there may have existed shops that dealt in, perhaps among other things, previously

[19] See E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 358–359, with n. 1 on 359; cf. Rawson 50.

[20] *Philogelos* 55; the text is taken from the edition by A. Thierfelder, *Philogelos der Lachfreund* (Munich 1968). The authorship and date of the jokebook are uncertain; see the introductory discussion, iv–viii, in B. Baldwin, ed., *The Philogelos or Laughter Lover* (Amsterdam 1983, London Studies in Classical Philology 10). In Baldwin's translation: "A witty young egghead sold his books when short of money. He then wrote to his father, 'Congratulate me, father, I am already making money from my studies.'"

owned copies of the books commonly used in schools.[21] Since at least the Roman school curriculum became more and more standardized with the passage of time until it eventually settled on Vergil, Terence, Sallust, and Cicero,[22] such shops may have arisen comparatively late and not affected the circulation of many different authors or titles, but they might have met a steady demand from students for those few texts. Such shops would have provided a service, but their importance in the circulation of more than a very few literary texts would have been very limited.

Whole libraries, however, did change hands.[23] Cicero's *Letters* provide a glimpse of how this might happen. When Cicero was equipping his Tusculan villa, he asks Atticus, *et velim cogites, id quod mihi pollicitus es, quem ad modum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis* (*Att.* 1.7 [SB 3]). Atticus apparently purchased a library in Greece, since Cicero writes to him a few months later, *bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris.*[24] Somewhat later Cicero again writes to say, *libros tuos conserva et noli desperare eos <me> meos facere posse* (*Att.* 1.4.3 [SB 9]). It is perhaps not fanciful to imagine Cicero eventually acquiring the collection from Atticus: the second half of the discussion in *De divinatione* between Cicero and Quintus takes place in the library of Cicero's Tusculan villa (*Div.* 2.3.8), as part of *De finibus* is set in the library of the Tusculan villa of Lucullus.

Some years later Cicero acquired another library *in toto*, this one as a gift rather than as a purchase, but again with the assistance of Atticus, to whom he explains that L. Papirius Paetus, a friend for whom Cicero had done some favor, had given him the books bequeathed to Paetus by his relative, Ser. Claudius, a wealthy literary man. *nunc si me amas, si te a me amari scis*, Cicero implores Atticus, *enitere per amicos, clientis, hospites, libertos denique ac servos tuos, ut scida ne qua depereat. nam et Graecis iis libris quos suspicor et Latinis quos scio illum reliquisse mihi vehementer opus est.*[25]

[21] This possibility for the Byzantine period is speculatively broached by Wilson (above, n. 17) 8, in discussing the high cost of books, the small size of private libraries, and the books read in Byzantine schools. Wilson suggests that further study of school-masters' correspondence may someday help answer the question. Libanius' copy of Thucydides might conceivably have been handled by such a dealer, although the description of the book as a valuable and prized copy suggests that a dealer in rare books would be more likely.

[22] See H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, tr. G. Lamb (Madison 1982) from the third edition (Paris 1948) 277–278.

[23] See below, and cf. Marshall 253, n. 7; 255, with n. 18 on whole libraries.

[24] Cic. *Att.* 1.10.4 (SB 6). See Shackleton Bailey's note *ad loc.* and, on the chronology, his introductory note on 1.7 (SB 3).

[25] Cic. *Att.* 1.20.7 (SB 20); see Shackleton Bailey's note *ad loc.* See also Cic. *Att.* 2.1.12 (SB 21).

Cicero's excitement was justified, since various hints suggest that Ser. Claudius' library was probably a rich one.[26]

Finally, Cicero may have acquired a third and even more valuable library, that of Aristotle and Theophrastus (see Marshall 259–260). Sulla the Dictator took the books when he seized Athens (Plut. *Sulla* 26.1) and presumably left them to his son Faustus. Because of financial trouble, Faustus may have sold the library to Cicero if that is the explanation of Cicero's comment to Atticus from Cumae: *ego hic pascor bibliotheca Fausti.*[27]

Certainly Cicero's friend Trebatius found Aristotle's *Topics* at Cicero's villa at Tusculum and asked him about them, which ostensibly led to the writing of Cicero's *Topica.*[28] A recent discussion, however, rightly throws suspicion on the acquisition: surely if Cicero had actually acquired the legendary library of Aristotle he would have let it be known so clearly and so often that we would have heard of it.[29]

Used-book dealers are so common today that initially it seems odd that such a trade may not have been especially important in the Roman world. But that lack of widespread significance follows naturally from three factors.

First, it is hard to imagine from whom individual used volumes would have been obtained. Poor school-masters might supply either individual volumes or entire collections, depending on their degree of destitution. In one poem, Palladas writes of selling Callimachus and Pindar while still hoping to avoid permanent penury (*Anth. Pal.* 9.175), but in another poem he declares that he is changing his occupation and selling "the tools of the Muses, the books of many groans" (*Anth. Pal.* 9.171). Even at a very optimistic estimate of the number of school-masters and a very pessimistic estimate of their fates, however, such a source would be of very minor importance. School-children, as noted above, might have provided a source for a few texts, but hardly enough in number or variety to support a used-book

[26]He and his father-in-law L. Aelius Stilo are mentioned by Suetonius as eminent scholars of *grammatica*, although they fell out when Ser. Claudius pirated a work of his father-in-law before it was released to the public (Suet. *Gram.* 3.1–3). Gellius (3.3.1) mentions that he made a list of which Plautine plays were genuine.

[27]Cic. *Att.* 4.10.1 (SB 84) (April, 55). See *Att.* 9.11.4 (SB 178) (March, 49) for Faustus Sulla's financial troubles, and Plut. *Cic.* 27.3. The sale to Cicero is not unquestionable, however (see below), although most scholars agree it probably took place; see Marshall 259–260 and Shackleton Bailey on *Att.* 4.10.1 (SB 84).

[28]See Cic. *Top.* 1.1–5 and *Fam.* 7.19 (SB 334), a letter to Trebatius to accompany the work, with Shackleton Bailey's note *ad loc.*

[29]See Rawson 41. P. T. Pütz, *De M. Tulli Ciceronis bibliotheca* (diss., Münster 1925) 7–8, thinks Cicero used Faustus' library but does not raise the possibility of acquisition. P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen von Andronikos bis Alexander von Aphrodisias* 1 (Berlin 1973) 37–39, leaves open the question of purchase or mere use. The most recent discussion is by C. Lord, "On the Early History of the Aristotelian Corpus," *AJP* 107 (1986) 137–161.

trade. It is probably unrealistic to picture an upper class Roman disposing of single volumes to a used-book dealer, since books were high-prestige items that apparently were kept rather than disposed of.[30] Two special cases, however, might lead to the sale of a whole library or of some large part of one. First, under *distractio bonorum*, when a *clara persona* such as a senator or his wife was being sued for debt, it was possible for a special *curator* to be appointed to set aside a portion of the person's property for sale to pay the debt and thereby avoid the *infamia* of bankruptcy.[31] *distractio bonorum*, however, would presumably not yield significant supplies of books. Second, the practice of leaving fractions of one's estate in one's will has probably sometimes led to the selling of whole estates and the division of the proceeds. This too would probably not provide very many volumes to a used-book dealer, even assuming that the books were not left specifically to a friend known to share the testator's love of literature.

Second, the Romans who bought *substantial* numbers of books would have been wealthy enough that they would have had little need for any potential economy of price offered by a hypothetical used-book dealer. Many of their books would have been copied by their own slaves in their own homes, in any case. Freedmen might also copy books for their former masters as part of their *operae*.[32] The book trade was a luxury trade (Starr 219–220). Even a restricted used-book trade, however, might have been somewhat useful to those who wanted books but did not own or employ a copyist. This group might be comparatively large in absolute numbers even if small as a proportion of the whole population.[33]

[30]On books as sources of prestige, see, e.g., Pliny *Ep.* 3.7.8 (on Silius Italicus); Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 2.9.4; Sen. *Dial.* 9.9.4–7; in general, see, most recen → R. J. Starr, "Trimalchio's Libraries," *Hermes* 115 (1987) 252–253. Architects were expected to take considerable care in designing private libraries to preserve books (Vitr. 6.4.1). On not disposing of books, see Amm. Marc. 14.6.18, who laments that degeneracy reached such a point that *bibliothecis sepulcrorum ritu in perpetuum clausis*, where the context clearly indicates that he means private and not public libraries. People might close their libraries, but they would not get rid of the books.

[31]*distractio bonorum* was available only to the elite, as *Digest* 27.10.5 (Gaius, *Libro nono ad edictum provinciale*) shows (cf. *Digest* 27.10.9 [Neratius, *Libro primo membranarum*]). On *distractio bonorum*, see G. Wesener, *RE* Supp. 9 (1962) cols. 27–32, s.v. "*distractio bonorum*"; P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1970) 186–187, 236; R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1984) 40.

[32]See *Digest* 38.1.49 (from Gaius, *De causis*), which speaks of a freedman *librarius* assigned *librorum scribendorum operas*. This instance might be part of a commercial enterprise, but that seems relatively unlikely in the context, since the other, simultaneously performed task assigned to the freedman is house-sitting for the other of his two patrons.

[33]In general, cf. W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge 1989), about literacy in the Greek and Roman world.

Third, and even more important, since books were copied by hand, the supply of a particular title was not restricted to a specific number of copies in a publisher's printing run.[34] If one wanted a copy of a book, one had a copy made, provided, of course, that a text was available to copy.

What happened to the texts that today would become the stock of a used-book dealer, the books that the owner no longer wanted to keep if only for reasons of status and display? Three possibilities suggest themselves. First, the text might simply be thrown away or perhaps given to a friend who was interested in it. Both of these options exist for a modern used book. Second, the text might be reused, whether by removing the original text and then writing a second text on it or by turning the roll over and using the back.[35] That option does not exist for a modern printed book except in the radical form of recycling the text for pulp, from which new paper and hence a new book might someday be made. Third, the text could be cut up and the backs of the pieces used for non-literary purposes, such as writing business letters, as ps.-Acron imagines would happen in the passage from Horace's *Epistles* (*ad* 1.20.9; see above, 152). The Heroninus archive, for instance, contains correspondence written on the back of the third book of the *Iliad*, Demosthenes' *De corona*, a New Comedy, and a philosophical work.[36] The very fact that ancient bookrolls, since they had writing on only one side, were reusable for other texts may have contributed to the lack of a broadly significant used-book trade in the Roman world.[37]

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[34]Words like "publisher," "edition," and "out of print" should not be used with reference to Greek and Roman texts, since they have little meaning in a world of handmade copies. See Sommer (above, n. 13) 389–4 ➞ P. Petit, "Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius," *Historia* 5 (1956) 479–5 ➞ B. van Groningen, "ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ," *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963) 1–17; J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (Salem 1981) 232–235; Starr.

[35]See E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Princeton 1968, corr. ed. with add., Oxford 1980) 6, with further references.

[36]For details, references, and discussion, see E. G. Turner, "Writing Materials for Businessmen," *BASPR* 15 (1978) 163–169, esp. 166–168, and W. Clarysse, "Literary Papyri in Documentary 'Archives'," *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (1983) 43–61, at 47. Turner also suggests (167) that it is possible that paper dealers might have sold used texts for reuse for writing materials.

[37]My thanks go to Wellesley College for supporting my research. An earlier version of this paper was presented at an annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. I received helpful comments from my colleagues at Wellesley, T. Keith Dix, Barry Baldwin, and the anonymous referees of *Phoenix*.



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Palace and Villa Libraries from Augustus to Hadrian

Lorne Bruce

Small, private *bibliothecae* belonging to Roman emperors were integral parts of imperial residences in the first and second centuries A.D. at Rome (House of Augustus, Domus Aurea, Domus Tiberiana), at Hadrian's Villa, and at Capri (Villa Jovis), Antium, and Ostia. Architectural features such as location, shelving, lighting, building materials, room dimensions and shapes, and reader space, as well as library administration, usage, and staffing, are discussed and reexamined to clarify some issues. Distinctive Roman contributions were made in these areas by developing aesthetic and functional concepts that remain useful today.

Very little has been published about palace and villa libraries belonging to Roman emperors at Rome and in the Italian countryside. The subject is only briefly mentioned in basic reference works on ancient libraries.[1] Even discussions in specialized literature pertaining to private libraries is limited in scope.[2] Generally, these libraries are not regarded as important working collections used by emperors or as cultural catalysts. It is difficult to provide an explanation for this inattention, especially when it is borne in mind that private libraries in general have been regarded as important repositories of knowledge in the ancient world, at times surpassing public collections. My examination in this paper indicates that these small *bibliothecae* played an important part in the development of Roman libraries. In fact, they were often original in design and were considered to be standard components of imperial residences.

From a historical perspective there are good reasons for studying imperial residential libraries. First, they were an integral part of the general evolution of Roman libraries. Although no detailed analysis has been available until now, it has long been recognized that architectural features of public libraries (e.g., niches for scrolls, nonrectilinear design) also appear in imperial private libraries.[3] On a practical level, the architecture of public and private libraries was based on three fundamental principles common to all Roman buildings. The major concepts

determining usage and design were expressed by Vitruvius in *De Architectura 1.3.2: firmitas*, the skilled use of materials and structural techniques; *utilitas*, the suitability of space and furnishings for activities; and *venustas*, the formal aesthetic and symbolic aspects of structures. Second, although experimental designs were utilized and location within imperial residences varied, it can be said that there were definite similarities with libraries in other private dwellings, albeit on a majestic scale.[4] The fundamental internal relationships of imperial *bibliothecae* with other residential types of rooms or areas such as a covered walkway supported by columns (*porticus*), a record or central room (*tablinum*), a banquet or reception hall (*triclinium*), an inner courtyard (*peristylum*), or sitting rooms (*sellariae*) were clearly derived from less imposing Hellenistic and Republican antecedents. Third, palace and villa libraries were constructed during the same period when it may be said that the passion for book-collecting reached its zenith in the Principate.[5] Some first-century critics, notably Petronius and Seneca, satirized the more extravagant forms of this "mania," but it appears the trend set by the imperial ruler helped to stimulate the concept of well-designed private libraries among wealthy Romans.

Because private libraries belonging to the imperial house have remained outside historical studies of the evolution of the Roman library,[6] it is important to keep in mind that they were not a continuously evolving form, but rather a series of individual rooms within palatial residences. Each one possessed different site problems, aims, and aesthetic qualities, a consideration that is also true (and often ignored) for public libraries. To establish their place in relation to other private libraries and Roman public libraries, my article concentrates on basic architectural features such as location, shelving for the collection, provision for lighting, building materials, and room dimensions and shapes, as well as arrangements for reader space. In this way the elements of plan, shape, structure, and style common to public and private libraries can be discussed more readily. Questions pertaining to library usage, administration, and staffing are also touched on to clarify some issues. I believe these considerations show that imperial private libraries helped to promote the general process of communication. They did not simply fulfill the limited purpose of physical storage, but served as examples to encourage the expansion of private collections of literature, thereby facilitating the interplay among authors, readers, publishers, and collectors. In addition, the private library contributed aesthetically to villas and palaces, thus forming a special chapter in the evolution of the Roman library.

Private Libraries in the Republic and Early Principate

To date, the main thrust of modern studies of Roman private libraries

has focused upon collections rather than architecture and furnishings. Of course, the magnificent library of papyri at the suburban villa of the Pisones, the Villa of the Papyri, near Herculaneum, is responsible for this scholarly interest.[7] Between 1752 and 1754 excavators unearthed the literary contents of this sumptuous villa by tunneling through 65 to 80 feet of mud and lava deposited by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century efforts to unroll and decipher the fragile papyri scrolls were tedious and often unsuccessful, but eventually more than 1,800 papyri were preserved. About two-thirds of the papyri were works composed by the Epicurean philosopher, Philodemus of Gadara (d. 40/35 B.C.), who resided near Herculaneum. It is generally believed that the villa was the summer residence of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the father-in-law of Julius Caesar and an admirer of Philodemus. Virtually a complete collection of the philosopher's works, as well as some works by Epicurus, have been translated from Greek (only a few papyri were in Latin). Piso's specialized collection must have satisfied the tastes and concerns of a patron rather than those of a general collector.

The dimensions of Piso's suburban villa were 245 by 137 meters.[8] A detailed plan drawn by the contemporary Swiss engineer Carl Weber gives the four residential areas: an entrance and atrium quarter, a small square peristyle, living quarters on the eastern side, and a gigantic rectangular peristyle stretching toward the Mediterranean coastline. Figure 1 displays the entrance, small peristyle, living quarters, and the eastern section of the great peristyle. The library was located beside the living quarters directly across from a portico and adjoining courtyard (*cavaedium*), which was never completely excavated. The small rectilinear library (room V) measured 3.2 by 3.2 meters. The interior walls were lined to a height of 1.8 meters with wooden carbonized shelves. In the middle of the room was a small table or cupboard (*armarium*) fitted with two-sided shelves holding thousands of carbonized papyri. Eighteen rolls were enclosed in a cylindrical box (*scrinium* or *capsa*) tied in a bundle and wrapped in low-grade papyrus. Beside the library was a small room that may have served as a study or writing room. Its floor, like the library, appears to have been decorated with a mosaic pavement.

Because there was limited space within the library, reading must have taken place elsewhere. Other papyri finds at three additional locations near the square peristyle confirm this observation. In the colorful mosaic paved room XVI, eleven rolls were uncovered on 8 April 1753. At point 30 in the walkway two boxes of wood with broken lids containing Greek papyri were found. Papyri and waxed tablets were also recovered in the *tablinum* or reception area (room 35) at point *i*. Thus, Piso and his descendants were accustomed to read at a number of select locations where

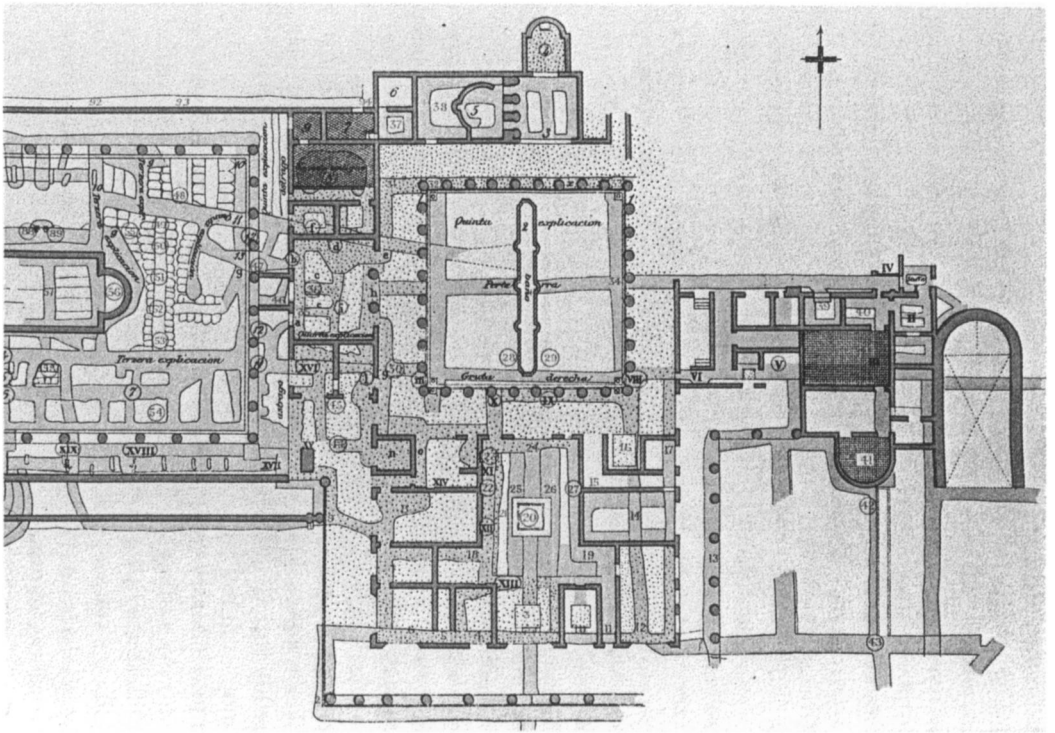


Figure 1. Plan of the eastern section of the Villa of the Pisones: library —room V. From Charles Waldstein and Leonard Shoobridge, *Herculaneum Past, Present and Future* (London: Macmillan, 1908), plate 48.

comfortable chairs could be drawn up by slaves to receive cool summer breezes or sunlight. Unfortunately, it is impossible to visit the villa now, for the tunnels and ventilation shafts were filled in after 1765. The difficult task of unearthing more papyri and furnishings has yet to be resumed.

A second library dating to the early years of the reign of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) has been excavated in Pompeii at the House of Menander,[9] named for the comic Greek poet whose full-length portrait graces one room. This distinguished habitation was decorated and renovated a number of times before it was buried in pumice and ash from the eruption of A.D. 79. The last proprietor was Quintus Poppaeus Sabinus, whose home consisted of four areas: an atrium-entrance, a peristyle, living quarters revolving around a *triclinium* on the east and bathing facilities on the west, and domestic quarters on the southeast side. The library was situated on the south side of the peristyle opening onto the *porticus meridionalis* (room 21 in figure 2). Its dimensions were similar to the Villa of the Papyri, the area being slightly more than ten square meters. The floor mosaic was patterned in the Second Pompeian Style (first century B.C.) featuring a satyr and a nymph. The walls were undecorated, in the Fourth Pompeian Style (mid-to-late first century A.D.). Small holes in the southern and eastern walls indicate that shelving or cabinets could be fastened at these points.

There is sufficient space in room 21 for a small desk or a reclining chair. But it seems more plausible that a rectangular alcove (room 23) was used for study, where the portrait of Menander reading from one of his own compositions is found. On the opposite wall facing the poet is an older writer, perhaps a tragedian. It is not difficult to recognize that members of the Poppaean family retired to this room with boxes filled with scrolls for short periods while enjoying the pleasures of the garden. Unlike the library, the alcove opens completely to the south portico, allowing ample natural light for reading or writing. The proximity of this *exedra* to the library would permit easy access to the collection.

Private libraries in the late Republic and early Empire were modeled on the architectural ideas derived from Greek and Hellenistic heritage. A private library was essentially a small storage room housing books in cabinets or wall-shelving. Nearby rooms that adjoined courtyards were utilized as reading rooms. This relationship allowed sunlight to illuminate the interior and allowed space for discussion or study. The library of the senator L. Licinius Lucullus (d. 55 B.C.) is described by Plutarch (*Lucullus* 42) in this basic configuration. Shelving, cabinets, seats, and desks were not structural parts of libraries; this equipment was probably made of wood. The shape of a library was rectilinear. Essentially it was a recess, not an independent room, because it remained subordinated to

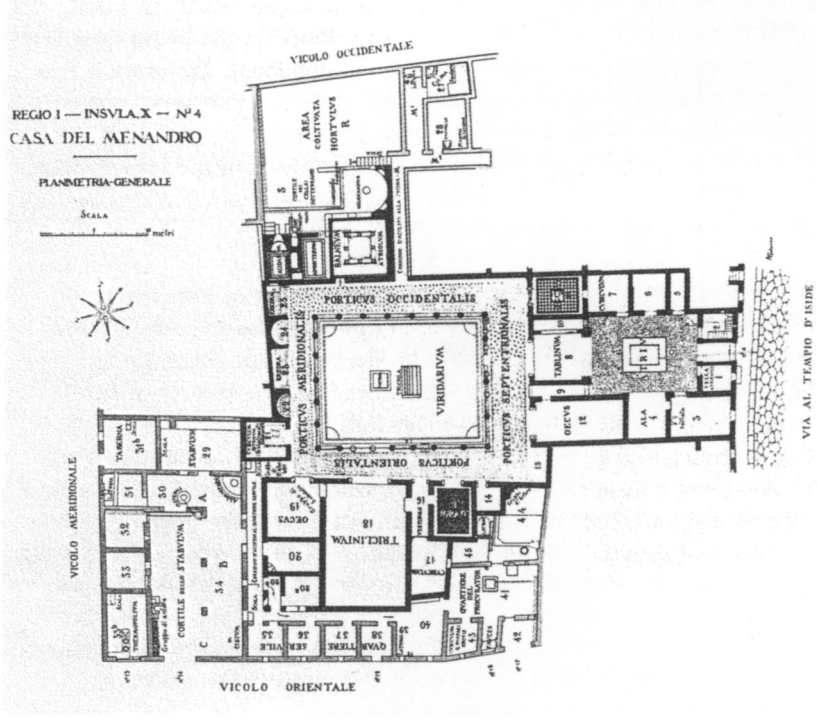


Figure 2. Plan of the House of Menander, Pompeii: library—room 21. From Amedeo Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria*, 2 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1932), vol. 2, table 1.

larger architectural components, the portico and courtyard. In both Herculaneum and Pompeii, *bibliothecae* were located in the living quarters, where literary activities could easily be accommodated. Decoration was limited—almost all the wall space, save for the front entrance, was reserved for shelves. All these features help to identify the structure and style of private libraries before the dramatic changes of the imperial age.

Imperial Palace and Villa Architecture

One has to survey briefly the general architecture of imperial residences to appreciate the settings where imperial libraries were located. Often, elegant dwellings of the *nobiles* in the late Republican period combined sophisticated urban cultural amenities with the beauty of rural landscape. Cicero (*Epistulae ad Familiares* 9.4) mentions the desirability of having a library and garden in a home to his friend M. Terentius Varro. After Augustus consolidated power in 31 B.C., the creation of luxurious residences also satisfied the majesty and authority of the *imperator*. The construction of grandiose edifices, together with the impact of new building materials, characterized imperial domestic architecture in the early Principate.

Two fundamental categories of Roman country and suburban villas may be distinguished.[10] One style developed around the traditional formal qualities of architectural design embodied by a peristyle courtyard that incorporated terraces to command superb views of the Italian landscape. A second style, more informal and localized, permitted extending porticos to follow the natural elevations and scenery of the countryside or seashore. During the early Principate the tendency to superimpose monumental qualities—to include libraries, gymnasia, fountains, theaters, and so on—actually veiled the differences between these two basic styles. In general, the emphasis shifted away from the integration of parts within large-scale residences to individual components. The feature common to this trend was the replication of parts (e.g., libraries) within the same villa or palace.

It is within this background of residential architectural development that imperial private libraries may be studied. Rooms mix traditional architectural forms with new designs: the principles governing axes, symmetry, proportion, shape, and order (function and the relationship between space and mass) were juxtaposed with new plans to create original rooms to house collections. For this reason, the usual method of comparing some details of private libraries with similar ones in public libraries is not entirely helpful. Their architects possessed a familiar desire to store collections economically and to allow sufficient reader space, but solutions were sometimes unique. After all, private libraries

were one element in estate and palatial residences built for rulers who were accustomed to unlimited splendor. It is difficult to define these libraries, because there are few analogies in Greek or Roman architecture. The libraries at Herculaneum and Pompeii are relatively simple in design compared to imperial ones. Nonetheless, we must acknowledge the fact that throughout an innovative period the conventional wisdom of practical, functional architecture remained the essential ingredient for planning libraries. This characteristic is at the very heart of Roman imperial architecture.

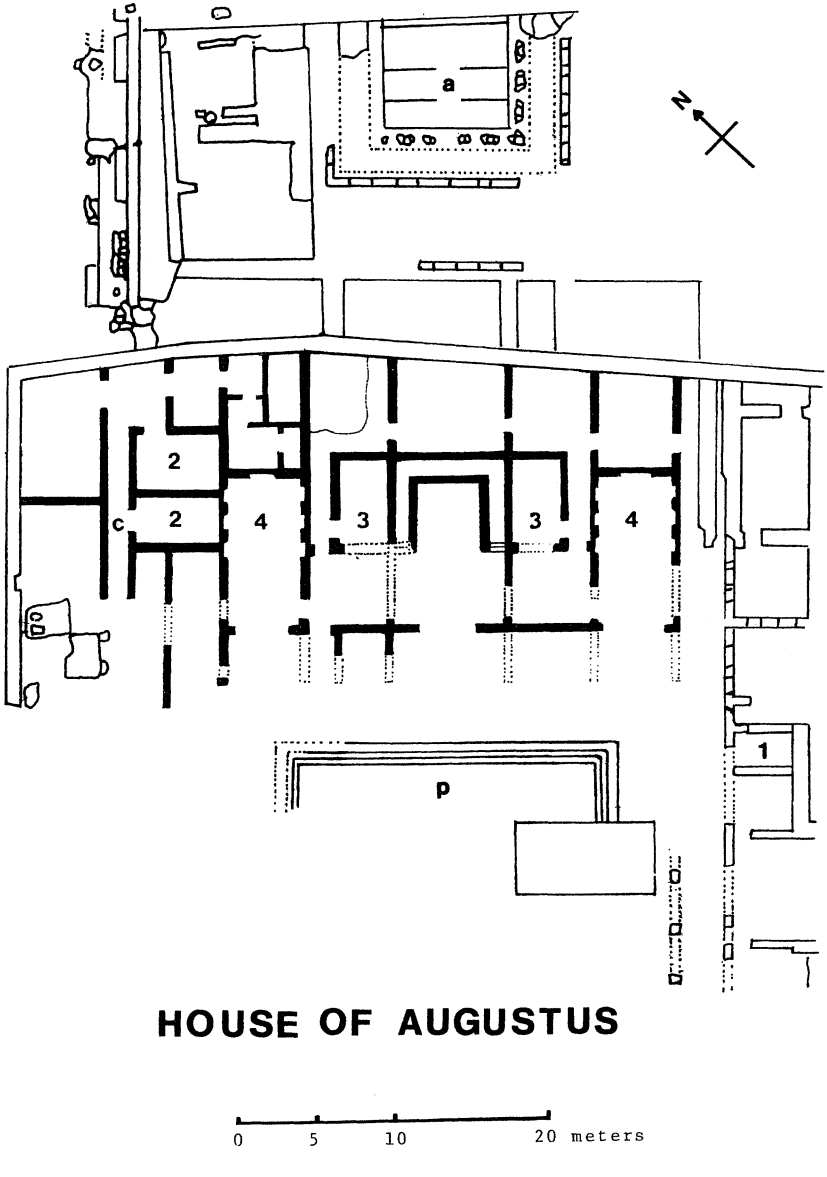
There are few libraries that have survived the damage wrought by the passage of nineteen centuries. At Rome there are *bibliothecae* located in the House of Augustus on the Palatine and in the Esquiline wing of the Domus Aurea begun by Nero. Outside Rome, at the luxurious Villa Adriana near Tivoli, there are two (possibly three) libraries; another is situated on the island of Capri at the Villa Jovis. Not one of these libraries is documented in the ancient literature or by epigraphic finds. Therefore, we must be content to limit most comments to architectural considerations. Three more imperial libraries are recorded by sources in residences at Antium, Ostia, and in the Domus Tiberiana on the Palatine. Considered together they offer significant information that can add to our knowledge of Roman libraries.

Palace Libraries at Rome

The emperor Augustus is well known for his promotion of public libraries. Until recently, the existence of his personal library was completely unknown. The full extent of building on the Palatine, where Augustus normally resided, did not come to light until after 1956 when excavations commenced on the southwest portion of the hill.[11] By 1961 a small *domus* on two terraced levels to the west of the Temple of Apollo was uncovered that corresponded with general descriptions given by the historian Cassius Dio and biographer Suetonius Tranquillus regarding the emperor's dwelling. Figure 3 reveals the general plan: a small atrium (a) and apartments (room 1) located on the upper terrace, and below it on a second level about twenty rooms designed for living quarters and official or domestic use.[12]

Modestly decorated rooms with simple mosaic floor patterns were on the west side of the lower terrace corridor (c). These rooms (room 2) were connected to the upper level by a small wooden staircase. In rooms used for public functions the decor of ceilings, walls, and floors was more elegant. The central hall (*tablinum*) was flanked by front rooms (room 3) that had marble inlaid floors and painted stucco walls. They were illuminated through small rooms with windows opening onto the

Figure 3. Plan of the House of Augustus, Palatine: libraries—room 4.



peristyle (p). By comparison, the rooms at the rear with unpaved floors and no direct natural light were quite plain; these may have been work or storage rooms. Two rooms (room 4) contained rectangular niches in the walls, which were just deep enough for housing scrolls. This feature has led to their identification as libraries.[13]

The house was first occupied by Augustus in 36 B.C. Previously, it had belonged to the orator Quintus Hortensius Hortalus. Although it was merely a fashionable abode constructed for a Republican noble, Augustus remained here even after a fire caused extensive damage in A.D. 3. His decision to stay must have been made easier by the fact that he had been born in the Palatine neighborhood. As well, he deliberately planned to establish the Palatine as an area of royal residence (*palatium*) without offending the Republican sentiments of Roman aristocrats. It is no surprise to find a private library in Augustus's permanent residence, because he not only publicly cultivated support for authors, but was himself a writer. To complement the library the upper terrace probably contained a study, affectionately named "Syracuse" or "my little ideashop," where he could retire to work in solitude.[14] Augustus was genuinely interested in literature, and was not reluctant to impose his conservative tastes on occasions. Suetonius's *Divus Julius* 56.7 records that he forbade the circulation of three youthful pieces by Julius Caesar in the capital's libraries. However, censorship occurred infrequently. The Augustan age was a remarkably vibrant period in Roman literature.

The library in the Domus Augusti marks the introduction of Roman innovations to standard Greek and Hellenistic styles. Notably, the library has become a recognizable entity. It is no longer simply an *exedra*, a recess, attached to a portico or a courtyard. The rectilinear shape has been retained, but its enlarged size has allowed the possibility for a more enhanced status. Indeed, there are for the first time two library rooms. According to the scholarly literature of the twentieth century, these separate sections accommodated bilingual Graeco-Roman culture by housing Greek and Latin writings. Although this concept may not be the sole reason for twin libraries—it is possible the collection may have been divided for architectural purposes—I defer to this traditional concept at this point. The larger collection size has permitted the architect to employ a rigid symmetrical plan around the *tablinum*. The space for library usage (9.6 by 4.6 m.) has increased to 44.16 sq. m. in each room, permitting the inclusion of desks for copying rolls or free-standing statues and *armaria*. Undoubtedly, the expanded size stressed the prominence that literature had attained in the Augustan household: storage is no longer the library's sole purpose.

New ideas about form and function have inspired the introduction of six wall niches in each room. The niches in the western room were

uniform in size measuring 2.08 m. in height, .99 m. in width, and .35 m. in depth. The niches in the eastern room were slightly smaller: 2.08 m. by .91 m. by .35 m.[15] Shelving in all niches was a combination of cupboards (possibly without doors) or inset wooden framed *pegmata*, fixed open shelving without backs framed within the niches. The six niches (three on each side) flanked a decorative niche. In the western room it was 1.73 m. in height, 2.08 m. in width, and .35 m. in depth; in the eastern room the dimensions were 1.73 m. by 2.39 m. by .41 m. Both central niches were suitable for holding larger statues.

In the eastern library, where it appears *pegmata* were used more extensively, the interiors of some parts of niches were decorated with painted stucco frescoes (figure 4) perhaps portraying favorite authors. The remains of a lower cornice, which may have served as a ledge for replacing or removing rolls and for holding small vases or sculptures, are much in evidence in the western library. On the walls in the west room painted ornamental pilasters and ledges in the second Pompeian style bordered the contents of the niches. The marble inlaid floors, which once helped to protect scrolls from dampness, have not survived. Because there is no trace of a podium, movable wooden steps may have been used to reach scrolls in niches that begin 1.65 m. above the floor. The remains of a masonry ceiling divided into carved panels now rest on the floor of the western library. Despite the minor variations, perhaps due to remodeling when Augustus took possession and after the fire in A.D. 3, the two libraries are essentially similar and represent a definite break with the past.[16]

The small house built by Augustus did not long remain the official imperial residence on the Palatine. His successor, Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), built a grand palace on the northwest part of the hill encompassing an area of 180 by 120 m. Subsequent emperors—Caligula, Domitian, and Hadrian—enlarged the palace. In the sixteenth century, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese established a lovely garden/parkland above the remaining substructures of the Domus Tiberiana. A small part of the palace was excavated in the 1860s under the direction of Pietro Rosa. No comprehensive findings have been made in this century.[17] Today the huge structure lies to a depth of about twenty meters under the gardens. It appears an atrium and colonnade formed the nucleus of the residence, with a fish pond located at the southeast corner. Like the House of Augustus, it was a traditional platform-peristyle residence that looked outward from the center. The only indications of a library in the Domus Tiberiana are two references made in the second century by the emperor Marcus Aurelius and the writer Aulus Gellius.

Marcus specifically mentions a palace librarian (*bibliothecarius*) in a letter to his friend Cornelius Fronto.[18] Gellius speaks of sitting in the

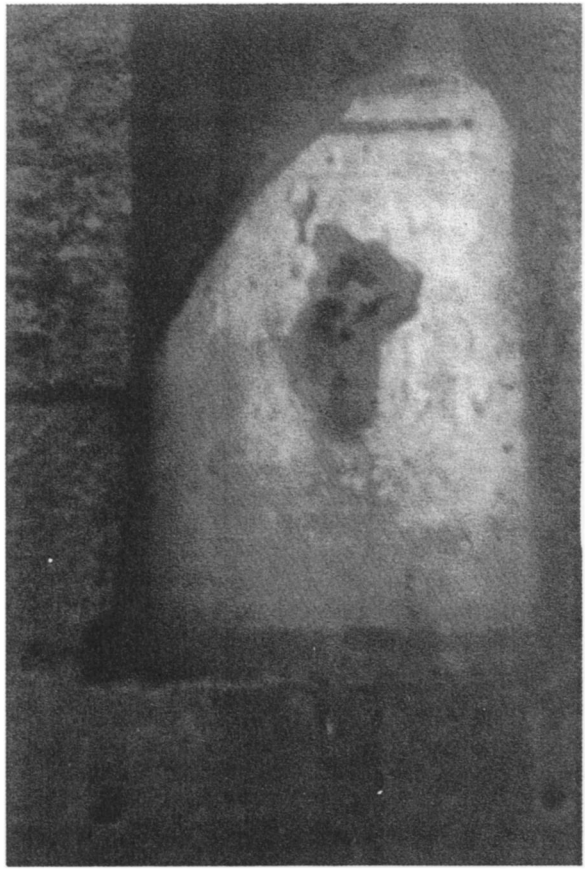


Figure 4. Eastern library in the House of Augustus: painting in niche (author's photo, 1983).

domus Tiberianae bibliotheca with the writer Sulpicius Apollinaris, who was well known as a teacher.[19] A few passages in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* suggest the Tiberian palace may have been used by the Antonine monarchs during the mid-second century. Some older theories about this library—that it must be identified with the library in the Temple of Augustus,[20] or that books from the library of the Augustan Temple were transferred to it in the second century,[21] or that its collection circulated to the general public[22]—should be discounted. There are not sufficient grounds to justify these theories. For example, just because Gellius and Apollinaris were in the library cannot be taken to mean it was a public library. Apollinaris and Gellius were teachers and writers, the kind of

literati normally permitted within imperial cultural circles. Their presence in the Tiberian *bibliotheca* is representative of the kind of patronage that existed during the Antonine age.

In stark contrast to the humble *domus* Augustus occupied stands the legendary Golden House of Nero, the Domus Aurea. After the devastating fire of A.D. 64, Nero conceived a colossal scheme to construct a gigantic *villa suburbana* between the Palatine, Caelian, and Oppian hills.[23] His architects, Severus and Celer, began constructing the central palace on the Oppian Hill. The incredible estate also included landscaped gardens, woods, a lake, and smaller buildings ingeniously spread over at least 100 acres. In fact, the Domus Aurea was never completed by Nero.[24] The Flavian emperors began demolishing the villa (the Colosseum stands where Nero's artificial lake was situated), and Trajan completed the process by leveling the palace, bricking up its walls, and filling its rooms with rubble to establish a firm foundation for his immense imperial baths. Today, in the dark subterranean corridors and apartments, it is difficult to recognize what a revolutionary impact Nero's mansion made on Roman architecture.

The palace is shown in figure 5. The northern side was built into the Oppian hill, with the southern face probably lined with a portico along its entire front. In the middle a five-sided courtyard effectively divided the present remains of the building into two wings: a western section for the residential part and the eastern section given over to public and official activities when required. The two wings were built at different stages and designed around three points: a *tablinum* (room 5), a *peristyle* (room 8), and a vaulted octagonal hall (room 27). Because the Oppian sloped to the south across the eastern wing, its underground rooms were partly illuminated by small openings in vaulted ceilings. Here, in room 21 opening onto the trapezoidal courtyard, are the excavated remains of an unusual apsidal library that is most notable for its departure from linear design (figure 6).[25]

It seems all the rooms opening onto the large court were originally decorated with marble panels, gilded and painted stucco walls in the Fourth Pompeian style. The central room 18, which may have been a reception hall, was framed on either side by triads of rooms grouped around 17 and 21. There is no trace of decoration or flooring in the library now (figure 7). The bleak walls, coldness, damp air, and complete darkness (the opening to the courtyard was bricked in by Trajan's workmen after A.D. 104) make it difficult to visualize the attractive shelving or reading area. An eighteenth-century visitor, the English architect Charles Cameron, found the library choked with earth when he made the following notation: "This room was painted, the top of the nich fluted, and in the flutes were painted trophies of musick. The paintings

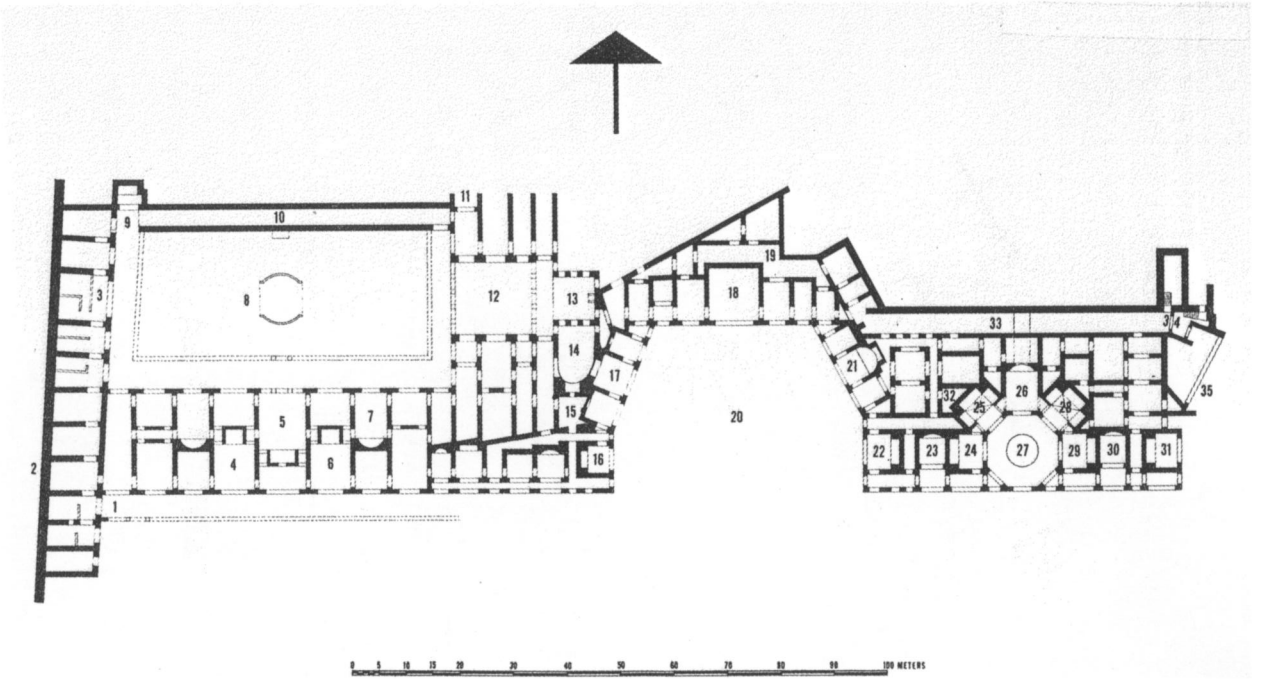


Figure 5. Plan of the Domus Aurea: library—room 21 (wall niches not shown). From William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), plate 24.

Figure 6. Floor plan of the Domus Aurea library and adjacent rooms and courtyard.

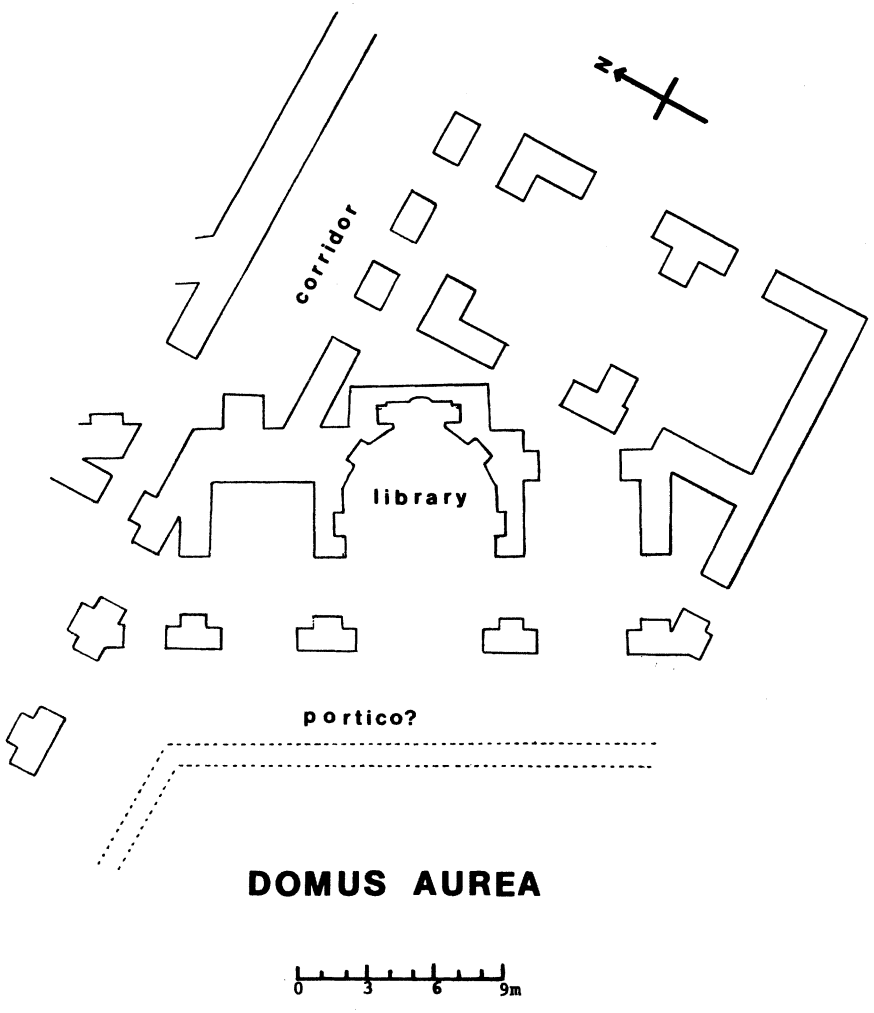




Figure 7. Library of the Domus Aurea. From G. de Gregori, "Biblioteche dell'antichità," *Accademie e bibliotheche d'Italia* 2 (1937), figure 13.

and other ornaments of the ceiling were very fresh, but seem to me to have been scratched to pieces on purpose. It was with great difficulty I got into this room. . . ."[26] The niche Cameron refers to is the central rectangular recess measuring 1.42 m. by 2.9 m. (4.12 sq. m.). The main room dimensions were 5.8 m. in width and 3.9 m. in length from the corridor to the small recess. Total usable space was approximately 25 sq. m.

At the back of the small recess is a rounded central niche for a statue, 1.83 m. high by 1.22 m. wide by .33 m. deep. Beside it are two rectangular cabinet niches that are the same size as four niches in the main part: 1.83 m. high by 1.01 m. wide by .46 m. deep. All niches are 1.12 m. above the present floor, so it is certain a portable wooden platform was necessary to reach rolls in the upper reaches of the *armaria.*[27] Two round apertures in the domed ceiling permitted light to enter from the surface above. Illumination also filtered through the 4.2 m. entrance to the courtyard (and portico?). There is no indication of holes in the walls for *pegmata.* Beside the library two *sellariae* may have been used as reading rooms. They were easily reached through a wide 2.36 m. corridor. The sitting rooms are the first tangible evidence that the imperial private library has become a distinctive unit in its own right, with subordinate rooms attached to it. The irregular architectural form of the eastern wing is in part responsible for this development. Severus, Celer, and Flavian architects who planned the Domus Aurea were restricted in some instances by the need to satisfy the principle of symmetry within an overall nonrectilinear form. Additional rooms, the sacrifice of space, or unconventional curving lines were deemed necessary to "round out" the whole.

Libraries in the Villa Adriana

To escape the routine of the capital the imperial family spent considerable time at countryside retreats in the hills of Latium or along the coastline of Campania. Hadrian's villa stands a few kilometers southwest of modern Tivoli on the site of a smaller Republican residence. It is undoubtedly the grandest villa of classical antiquity; indeed it is more an assemblage of individual buildings than an integrated whole. Its creator, a dedicated patron of the arts, maintained the villa as a monumental showcase for architectural wonders witnessed on his extensive travels. Because Hadrian was also interested in literature, he insisted on having libraries in his winter retreat. The initial identification of Greek and Latin libraries (rooms C–D and L–M in figure 8) was made in the nineteenth century. These "double libraries" opened onto a terraced garden; to their rear lay the large (66 by 51 m.) Courtyard of the Libraries sur-

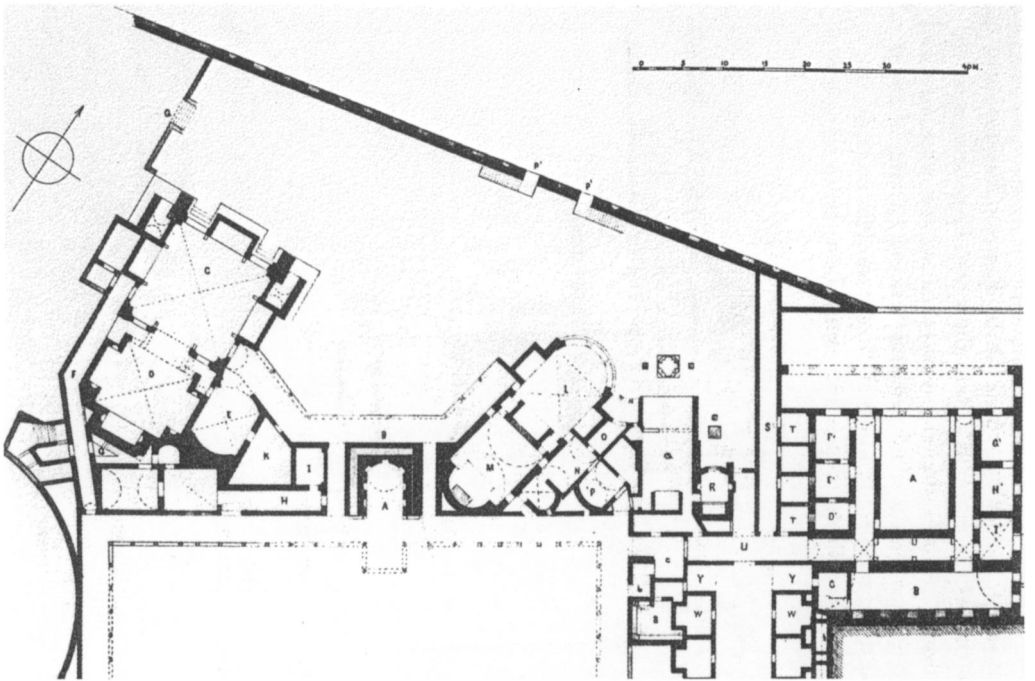


Figure 8. Plan of the "Greek and Latin Libraries" in the Villa Adriana: Greek Library—rooms C-D, Latin Library—rooms L-M, Nymphaeum —room A. From Hermann Winnfeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1895), table 9.

rounded by a two-story Corinthian portico. The first modern studies of the villa by the German archaeologist Hermann Winnfeld and the French artist/writer Pierre Gusman supported the interpretation regarding two libraries.[28] However, succeeding studies have completely rejected the idea, instead favoring the view that the buildings were winter *triclinia* or a belvedere tower.[29]

Work undertaken in the 1920s and 1930s by Roberto Paribeni and Giuseppe Lugli shifted the emphasis from these two large structures to other villa locations.[30] Across the large courtyard are two staircases leading to an upper terrace with a small peristyle having an area of about 225 sq. m. with three rooms adjoining it. In the middle room (C on figure 9) three walls hold nine niches, the central one being rounded at

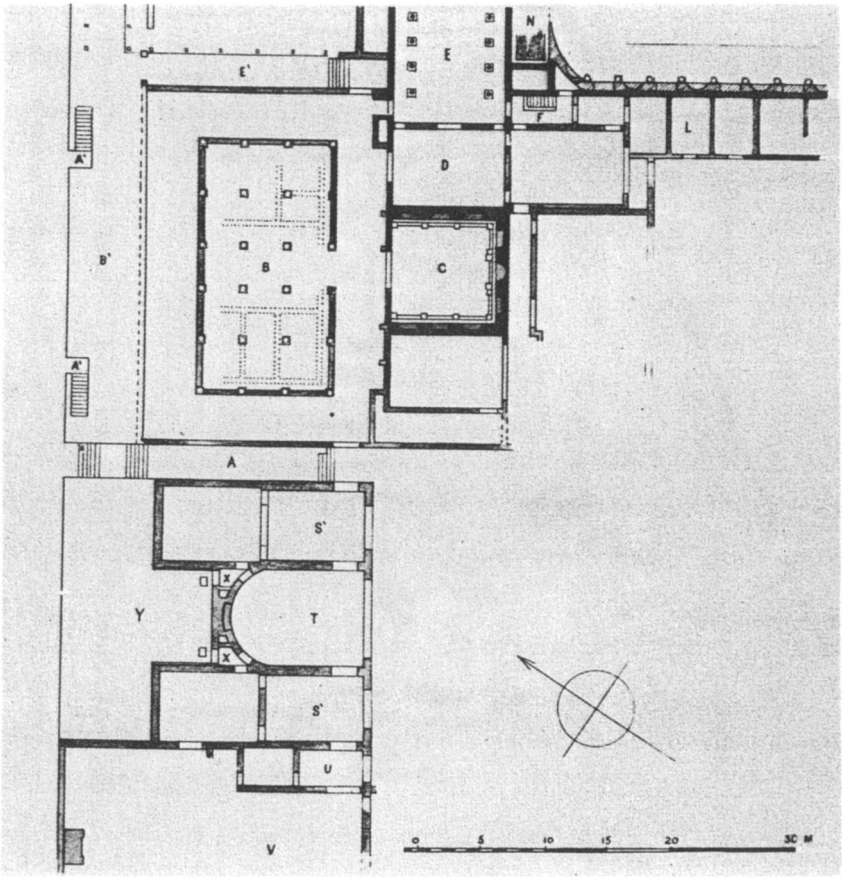


Figure 9. Plan of the northwestern part of the Imperial Palace at Villa Adriana: library—room C. From Winnfeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian*, table 8.

the back. Gusman first suggested this room held official records: "armoires pour les archives."[31] Subsequently, scholars have expanded his proposal and it is now accepted as a library because of its resemblance to public libraries.[32] The three rooms on the southeast side of the peristyle are similar in arrangement to the group in the Domus Aurea and may be considered as a unified whole. The side rooms each measure 9 m. by 6.15 m. and could serve for reading, study, or recitals.

The upper portion of room C has not survived (figure 10). The usable space in the library is 68 sq. m. (8.3 m. long by 8.2 m. wide). The rounded central niche measures 1.6 m. wide and .75 m. deep. To its right and left are niches with the same width and a depth of .63 m. In each wall on the east (figure 11) and west sides are three niches of identical dimensions: 1.6 m. wide by .63 m. deep. There is a .35 m. marble podium rising .28 m. above the stone pavement. Between it and the wide niches there is a space of .40 m. Thus, rolls could easily be reached by using the podium; no movable steps were required. The walls were finished with a pattern known as *quasi-opus reticulatum* over tufa blocks. The pavement was colored marble. Wall decoration has not survived; it is assumed the surface between niches (approximately 1 m.) was finished with painted stucco reliefs. A statue or bust could be placed in the decorative niche. Light passed through a 4-meter entrance from the portico. Windows above the niches were possibly necessary to admit more light, but this observation cannot be verified from the present ruins. The placement of windows on the side, or at the entrance and rear, would depend on whether the ceiling was flat or vaulted.

A second *bibliotheca* is believed to be located in an apsed hall known as the Sala dei Filosofi or Tempio degli Stoici (L in figure 12).[33] The rectangular hall 17.5 m. long by 14.4 m. wide has four small side doors and a columned entrance leading to a yard and belvedere. The apsidal area 6 m. long by 11.5 m. wide featured seven large niches (figure 13) and reached up to a cupola. The niche size (3 m. high, 1.4 m. wide, and .74 m. deep) has led to the conclusion that they were more suitable for statues than shelving; hence the titles Hall of Philosophers or Temple of the Seven Sages. Some scholars think the basilica was frequented by the imperial entourage or visitors; for this reason it was in a sense a public library. Despite these findings, in the last decade two major library histories have rejected its attribution as a library. Tønsberg and Makowiecka cite the following negative factors: its magnitude (about 300 sq. m.), the noise that would enter from the four side entrances, the absence of a podium, and the unsuitability of large niches for holding rolls.[34]

Nevertheless, I believe it is possible the basilica may have been used as a library. At first scholars compared this hall with the library in the



Figure 10. Entrance, eastern wall and central niche of the palace library, Villa Adriana (1983).

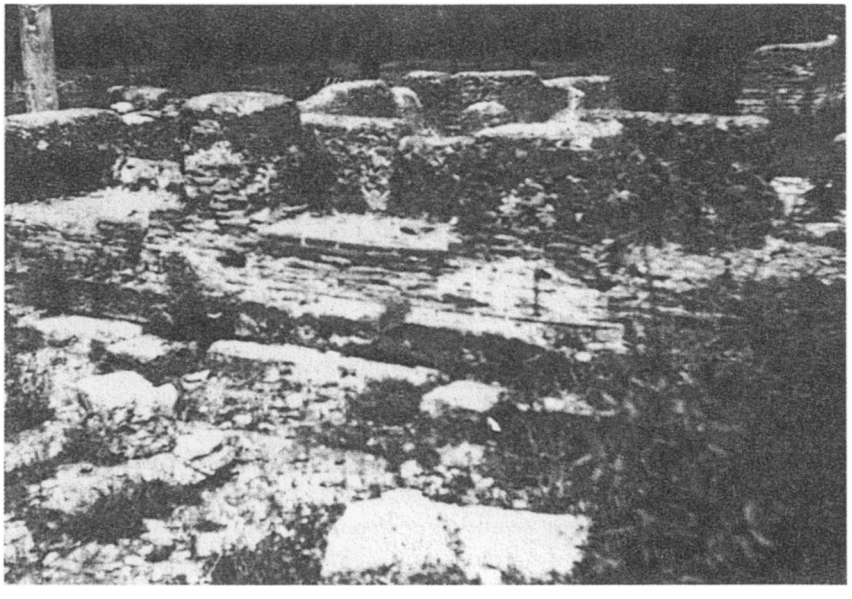


Figure 11. Three eastern niches in the palace library, Villa Adriana (1983).

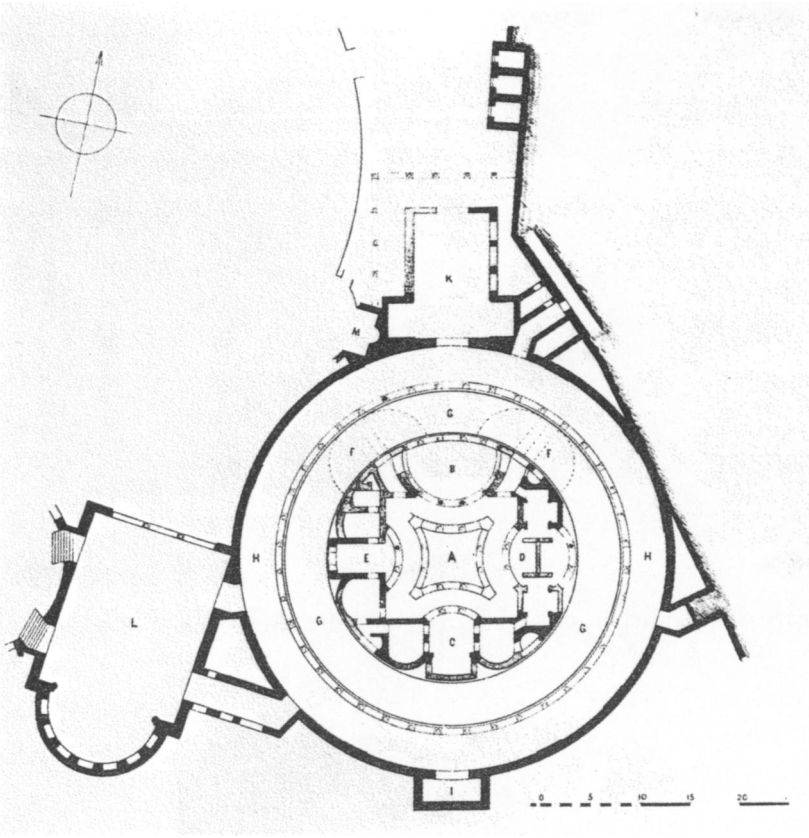


Figure 12. Plan of the libraries in the Sala dei Filosofi (L) and Teatro Marittimo (D), Villa Adriana. From Winnfeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian*, table 5.

Baths of Trajan—the semicircular exedral plan and niches were somewhat comparable in terms of design and collection storage. The Trajanic niches were 4.7 m. high by 2 m. wide by .75 m. deep.[35] Because the Sala is adjacent to sweat baths (the Heliocaminus) excavated in 1920–1922 by Paribeni, the affiliation of the two edifices seemed appropriate. But I feel that an analogy with the library beside the Temple of Apollo in Rome would be more in order. The total reconstructed area of the Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini is approximately 360 sq. m., that is, 20 m. by 18 m. Its niches measured 3.8 m. high by 1.65 m. wide by .60 m. deep.

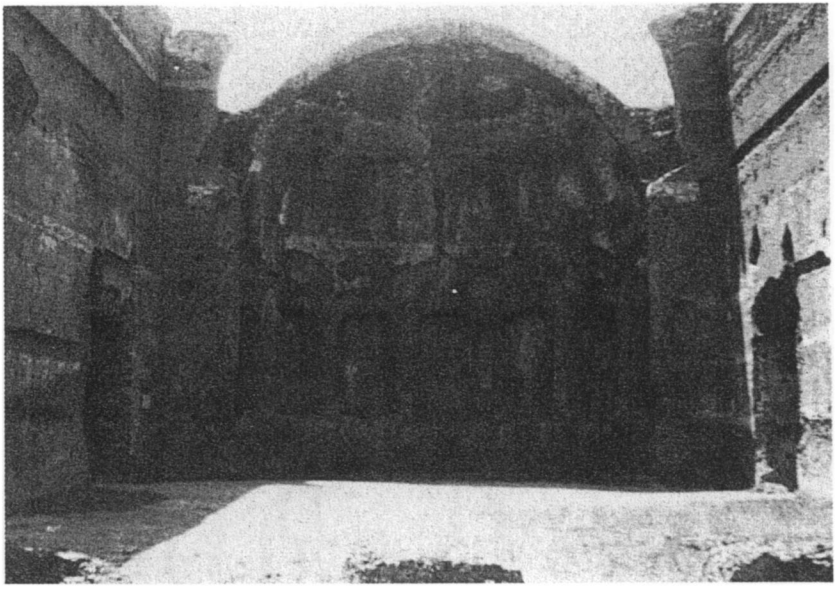


Figure 13. Library in the southern apse in the Philosophers' Hall (1983).

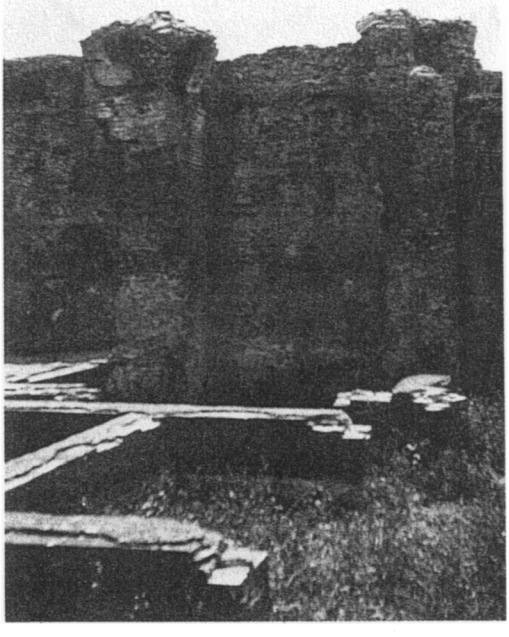


Figure 14. Alcove between libraries in the Teatro Marittimo (1983).

So the arguments concerning the unusual size of the Sala, which is about three-quarters of the area covered by the library beside the Temple of Apollo, and the excessive size of the niches are not conclusive. Perhaps the basilica may have been a literary salon with ample room for an audience to hear new or favorite works recited. The larger space could conveniently accommodate more people in a society where it was normal to read aloud (even to oneself) or engage in conversation about authors or books.[36] Perhaps noise from outside would be distracting; yet the same problem exists in all private libraries beside a courtyard or portico. Wooden steps could be utilized to overcome the 1.75 m. distance between the niches and the floor, so the lack of a podium is not a serious drawback. To conclude, while one can no longer speak with "assoluto sicurezza" as Salvatore Aurigemma did in 1961 about the Sala's role as a library,[37] the possibility cannot be ruled out. It is more important to recognize that the question remains unresolved.

Beside the Philosophers' Hall is the Island Villa, the famous Teatro Marittimo, a miniature villa in its own right dating to the period A.D. 118–123. A circular walled enclosure with a surrounding vaulted colonnade and canal frame a slightly oval island that could be isolated by drawing up bridges on the north side (F on figure 12). At the center of the island is an elliptical peristyle and fountain with marble columns (room A). A *tablinum* (room C), baths (room E), atrium-vestibule (room B), and library and alcove (room D) surround the peristyle. Heinz Kaehler provides the only discussion of this library to date,[38] and I am certain his analysis is correct. In the center is an I-shaped wall for two couches (figure 14). During mornings the eastern alcove received light and warmth from the canal side for reading; by afternoon the western side facing the peristyle provided the most advantageous position. Both sides of the alcove wall were 2.9 m. long by 1.37 m. wide. The oval space surrounding the I-shaped reading lounges covered approximately 26 sq. m. On the north and south were cruciform rooms with recesses running the full length of each wall. The dimensions of the three recesses varied slightly:

west:	2.34 m. wide by .45 m. deep
east:	2.34 m. wide by 1.04 m. deep
rear:	2.2 m. wide by 1.30 m. deep
area:	11.5 sq. m. (23 sq. m. total)

The north library and south library are now in ruins. Some restoration work on the bricks has been completed, but no decorative revetment has survived. The stone floor shows no sign of decoration. Kaehler believes the ceiling was flat, perhaps coffered.

The collection was housed in *armaria*; there are no holes where *pegmata* could be anchored. Windows rule out the possibility of shelves in the eastern recesses; a couch was probably situated here. Cupboards may have rested in the center of each library, but passageways to the atrium and *tablinum* indicate desks and chairs could be moved here for study and writing. Kaehler estimates that 1,500 rolls could be accommodated in one cupboard, 500 rolls within each western niche. He divides the two sections on the usual basis of Greek and Latin collections and suggests rolls could be replenished from the adjacent library in the Sala dei Filosofi. Statistically the alcove area is 13 percent greater than the area of the two small libraries. One can readily see that the emphasis in this library was on the charming alcove where a reclining emperor could enjoy the view offered by Ionic columns and water.

Returning to the Courtyard of the Libraries, one arrives at a covered hall (A on figure 8), normally described as a decorative fountain (*nymphaeum*).[39] Recently, Elzbieta Makowiecka has put forward an hypothesis that it is a "Latin" library, related to the ruined "Greek" library and the peristyle discussed earlier. The following points are raised to support this idea.[40]

1. It is necessary to have two libraries due to the bilingualism of Graeco-Roman civilization.
2. Double walls separated by a narrow corridor on the west and north, and a small seam on the east, as well as a double vaulted ceiling helped to isolate the interior and to protect scrolls from heat and humidity.
3. An axial design for the interior (7 m. by 5 m.), curved wall at the rear with a central niche, and six niches in the side walls satisfy general requirements for a library.
4. The structure was exactly opposite the two stairs leading to the peristyle and library on the southern terrace across the Courtyard of the Libraries. The hall was not situated at the center of the courtyard axis.

In support of Makowiecka's theory, it should be stressed that the building opens onto a portico.

The arguments for accepting the *nymphaeum* as a library recall those made for the Sala dei Filosofi; they are not entirely conclusive. It is more reasonable to expect that the *nymphaeum* was connected with buildings on the northern side of the courtyard, the so-called Greek and Latin Libraries that can be reached by a footpath, than with the peristyle group 51 m. to the south. The distant library and peristyle are an organic part

of the imperial palace and always have been studied on this basis. It must be noted that this quarter of the Villa Adriana was erected at different phases on an older residence dating to the first century B.C. Buildings were periodically renovated; for example, the courtyard was extended to the west slightly during Hadrian's reign, thus accounting for the fountain's deviation from the axis. Further, the hall is not "exactly" aligned with the axis of the peristyle; it is slightly to the west. Its axial design, apse, and niches are analogous to some libraries; yet there are two structures in the Villa that are better suited for the purpose of libraries. Even though there is no trace of water conduits in the corridor between the walls now, I would favor the hall's usual designation as a decorative fountain-shrine.[41]

Libraries in *villae maritimae*

Private collections were also established in seaside retreats along the Mediterranean. Tiberius was not content with the Domus Tiberiana or suburban villas outside the capital, for he spent the last ten years of his reign on the island of Capri, mostly at the remarkable Villa Jovis, which commanded the heights on the eastern promontory. Unlike most villas its plan does not revolve about peristyles or decorative porticos. It was devised around a courtyard directly above four large cisterns bordered on the south by baths, servants quarters on the west, and living quarters on the north and east, as well as outlying open air promenades, an observatory, and lighthouse tower (figure 15).

Though Villa Jovis was partly excavated in the nineteenth century, critical work did not begin until Carl Weichardt published his romantic study in 1900. The German architect first speculated that Tiberius's majestic dwelling included a library.[42] However, Weichardt's impressionistic hypothesis was disproved during the complete excavation of the villa headed by Amedeo Maiuri between 1932 and 1935.[43] The Italian archaeologist showed that Weichardt's proposed second story above the large cisterns was totally unfounded.[44] Naturally, it would be impossible for the cisterns to collect water if the imperial living quarters (and library) rested on top.

Maiuri, who was well acquainted with the *bibliotheca* in the House of Menander, did not select a room appropriate for a private library. He did suggest that two large rooms on the eastern side that terminated in a semicircular hall overlooking the sea may have been offices for the chancellery (*tabularium*).[45] Official documents may have been housed in these rooms, because the emperor did need information to direct the affairs of empire. However, in later publications Maiuri altered his idea

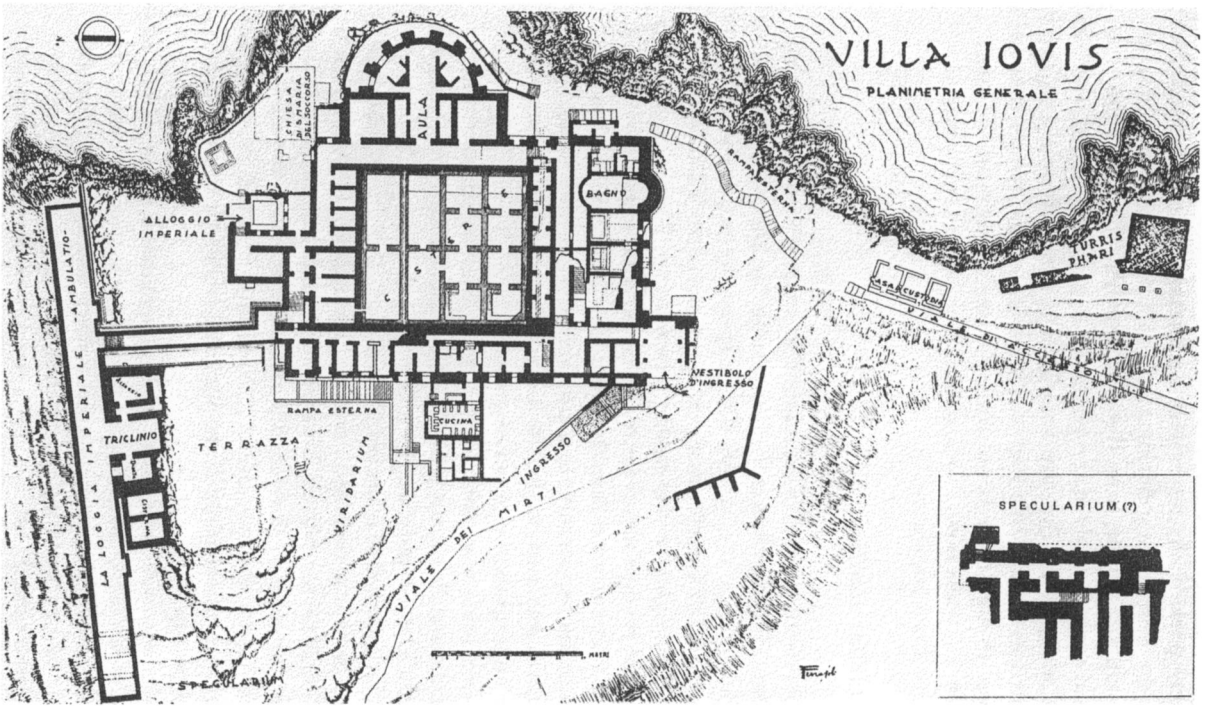


Figure 15. Plan of the Villa Jovis, Capri: libraries in the square rooms flanking the *aula*. From Amedeo Maiuri, *Capri: Its History and Its Monuments* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1958), figure 20.

somewhat by preferring to emphasize an official function for the semicircular audience hall (*aula*), and withdrawing his suggestion regarding the two archival rooms.[46]

Only the lower portions of the alternating stone and brick walls have survived (figure 16), so it is not possible to know if the rooms were furnished with *pegmata* or *armaria*. It is believed the semicircular hall and its two alcoves were completed in different phases, perhaps involving a renovation or extension. Tufa blocks and decorative plaster were used here. There is no trace of these materials in the rooms to either side of the rear of the hemicycle. The small antechambers beside the *aula* were perhaps waiting rooms. The two square rooms measure 7.8 m. long, giving each an area of 60.8 sq. m., or 121.6 sq. m. combined. The area of the hemicycle is approximately 142 sq. m.

Heinz Kaehler's studies at the Teatro Marittimo possibly inspired him to theorize that the archival rooms may have been Greek and Latin libraries.[47] After all, the rooms were similar in size to the palace library in Hadrian's Villa, and the alcoves in the semicircular chamber recall those on the Island Villa. Of course, chronologically this latter resemblance must be reversed since the Villa Jovis was completed almost a century before the Island Villa. Is it possible that Tiberius's unknown architect knew of contemporary libraries that conveniently united the functions of an *aula* for imperial audiences or meetings with a reading



Figure 16. Alcoves, *aula*, and libraries, Villa Jovis. From Maiuri, *Capri*, figure 4.

area or storage space for a library collection? For the answer, one must turn to the library beside the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the details of which Roman architects surely knew.

Nearly all modern studies refer to the Greek and Latin sections of the Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini as architecturally distinct rooms.[48] Nevertheless, it is now well established that Augustus, and his Julio-Claudian successors, summoned senators to meetings in the library from time to time.[49] Further, it has been argued that during this period there was no structural division into two apsidal halls until after the fire of A.D. 64, when a complete revision of the large room was eventually ordered by Domitian.[50] The entire area of the undivided library built by Augustus would have been about 360 sq. m., large enough to accommodate many senators sitting on benches. Tiberius is recorded in attendance at one of these senatorial library meetings in A.D. 16, so the genesis of utilizing space for official receptions or meetings with a reading/library area existed before plans for the Villa Jovis were conceived.

In this way the semicircular projection at Capri could be used frequently on a site where space was at a premium. Because of the need for light, and the pleasures of a dramatic view, windows predominated in the hemicycle. Shelving for the collection was sensibly placed to the sides and rear in chambers adjoining the 2.3 m. corridor leading to the emperor's private apartments. Naturally, it was desirable to have access to the collection without interrupting important activities in the *aula*, especially if one room was reserved for official documents. The floor plan is different from the one at the Teatro Marittimo, but the overall proportion of reader space and storage is alike. The alcove area occupied by the reading/study area is about 17 percent larger than the storage space. For these reasons, Kaehler's theory is attractive, and I have considered the rooms beside the eastern corridor to be libraries, possibly arranged into an archival collection for public business and a personal collection based on Tiberius's tastes.

To the north of the Bay of Naples on the coast of Latium, private libraries were constructed in residences at Antium and Ostia. There are no structural remains of either library. Inscriptions concerning personnel furnish the most secure knowledge about their existence. A large porticus-style villa was built for the imperial family at Antium, but the ruins have never been scientifically investigated in detail.[51] The *Fasti Antiates Ministrorum Domus Augustae*,[52] discovered in 1712 near the villa's theater, records the names of four of the domestic staff working at the library during the first century:

col. 1, line 12 [*Eua*]*grius l(ibertus) a by(bliotheca)* c. 37
col. 2, line 22 *Claud(ius) Atimetus a byb(liotheca)* c. 43

col. 2, line 29 *Chresimus a byb(liotheca)* c. 43
col. 3, line 3 *Bathyllus ver(na) Capr(ensis) a byb(liotheca)*

The *vilicus a bybliotheca* was a position responsible for routine clerical duties. Further confirmation of a library's existence is provided by the third-century writer Flavius Philostratus. His *Life of Apollonius* mentions a favorite Pythagorean work and letters that Hadrian kept in his palace at Antium.[53] It appears, therefore, that the library at Antiate villa was in use until the mid-second century.

Apparently, the Julio-Claudian emperors enjoyed the amenities of libraries. An inscription in the modern Museum at Ostia records another *vilicus a bybliotheca: Alcim(o) Caesaris vili(co) a bybliotheca Marcia fecit.*[54] If the dating is similar to other inscriptions of freedmen and slaves found at Ostia, then the palace library existed in the early part of the first century. At Ostia an imperial *domus*, the so-called Palazzo Imperiale,[55] was partially revealed by Carlo Visconti from 1855 to 1871. Archaeological work has never been completed. In figure 17 the Ostian palace plan is partly revealed: an atrium-entrance (rooms 2 and 5) on the south, a peristyle (room 17), living quarters with sanctuary and baths, and domestic quarters to the north. The present construction dates to two phases during the rule of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161). Assuming excavations will be resumed, the library will probably be located near the southeastern side of the peristyle and living quarters. Since the walls of the *piscina*, the small pool (room 28), are niched, it is not improbable that niches were also used in the library. Judging from the general villa design, a traditional rectilinear form was used for the library.

The Private Library in Imperial Residences

From the foregoing it can be seen that these private libraries required knowledgeable personnel. Freedmen and slaves in the *familia Caesaris*, the emperor's own staff, were quite capable of handling the day-to-day tasks. In a few cases, their names are recorded for posterity. Sometimes their positions are more revealing: witness Tiberius's *glutinatores*, bookbinders,[56] or Flavian freedmen who were *supra velarios de domu Augusti.*[57] Scribes or copyists (*librari*) also served in the imperial household and could have assisted in libraries.[58] Their ultimate superiors were *procurators*, the emperor's agents, men who administered entire villas or palaces in the domestic section of the imperial household. This decentralized administration was adequate to a certain point, but left each library on an independent basis. Presumably, the emperors were inclined to use their libraries and would become aware of discrepancies in the quality of the collection or its maintenance.

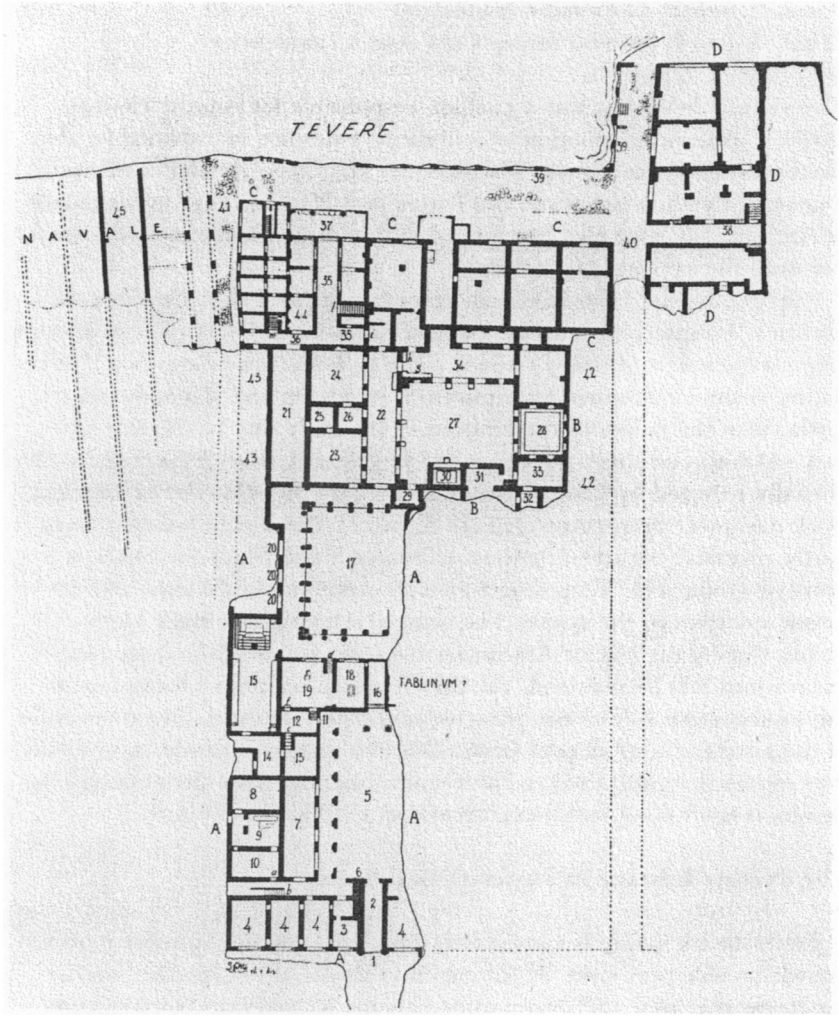


Figure 17. Plan of the Imperial Palace at Ostia. From Ludovico Paschetto, *Ostia colonia romana: Storia e monumenti* (Rome: Poliglotta Vaticana, 1912), figure 122.

At the beginning of the Principate, Augustus and his successors usually appointed freedmen from their households to administrative library positions in the public service. Possibly these men received training and gained experience in the emperor's private libraries before advancing to *procurator bibliothecarum*, director of public libraries at Rome. I have previously proposed that, after the death of Trajan in A.D. 117, lower-level library procurators replaced the single higher-paid *procurator bibliothecarum*, a division perhaps based on responsibilities between public libraries and domestic libraries.[59] The argument need not be repeated here, save to suggest that the nine libraries described in this paper cannot have constituted all the private libraries owned by the emperor in Italy. There must have been others,[60] and their administration within the emperor's *patrimonium*, his personal properties, became more complex in time.

For comparative purposes the findings pertaining to imperial libraries are best summarized by tables. A general analysis of the structural remains, interior architectural details, and functional aspects demonstrates how traditional Hellenistic ideas were infused with Roman ones. The results of this century-long process led to innovative designs and remarkable features that, in some cases, have made it difficult to establish

Table 1. Structural Preservation

Library	Floor	Walls	Ceiling	Niches	Podium
Casa di Augusto	partial	intact	frag.	intact	—
Domus Aurea	frag.	intact	intact	intact	?
Island Villa	frag.	partial	—	partial	?
Sala dei Filosofi	—	intact	frag.	intact	—
Villa Adriana palace	frag.	partial	—	partial	intact
Villa Jovis	frag.	frag.	—	?	?

Present state: completely preserved = intact
partial remains = partial
fragmentary state = frag.
lost = —
uncertain = ?

agreement concerning library identification and typology. Even from existing remains shown in Table 1, it is difficult to generalize about floors, podiums, or ceilings because these components have suffered extensive damage.

There are some important features that set apart private libraries of the imperial age from their predecessors and contemporaries. First, the construction of wall niches for *armaria*, introduced in the Casa di Augusto, became standard. This development was facilitated by the use of brick, mortar, and concrete. There is no need to attribute the adoption of niches for shelving to eastern or oriental influences transferred to Rome's Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini via knowledge of the Alexandrian Library.[61] In fact, it is possible that library niches were introduced in the House of Augustus before the library in the Temple of Apollo was dedicated in 28 B.C. Second, while the traditional rectilinear form remained a standard, curvilinear lines began to assume greater importance. There can be no doubt that the Roman treatment of interior space inspired the use of domed ceilings and apses, which appear for the first time with such dramatic force in the library of the Domus Aurea. Third, decoration became more pronounced: central niches for statues, painted stucco, marble panels, and coffered ceilings provided an attractive setting for the library. All three trends parallel the development of Roman public libraries and combined to enhance the status of the private library.

Table 2. Interior Features

Library	Decorative Central Niche	Type of Shelving	Ceiling	Wall Revetment
Casa di Augusto	yes	armaria & pegmata	flat	stucco & plaster
Domus Aurea	yes	armaria	vaulted	brick & stucco
Island Villa	?	armaria	?	brick
Sala dei Filosofi	yes	armaria	flat/domed	brick
Villa Adriana palace	yes	armaria	?	tufa
Villa Jovis	?	?	?	brick & stone

In the imperial age, private *bibliothecae* were no longer subordinate recesses beside porticos and courtyards. New designs were in order; flexible orientation was a priority; and size was increased. The Vitruvian rule advanced in modern studies—namely, that the library should have an eastern orientation to a portico to protect from dampness—was often ignored.[62] It is not unusual to find western, southern, or northern exposures. The portico continued to be important for aesthetic reasons, and for protection from the elements. Although the library became increasingly important in its own right, it was associated with different cores such as the *tablinum* in the House of Augustus or the *aula* at Villa Jovis. In other cases, like the Domus Aurea, it became a focus for dependent alcoves and *sellariae*.

Viewed from this perspective, the rationale for double Greek and Latin libraries that is confidently spoken of in modern works is in need of review. Ordinarily, the duality of Graeco-Roman culture is cited for the presence of two libraries within a building complex, public or pri-

Table 3. Functional Aspects

Library	Source of Light	Separate Reader Space	Design	Size in Sq.m.	Orientation of entrance
Casa di Augusto	peristyle	combined	double rectilinear	88	southwest
Domus Aurea	courtyard and ceiling	*sellariae*	apsidal exedra	25	southwest
Island Villa	peristyle & canal	double alcove	double cruciform	23	north and south
Sala dei Filosofi	courtyard	combined	apsidal hall	300	northeast
Villa Adriana palace	peristyle (and windows?)	*sellariae*	rectilinear	68	northwest
Villa Jovis	corridor (and windows?)	hemicycle alcoves	double (?) rectilinear	122	west

vate.[63] However, one might add that the Roman admiration for symmetry and proportion also contributed to the development of twin libraries. The equality of left and right and harmonious proportion are principles that are apparent at once at the Villa Jovis, Casa di Augusto, and Island Villa. Also, the metamorphosis of the private library from a small *exedra* to a double or larger independent entity was partly influenced by the symbolic need for "imperial" qualities. Because the emperor's position was unique, architects sought aesthetic expressions for his private/public nature, for personal majesty and literary patronage.

Vitruvius captured the essence of this process during Augustus's reign: he spoke of the need for beautiful libraries in the houses of nobility where official and personal business is conducted.[64] This is not to say that double libraries did not reflect the linguistic division of culture idealized by the privileged elite. There are numerous inscriptions at Rome showing clerical library assistants tending collections based on language, and literary reference to Greek and Latin collections. However, at a location such as the Villa Jovis, a good explanation for double libraries might be that two rooms were needed—one for official documents, one suited to personal tastes. At the Island Villa two cruciform libraries better satisfy the need to unify the eastern portion and to provide linkages to the atrium and *triclinium* than they do to satisfy the duality of literaure. It should be recognized now that there are additional architectural explanations for the origin of double libraries, their contents, and arrangement.

The impact made by imperial residential libraries in the first and second centuries A.D. is difficult to determine, because the evidence is indirect. Book collecting and literary patronage was widespread, stimulated by some imperial rulers, who themselves wrote for pleasure.[65] As Martial relates, it became customary for wealthy Romans to have libraries in their country houses and villas, but, of course, these may have been modeled to some extent on public collections.[66] Many private libraries were built in the interest of preservation, education, and research. However, Roman satirists suggest other motives as well. In the second century Lucian of Samosata heaped scorn upon *The Ignorant Book-Collector* for buying and accumulating books on a lavish scale for the express purpose of attracting the emperor's attention (in this case, Marcus Aurelius): Lucian was outraged that the Syrian bibliophile would court imperial favor with such a brazen display of learning.[67] Obviously, the private library flourished for many reasons, some ignoble.

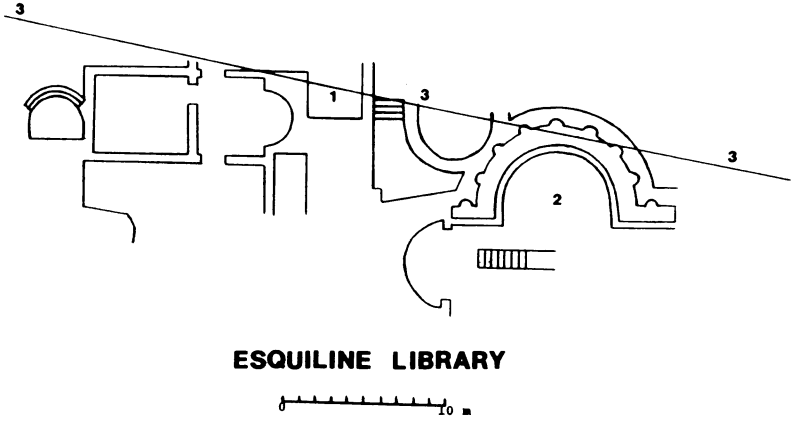
A brief survey of well-known literary sources and legal decisions enables some assessment of the salutary influence of imperial residential libraries to be made. A number of innovative features unrelated to Greek or Hellenistic styles became commonplace in private libraries after the reign of Augustus.

1. Double Greek and Latin collections: Petronius ridiculed his fictional freedman, Trimalchio, for boasting about two libraries, one Greek, one Latin, a possession a well-bred person would take for granted.[68]
2. Apsidal rooms and wall niches: Pliny the Younger remarked that a library in his Laurentine villa was in an apsidal room (*cubiculum in hapsida curvatum*), which permitted light to enter through each window during the course of the day. His shelves were built into one wall (*armarium insertum est*).[69]
3. Decorative furniture, pictures and inscriptions: Seneca scoffed at men who sought to have bookcases of citrus wood and ivory simply for vulgar ostentation.[70] The younger Pliny writes of his friend Herennius Severus, who wanted to obtain pictures of Cornelius Nepos and Titus Catius to adorn his library.[71] In fifth-century Gaul, Rusticus described a private library adorned with portraits of orators and poets in mosaic wax and plaster with appropriate inscriptions below each figure.[72]

By Nero's reign Seneca considered a library a necessary part of a stylish home, assuming equal importance with hot and cold baths, and three centuries later Sidonius Apollinaris praised his friend's country mansion for the same reason.[73] In the imperial age, legal decisions sanctioning property rights helped define the place of libraries as integral parts of private estates. Some decisions by Marcus Cocceius Nerva (d. A.D. 33) and Masurius Sabinus were codified later by the jurists Julius Paulus and Domitius Ulpianus. Paulus ruled that land bequeathed with books and libraries (*bibliotheca*) were rightfully included in a legacy.[74] Ulpian also concluded that freestanding cupboards (*armaria*), libraries (*bibliotheca*), or books could be part of an inheritance, but normally shelving (*armaria* or *pegmata*) fixed on walls belonged to a building.[75] Although caution must be used in evaluating influences, from the evidence at hand it would be difficult to deny that the libraries studied in this paper made a valuable contribution to Roman library architecture.

The remains of one private library in a townhouse dating to the fourth century give some support for this judgment. The library (figure 18) was discovered in Rome on the Esquiline Hill near the graceful church of San Martino ai Monti by the archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani in December 1883.[76] Because construction of the modern Via dello Statuto (line 3-3-3) was in progress, time for intensive excavation of the dwelling was not available. Yet the size, location, interior, and decoration of the library (room 1) are familiar without reference to public libraries, and Lanciani identified a relatively large library (approximately 4.5 m. by 7 m. or 32 sq. m.) adjacent to the atrium and nymphaeum (room 2) in

Figure 18. Private library on the Esquiline Hill.



the living quarters. Its walls were undecorated from the floor to a height just above 1 m. Above this level the walls were handsomely decorated in stucco with painted pilasters at 1.5 m. intervals enclosing a square surface, in the middle of which were painted medallions about .85 m. in diameter. On one of the medallion frames appeared the red lettering *(A)polonius Thyan(eus)*, the name of the pagan neo-pythagorean philosopher who lived in the first century A.D.[77] Although there was no trace of shelving or cupboards in the room, the practice of placement of inscriptions and portraits of learned men on the doors of cupboards or above the cases on walls was a standard Roman practice.[78] Lanciani's find calls to mind the type of decoration used in the House of Augustus. And the unknown proprietor's preference for Apollonius of Tyana mirrors Hadrian's taste for authorship at his Antiate villa.

Placed in the context of imperial history, the development of the private library was similar to that of the public library in many ways. The opportunity for distinctive Roman contributions—separate Greek and Latin sections, the use of vaults, niches, apses, and curvilinear lines, balconies, the union of storage and study space in one room, furnishings, and decoration—occurred in both types, and innovations in one could be adapted or refined in another. For private libraries, this growth

can best be traced in imperial residences for a century and a half. Modern architectural studies, which have concentrated on public libraries, have outlined the historical evolution of double libraries, eastern influences on architectural library form, the library's association with temple precincts, or basic library typology ("Langhaus," "Breithaus," or "Stadtroemische Bauform"). To my mind, the pragmatic Romans were not very interested in these abstract trends. They conceived new plans about library form and function by building upon Greek and Hellenistic standards. The Roman genius lies in the ability to devise functional and attractive interior space for their well-educated Graeco-Roman users that complemented both public and private settings where study, reading, storage, and gatherings were combined. These serviceable Roman concepts resurfaced prominently in the eighteenth-century libraries of the English gentry conceived by Robert Adam.[79] The impact of this classical style on library architecture continues today.

Notes

1. See Elzbeta Makowiecka, *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of the Roman Library* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu, 1978), pp. 73–78; Jeppe Tønsberg, *Offentlige Biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2. Århundrede e Chr.* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Biblioteksskole, 1976), pp. 60–65; and Fritz Milkau and Georg Leyh (eds.), *Handbuch der Bibliothekwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 117–118.

2. Carl Wendel, "Die Bauliche Entwicklung der Antiken Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswissen* 63 (1949): 425–426 (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften zum Antiken Buch und Bibliothekwesen* [Cologne: Greven, 1974], p. 158); Herman Jean de Vleeschauwer, "The Roman Library," *Mousaion* 72 (1964): 119.

3. Giorgio de Gregori, "Biblioteche dell'antichità," *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 11 (1937): 20–21; and Christian Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom)* 10, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3 (1944): 160–161, 176.

4. However, Makowiecka, *Roman Library*, p. 6, rejects this line of reasoning, stressing the public aspects of the emperor and his dwellings.

5. See Felix Reichman, "The Book Trade at the Time of the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly* 7 (1938): 40–76.

6. For example, they receive no mention by Bernt Goetz, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Jahrbuch der deutschen archaeologischen Instituts* 52 (1937): 225–247.

7. Domenico Comparetti, "La Bibliothèque de Philodème," in *Mélanges offerts à m. Emile Chatelain par ses élèves et ses amis, 15 avril 1910* (Paris: H. Champion, 1910), pp. 118–129; Christian Jensen, "Die Bibliothek von Herculaneum," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 135 (1930): 49–61.

8. For a complete description of papyri finds and the library, see articles by Carlo Gallavotti, "La custodia dei papyri nella Villa Ercolanese," *Bollettino dell'Istituto de Patologia del Libro, Roma* 2 (1940): 53–63; and "La libreria di una villa romana ercolanese," *Bollettino* 3 (1941): 129–145. The excavation of the entire villa is described in detail by Domenico Comparetti and Giulio de Petra,

La villa ercolanese dei Pisoni i suoi monumenti e la sua biblioteca (Turin: Ermanno Loescher, 1883).

9. Amedeo Maiuri, *La casa del Menandro e il suo tesoro di argenteria*, 2 vols. (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1932), vol. 1, pp. 84–89; and Lawrence Richardson, Jr., "The Libraries of Pompeii," *Archaeology* 30 (1977): 397-399.

10. See Alexander McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975) pp. 100-135; and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981), pp. 193-210.

11. See papers by Gianfilippo Carettoni, "I problemi della Zona Augustea del Palatino alle luce dei recenti scavi," *Atti della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti* 39 (1967): 55-75; "The House of Augustus—I," *Illustrated London News*, 20 September 1969: 24-25; and *Das Haus des Augustus auf dem Palatin* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1983).

12. I wish to thank Dottoressa I. Iacopi for permission to visit the Casa di Augusto and the Domus Aurea, which were closed to the public in summer 1983. My travel and research expenses were generously supported by the University of Guelph.

13. Carettoni, "House of Augustus," p. 24, McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces*, p. 72; and Carettoni, *Das Haus*, pp. 32-33.

14. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 72.2. According to John M. Carter, *Divus Augustus* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1982), p. 194, there is no evidence to suggest "Syracuse" formed part of the house on the Palatine. But I prefer the standard translations provided by John C. Rolfe, *Suetonius*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959-1960), vol. 2, pp. 236-237, or Robert Graves, *The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957), p. 91, because the study area is more closely associated with the libraries: see Carettoni, *Das Haus*, p. 92.

15. Two eastern niches deviate slightly from the general size. Near the block the depth of one niche is .38 m. Opposite it, beside the entrance, the width of one niche is .99 m. This variation is possibly due to renovation.

16. Volker Michael Strocka, "Römische Bibliotheken," *Gymnasium* 88 (1981): 308, has rejected the interpretation of these rooms as libraries. He regards the narrow depth of the niches, the lack of a podium, and painting inside niches as drawbacks. He suggests the extending ledge held vases and statues. However, his interpretation of these features does not preclude the room's use as a library: for example, the niche portrait may have appeared above the scrolls, the .35 m. deep shelves could accommodate an average papyrus roll or rolls specially sized for this niche. Of course, statuary was common in all libraries. See John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 72-77, for similar types of medieval niches.

17. For brief descriptions and bibliography, see Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, revised by Thomas Ashby (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 191-194; and Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 365-374.

18. Marcus Cornelius Fronto, *Epistulae* 4.5.

19. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 13.20.1.

20. André Langie, *Les bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'Empire Romain* (Fribourg: Fragnière Frères, 1908), pp. 62-63, rejects earlier theories on this matter.

21. Earlier theories rejected by Langie, *Les bibliothèques*, pp. 63-64; and by

Clarence E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), pp. 14–15.

22. For: Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 59. Contra: F. W. Hall reviewing Boyd in *Classical Review* 36 (1922): 31.

23. See J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Nero's Golden House," *Antiquity* 30 (1956): 209–219; Axel Boëthius, *The Golden House of Nero: Some Aspects of Roman Architecture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960); and William L. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 25–42.

24. P. Gregory Warden, "The Domus Aurea Reconsidered," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40 (1981): 271–278.

25. First identified by de Gregori, "Biblioteche dell'antichità," p. 21. Followed by Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," p. 161; Boëthius, *Golden House*, p. 117, Heinz Kaehler, "Biblioteca," in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica: Classica e Orientale* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1959), vol. 2, p. 96; Marion Elizabeth Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1959), p. 50; and Luigi Crema, *L'Architettura romana* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1959), p. 370.

26. Charles Cameron, *The Baths of the Romans Explained and Illustrated* (London: G. Scott, 1772), p. 54 and plate 7. Cameron mistakenly believed he was exploring the substructure of the Baths of Titus. After 1907 Franz Weege, "Das goldene Haus des Nero," *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts* 28 (1913): 181–182, reentered this room (his room #65) but he did not suggest its use as a library, nor did he find any wall paintings.

27. Neither Tønsberg nor Makowiecka discusses this library, and Strocka, "Römische Bibliotheken," p. 309, thinks the niches were too far above the floor to be used as bookshelves. Of course, he is more interested in the formal imperial features of libraries, which often do not apply to palace and villa libraries. MacDonald, *Architecture*, p. 38, notes that the library was somewhat exposed and that two niches were awkwardly positioned, but he does not rule out use as a library.

28. Hermann Winnfeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1895), pp. 96–103; Pierre Gusman, *La Villa Impériale de Tibur (Villa Hadriana)* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1904), pp. 93–98.

29. Heinz Kaehler, *Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1950), pp. 106–117, summarizes the arguments for winter *triclinia* and explains their construction.

30. Roberto Paribeni, *The Villa of the Emperor Hadrian at Tivoli*, translated by Lily E. Marshall (Milan: Fratelli Treves, ca. 1930); Giuseppe Lugli, "Studi topografici intorno alle antiche ville suburbane: VI—Villa Adriana," *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* 55 (1927): 139–204; and "Villa Adriana," *Bollettino* 60 (1932): 110–150.

31. Pierre Gusman, *La Villa d'Hadrien près de Tivoli* (Paris: Hachette, 1908), p. 66.

32. Lugli, "Antiche ville suburbane," pp. 183–184; de Gregori, "Biblioteche," p. 27; Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," p. 176; Kaehler, "Biblioteca," p. 98; Tønsberg, *Biblioteker*, pp. 63–65; and Makowiecka, *Roman Library*, pp. 73–74.

33. Paribeni, *Villa*, plate 7 with commentary on opposite page; Kaehler, *Hadrian*, p. 23; Salvatore Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1961), pp. 64–67, illustrates a reconstructed interior.

34. Tønsberg, *Biblioteker*, pp. 62-63; Makowiecka, *Roman Library*, pp. 74-75.

35. Measurements by Tønsberg, *Biblioteker*, p. 53.

36. See Bernard N. W. Knox, "Silent Reading in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 9 (1968): 421-435.

37. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, p. 67.

38. Kaehler, *Hadrian*, pp. 50-51, 118-121; and "Biblioteca," p. 98.

39. Winnfeld, *Villa des Hadrian*, pp. 96-97; and Gusman, *La Villa Impériale*, pp. 98-100.

40. Makowiecka, *Roman Library*, pp. 76-78.

41. In ibid., p. 77, note 65, Makowiecka incorrectly states that no modern studies support its identity as a *nymphaeum*. Lugli, "Antiche ville suburbane," pp. 153-156, figures 1-4, table II; Norman Neuerburg, *L'Architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica* (Naples: Macchiaroli, 1965), pp. 234-235, no. 192; and Getraut Hornbostel-Huttner, *Studien zur Römischen Nischen-Architektur* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), p. 70, regard it as a shrine.

42. Carl F. W. Weichardt, *Tiberius's Villa and other Roman Buildings on the Ile of Capri*, trans. Harry Brett (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1900), p. 113. The library is room "d" in his imaginative plan on p. 101.

43. Amedeo Maiuri, *Brevario di Capri* (Naples: Editrice Rispoli anonima, 1937), pp. 17-29 ("Villa Jovis") and pp. 31-45 ("Lo Scavo").

44. Amedeo Maiuri, "Il palazzo di Tiberio detto 'villa Jovis' a Capri," *Atti del III Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1933), p. 163; repeated in his *Capri: Its History and Its Monuments* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1958), p. 40.

45. Maiuri, "Il palazzo," pp. 164-165.

46. Maiuri, *Saggi di varia antichità* (Venice: Neri Pozza, 1954), pp. 453-455; and Maiuri, *Capri*, pp. 48-49.

47. Kaehler, *The Art of Rome and Her Empire*, trans. J. R. Foster, rev. ed. (New York: Greystone Press, 1965), p. 88 and illustration on p. 70. His identification is supported by McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces*, p. 126, and by Bernd Andreae, *The Art of Rome*, trans. R. E. Wolf (New York: Harry Abrams, 1977), p. 535.

48. For example, Makowiecka, *Roman Library*, pp. 30-31; and Tønsberg, *Biblioteker*, pp. 26-28.

49. Ferdinando Castagnoli, "Sulla biblioteca del tempio di Apollo Palatino," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma* series 8, vol. 4 (1949): 381-382.

50. David L. Thompson, "The Meetings of the Roman Senate on the Palatine," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981): 337-338.

51. Giuseppe Lugli, "Saggio sulla topografia dell'antica Antium," *Rivista dell' Istituto Nazionale di Archaeologia e Storia dell' Arte, Roma* 7 (1940): 177-181, provides the best study of the "Villa Imperiale."

52. Theodor Mommsen et al. (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1863-), vol. 10, no. 6638. Hereafter cited as *CIL*.

53. Flavius Philostratus, *Vita Apolloni* 8.20.

54. *CIL*, vol. 14, no. 196.

55. Ludovico Paschetto, *Ostia colonia romana: Storia e monumenti* (Rome: Poliglotta Vaticana, 1912), pp. 407-421; Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 76-77.

56. *CIL*, vol. 10, nos. 1735 and 1757; and T. Dorandi, "Glutinatores," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50 (1983): 25-28.

57. *CIL*, vol. 10, no. 1745.

58. Ettore de Ruggiero et al. (eds.), *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romana* (Rome: L. Pasqualucci, 1886-), "librarius," in vol. 4, pp. 960-961.

59. L. Bruce, "The *Procurator Bibliothecarum* at Rome," *Journal of Library History* 18 (1983): 152-156.

60. Perhaps outside Rome at Labicum where a certain Fronto may have bequeathed property to Claudius: see the analysis by Anton von Premerstein, "Frontonis platani," *Hermes: Zeitschrift für Klassiche Philologie* 43 (1908): 325-336. Possibly the library northeast of Centumcellae may have been in Trajan's villa; however, I prefer the standard interpretation that it was part of Trajan's bathing complex: see Salvatore Bastianelli, "Civitavecchia: Nuove esplorazioni esequite nelle Terme Taurine," *Notizie degli Scavi Antichità* series 7, vol. 3 (1942): 235-252; and the same author's *Centumcellae (Civitavecchia) Castrum Novum (Torre Chiaruccia): Regio VII—Etruria* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1954), p. 71 and figure 7, note 12.

61. Carl Wendel, "Die Bauliche Entwicklung," pp. 411-415 (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 146-150); "Der Antike Bücherschrank," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, Philologische-Historische Klasse* vol. 7 (1943): 288-296 (reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 77-82). Wendel's ideas are rejected by Makowiecka, *Roman Library*, pp. 33-34. Erich Budde, *Armarium und Kißwrós: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des antiken Mobiliars* (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsche, 1940), pp. 29-32, discuss library shelving.

62. Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6.4.1.

63. To the standard studies by Strocka (1981), Makowiecka (1978), Tønsberg (1976), Kaehler (1959), Crema (1959), Milkau and Leyh (1955), Callmer (1944), and de Gregori (1937), add Carl Wendel, "Bibliothek," in Theodor Klauser (ed.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Karl Heirsemann, 1941-) vol. 2, cols. 262-263; and Lawrence S. Thompson, "Roman and Greek Libraries," in Allen Kent, Harold Lancour, and Jay E. Daily (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1968-), vol. 26, pp. 20-23.

64. Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6.5.2.

65. See Henry Bardon, *Les empereurs et les lettres latins d'Auguste à Hadrien* (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1940); and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and His Caesars* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 73-96.

66. Martial, *Epigrammata* 7.17; and R. P. Saller, "Martial on Patronage and Literature," *Classical Quarterly* 33 (1983): 246-257.

67. Lucian, *Adversus Indoctum et libros multos ementem* 22.

68. Petronius, *Cena Trimalchionis* 48.4. In 54 B.C. Cicero revealed that his brother, Quintus, possessed a Greek library and Latin book collection, but it is possible that he referred to libraries located in separate residences: see *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrum* 3.4.5.

69. Pliny, *Epistulae* 2.17.8.

70. Seneca, *De Tranquillitate animi* 9.6.

71. Pliny, *Epistulae* 4.28.1.

72. His letter is reprinted in Karl Wotke (ed.), *S. Eucherii Lugdunensis Opera Omnia* (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1894), p. 199.

73. Seneca, *De Tranquillitate animi* 9.7; and Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistulae* 8.4.1.

74. Julius Paulus, *Sententiarium libri V* 3.6.51.

75. *Corpus juris civilis: Digesta* 32.52.7 and 33.7.12 (34) and 30.41.9 cites *bibliothecis parietibus inhaerentibus*; and 33.7.12 (25) refers to *pegmata*.

76. Rodolfo Lanciani, "Supplementi al volume VI del Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," *Bollettino della Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma* 12 (1884): 48–49, and his *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967, reprint of 1888 edition), pp. 191–193. See also Clark, *The Care of Books*, pp. 23–24.

77. The side walls of a fifteenth-century library room in the monastery of S. Barnaba in Brescia are very similar: see James F. O'Gorman, *The Architecture of the Monastic Library in Italy 1300–1600* (New York: New York University Press, 1962), pp. 43–44, figures 20–21.

78. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 35.2 attributes the origin of this practice to Asinius Pollio.

79. For Adam's residential libraries, consult Arthur T. Bolton, *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam (1758–1794)*, 2 vols. (London: Country Life, 1922). Adam briefly visited Hadrian's Villa in 1756.



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Tiberius and the Libraries: Public Book Collections and Library Buildings in the Early Roman Empire

George W. Houston

The principate of the emperor Tiberius was a surprisingly interesting period in Roman library history. Devoted to books and scholarship himself, Tiberius built what must have been a very large new library, but he also confirmed the Augustan principle of constructing numerous separate structures rather than one comprehensive library. He invented the position of library commissioner, to which he appointed a scholarly advisor, not an administrator. He gave texts of three Greek authors to the libraries. This implies that those works had not previously been in the collection and so gives us valuable insight into the contents of the Augustan libraries.

Modern scholars do not ordinarily regard the principate of the Roman emperor Tiberius (reigned AD14–37) as a period of any particular interest for library history. To be sure, Tiberius's own interest in literature has often been noted: his creation of a new library at the Temple of the Deified Augustus is duly registered in accounts of the great imperial libraries in Rome, and his gift to the libraries of Rome of the works of three little-known Greek writers is frequently cited as an example of Tiberius's quirky taste in literature.[1] These and other relevant bits of evidence, however, have never been exploited as a coherent body of information on the state of libraries in the early decades of the Roman Empire. The purpose of this article is to do just that—bring the information together, consider it in context, and see what can be learned from it about Roman library history in the time of Tiberius and his predecessor, Augustus.

Tiberius as a Student of Literature: Reading and Writing

Although Tiberius was occupied above all with military, political, and administrative matters both before and after his accession to the throne, he was throughout his life deeply interested in literature, intellectual

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activity, books, and, we may reasonably infer, collections of books. Earlier scholars have described this characteristic of the man in detail, so a short list of the clearest items of evidence will suffice. As a student, Tiberius received extensive training in language and literature (both Greek and Latin), history, philosophy, rhetoric, and law.[2] In 20 BC, at the age of twenty, he was sent briefly to Armenia on a diplomatic mission. He took with him not only political advisors but also a group of young literary men.[3] On his way back to Italy he made a point of stopping briefly on the island of Rhodes, probably to study with Theodorus of Gadara, a celebrated scholar, rhetorician, and historian.[4]

After many years of public service, Tiberius in 6 BC famously abandoned his ambitions and responsibilities and retired to Rhodes, where for more than seven years, until he returned to Rome as co-regent, he led (we are told) a quiet and presumably scholarly life.[5] Certainly, Rhodes was an intellectual center. The great scholar Posidonius had made the island the most important school of Stoicism early in the first century BC Pompey, Caesar, Cicero, Brutus, and many other young Romans had all gone there to study, and the island was an active center of astronomical studies, a particular interest of Tiberius.[6]

We know, too, that Tiberius was active as a writer. There were speeches, of course, both in various public contexts—in the Senate, in the courts, and in response to foreign emissaries—and to his troops on campaign. He wrote Greek and Latin poetry, including Greek epigrams and a poetic lament on the death of his stepson Lucius Caesar in AD 2, and toward the end of his life he wrote a short autobiography.[7] Many of these works were published and survived at least until early in the second century, for the biographer of the emperors, Suetonius, consulted them at that time. Tiberius was, in short, a man trained and active in literature and in scholarly matters like so many men of his class and time. It will not be surprising if the evidence shows that he was concerned with collections of books in Rome and elsewhere.

The Imperial Book Collections

When Augustus died in August of AD 14, there were three public libraries in the city of Rome.[8] The oldest was the library in the Atrium Libertatis, created by Gaius Asinius Pollio and opened no later than early in the year 28 BC Nearly coeval was the library at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, established by the emperor Augustus and opened, it seems, somewhat later than Pollio's library. The third, established by Augustus's sister Octavia, by Augustus, or by both of them, was located

in or at the Portico of Octavia and probably opened in the late 20s or early 10s BC[9] We can reasonably assume that Augustus, Tiberius, and other members of the imperial family possessed substantial personal collections of manuscripts, some of them in Rome and others in villas outside of Rome, in addition to these three public libraries. Many wealthy men of the late republic had had such collections, establishing a pattern that Tiberius surely would have followed. That libraries were common in the houses and villas of the wealthy is indicated by the architectural writer Vitruvius, writing probably in the 20s BC, for he regarded it as a given that a large villa ordinarily would have had a library.[10]

For the imperial household there is explicit evidence for a library at the imperial villa at Antium on the coast some thirty miles south of Rome. The slaves and freedmen who worked at that villa were organized into an association and elected officers each year, and fragmentary lists of the officers, which were recorded in stone, survive. In the years from AD 37 to 48, several of the officers were men assigned to work in the library, and since the surviving inscriptions are fragmentary, it is very likely that the library had been in existence for some time before the year 37.[11] By analogy with this villa and given the literary interests of Tiberius, we also may infer the existence of a substantial collection of bookrolls in one or more of the imperial villas on Capri, where Tiberius spent much (but by no means all) of his time in his last years, and probably a library in the villa at Misenum, where Tiberius died in March of AD 37.[12] No doubt many other imperial residences, both within and outside of Rome, had libraries as well, just as Cicero kept book collections in at least three different residences and perhaps more.[13]

Books must have come to the imperial family and especially to the emperor in large numbers and in many ways. Authors no doubt regularly offered presentation copies of their new works to the reigning *princeps* in hopes of winning his favor and perhaps his patronage. This would be true especially when they had dedicated the work to the emperor, as Vitruvius dedicated his ten books on architecture to Augustus and Valerius Maximus his nine books of memorable deeds and sayings to Tiberius.[14] Emperors received many gifts, both privately and on state occasions, and although books are not explicitly mentioned, works of art are, and at least some books were clearly viewed as valuable commodities and so might have made suitable gifts.[15] Tiberius received numerous legacies and inheritances as well, and some of these, especially those involving whole villas, are likely to have included collections of manuscripts.[16] Finally, of course, emperors could, like anyone else, buy or commission copies of works.[17] It is hard to imagine Tiberius not acquiring a considerable

collection of Greek texts during the seven years he spent on the island of Rhodes and bringing them back to Italy.

So far as can be learned, Augustus never established an administrative system to manage all of this large and scattered collection of manuscripts. Instead, he limited himself to dealing with the libraries separately, both when he first organized a library and later when it was fully operational. Thus, Gaius Melissus, a freedman of Augustus's advisor Maecenas, organized the Octavian library, and Pompeius Macer (otherwise unknown, but probably freeborn) set up the Apollo library. As for established libraries, one man is known to have served as director of one (but not all) of them: Gaius Iulius Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus and a scholar, was director of the Apollo library, although it is not known when or for how long he served.[18]

The only other evidence on library administration under Augustus is indirect. In one of his poems Ovid imagines one of his books of poetry, written in exile, returning to Rome and seeking entrance into the three existing libraries. The dramatic date is roughly AD 10. First the book approaches the Apollo library, then the Octavian, and finally the library in the Atrium Libertatis. In each case the book is refused entrance by someone in charge of that library.[19] What is of interest here is that there seems to be no one person for Ovid's book to approach, no single commissioner of all the libraries. Instead, there is an individual directing or in charge of each separate library.[20] Poetry, of course, is not the best place to look for precise information on administrative history, but still there is nothing here to suggest that there was at this time a single commissioner of all the libraries similar to the *procurator bibliothecarum* known in later times.

The Library in the New Temple of the Deified Augustus

Toward the end of his life, in the 30s AD, Tiberius built a great temple to his deified father, Augustus.[21] In association with it he created a library, the first new library building since the Octavian library had opened some fifty years before.[22] No trace of either temple or library has yet been found, and their location and plans remain uncertain.[23] The most likely location, however, seems to be in the valley between the Capitoline and Palatine hills, and we might well imagine that the Temple of Augustus itself stood within or opened onto a large open space, that the space was surrounded by a columned portico, and that the library stood outside of the portico and opened onto it.[24] The construction of the temple complex and presumably of the library as well was nearly or fully complete at the time of Tiberius's death, but Tiberius chose not to dedicate it

(no doubt because he did not want to enter Rome), and it was, accordingly, dedicated by his successor, Caligula, in August of AD 37.[25]

Only two ancient sources mention this library. Writing in the 70s AD, Pliny the Elder noted that "we [can] see the Tuscan Apollo in the library of the Temple of Augustus. It is fifty feet high measuring from the toe, and I could not tell you whether it is more remarkable for the quality of the bronze or for its beauty."[26] Some forty or fifty years after Pliny, Suetonius, in his biography of Tiberius, reported a dream of Tiberius: "On his last birthday, [Tiberius] had seen [in a vision] the Apollo Temenites, outstanding both in its size and in its beauty, which he had brought from Syracuse to be set up in the library of the New Temple."[27]

Scholars certainly might wish for more information—some reference, say, to the books, the staff, or the plan of the building. Still, we can draw some useful inferences even from these brief statements. The statue is of great interest. Colossal statues placed on low podia facing the main entrance seem to have been a common feature of large libraries, at least in later times, but this Apollo was unusually tall for such statues.[28] It was fifty feet high, not counting the podium on which it stood (Pliny specifies that the measurement begins with the statue's foot), so that it would have required a roof reaching, at its peak, at least sixty feet and almost certainly more in height. For comparison, the interior walls of the splendid library of Celsus in Ephesus were some forty-five to fifty feet high, so that a sloping roof there would have reached just about sixty feet at its highest.[29] In Rome the interior elevation of the west library in the Forum of Trajan (part of the famous "Ulpian Library") must be reconstructed from fragments, but it seems to have been roughly fifty feet high, with, again, the peak of the roof reaching some sixty to seventy feet.[30] Tiberius's library at the Temple of Augustus, then, was approximately the equal of and possibly larger than two of the largest known libraries.

Moving the colossal bronze statue must have been difficult and expensive. As it happens, we know from Cicero that the corrupt governor Verres had tried to steal this very statue of Apollo in the 70s BC but had not succeeded.[31] Clearly, moving it was not an easy task, and both the implied size of the library building and the expense involved in transporting the statue provide clear evidence of Tiberius's interest in and commitment to this library. It was a project that was important to him.

Apollo, as a god interested in music, poetry, medicine, and philosophy, was obviously appropriate for a library, but his presence in the library also emphasized the connection with Augustus, since Apollo was Augustus's patron deity.[32] Tiberius may have intended this

temple-and-library complex to be a kind of mirror image of the temple and library Augustus had built on the Palatine. There the temple honored Apollo; here Apollo presided over the library. There the library was established by Augustus; here Augustus was worshiped in the temple. We know, too, that Tiberius placed one of Augustus's favorite paintings—a portrait of the mythical youth Hyacinthus that Augustus had brought back from Alexandria in Egypt—in the Temple (though not the library) of the Deified Augustus.[33] Given this, it seems entirely possible that Tiberius also gave some or all of Augustus's bookrolls, which he must have inherited, to this library. That, of course, must remain simply a hypothesis, given the nature of the evidence.

Tiberius Iulius Pappus, Commissioner of Libraries

Another indication of Tiberius's deep interest in the imperial book collections comes from the sepulchral inscription of Tiberius Iulius Pappus, a freeborn Roman citizen from the Greek East. The stone was found on the Via Praenestina east of Rome.[34] The Latin text appears on the left, with a line-by-line translation on the right. In the Latin, material within parentheses represents expansions of the abbreviations on the stone.

D(is) M(anibus)	[Sacred] to the Shades.
Ti(berio) Iulio Zoili f(ilio)	For Tiberius Iulius Pappus, son of Zoilus
Fab(ia tribu) Pappo, comit(i)	of the Fabian tribe, advisor
Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti)	of Tiberius Caesar Augustus,
idemq(ue) supr(a)	and also in charge of
bybliothecas omnes	all the libraries
Augustorum ab	of the emperors from
Ti(berio) Caesare usque ad	Tiberius Caesar until
Ti(berium) Claudium Caesarem	Tiberius Claudius Caesar.
per Ti(berium) Iulium Niconem hered(em)	[Erected by] Tiberius Iulius Nico, heir
in parte quarta et Iuliam Fortun(atam)	of one-fourth part, and by Iulia Fortunata.

In lines 5 to 9 we find that Pappus was in charge of all the libraries in Rome for a period of uncertain duration, but certainly extending from at least March of AD 37, when Tiberius died, through January of AD 41, when Claudius ascended to the throne. Given Pappus's friendship

with Tiberius (discussed below), it is reasonable to assume that he had taken charge of the libraries some (and perhaps many) years before AD 37. Pappus certainly continued in his library post after the dedication of the library at the Temple of Augustus, so his area of responsibility under Caligula and Claudius must have included at least the four great imperial collections in Rome (the libraries in the Atrium Libertatis, at the Temple of Apollo, in the Portico of Octavia, and at the Temple of Augustus), but we cannot tell how much further his responsibilities may have extended. Probably, he was expected to manage the personal collections of Tiberius and perhaps those of Claudius and other members of the imperial family. It cannot be determined whether the libraries in the imperial villas outside of Rome were also part of his sphere of activity.[35]

Also not known for sure is whether Pappus was the first man to be given charge of all the libraries, but there is a good chance he was. It is all but certain that Augustus never appointed any such director. No other commissioner of all libraries is attested under Tiberius,[36] and the long and cumbersome title given Pappus in his inscription suggests an ad hoc title for a newly created position.[37] At this point, the question becomes a more general one: What does all this mean? What can be learned about library history from Pappus, his position as commissioner of libraries, and the possibility that he was the first such commissioner?

First, it can be noted that Pappus was very probably, although not quite certainly, the son or perhaps the grandson of a certain Gaius Iulius Zoilos of Aphrodisias in Asia Minor.[38] Zoilos had been a freedman and agent of Octavian circa 40 BC and had apparently acquired considerable wealth as a result. If Pappus was his son, then Pappus, too, was probably a native of Aphrodisias, and he would fit comfortably within the substantial group of men from the Greek East who came to Rome in the first century BC to work in various capacities, including working in libraries for private citizens (so Tyrannio for Cicero) or, later, the emperors (e.g., Hyginus for Augustus).[39] Pappus may have been educated partly in Aphrodisias and partly in Rome, and if his father, Zoilos, maintained his friendship with Octavian, that could help to explain how Pappus met Tiberius and found a place within Tiberius's circle.[40]

However it came to pass, Pappus certainly did find a place in Tiberius's circle. Lines 3 and 4 of his tombstone reveal that Pappus was *comes* of Tiberius. While the term *comes* was regularly used to designate those men of senatorial or equestrian rank who were *amici principis* (i.e., members of the emperor's formal body of advisors, or *consilium*) and who, as *amici*, accompanied the emperor while he traveled abroad, Silvio Panciera

argued convincingly in his discussion of Pappus's inscription that the word *comes* here has a less formal meaning, that of a friend who served as an intellectual companion and informal counselor of the emperor. Pappus, that is, was a figure something like the philosopher and astrologer Thrasyllus, also from the East and also a close advisor of Tiberius.[41]

It is important to note that Pappus held no administrative positions other than his library post. He was not a career administrator, in contrast to the *procuratores bibliothecarum* known from later times, men like Suetonius the biographer, Iulius Vestinus, and Volusius Maecianus.[42] Rather, as *comes* of Tiberius and, it seems, an educated man from the Greek East, he was apparently a scholar, comfortable with and among books. He would have been a good man to sort through newly acquired texts, to work on what we would call collection development, and to choose and organize the books for the new library at the Temple of Augustus.[43] It would be for those reasons more than for any administrative abilities he might have had that Tiberius would have chosen Pappus to supervise the imperial manuscript collections.[44]

If we put all of this together, Pappus emerges as a transitional figure in Roman library administration. In the late republic Cicero had retained Tyrannio, a scholar from the Greek East, for specific tasks and specific periods of time.[45] Augustus, like Cicero, used men who had been trained in the Greek East to organize the Octavian library and direct the Apollo library, and he had Pompeius Macer carry out the specific but limited task of organizing the Apollo library.[46] With Pappus we have for the first time a man who is given a broader set of responsibilities: he was asked not simply to organize a library at its inception (though he may well have done that for the library at the Temple of Augustus) but also to supervise libraries over a period of time; he served not just long enough to accomplish a specific single task but for at least four years and probably a good deal longer; and he was to oversee not just one library but, as his inscription proudly notes, *all* of them. In this he prefigured the *procuratores bibliothecarum* of the second century, but, unlike them, he was not a career administrator. Tiberius, in short, drew on the existing tradition of employing scholars to manage the imperial collections of manuscripts but set a precedent by assigning a single scholar the task of overseeing the *entire* imperial collection. At that time this collection was stored in at least four different structures (the four libraries known to us), but Pappus may also have been responsible for the personal collections belonging to the emperor and members of the imperial family.

Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius

In his *Life of Tiberius,* Suetonius wrote about Tiberius's particular interests in literature: "He [Tiberius] also composed Greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius. He was so completely charmed by those poets that he dedicated their works, and also portraits of them, in the public libraries, among those of the old and best writers."[47] The passage is instructive in various ways. It shows that the works of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius were available in at least some of the imperial libraries from the time of Tiberius on. That is a welcome bit of information, since very little is known about the specific authors or works contained in these libraries. Also, this is one of the few instances in which a source gives the names of specific authors honored by portrait busts in libraries.[48] What makes the passage particularly valuable, however, becomes clear only when it is turned around: the crucial point is that many or all of the works of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius were *not* in Rome's imperial collections—that is, the collections established by Asinius Pollio and by Augustus—until Tiberius put them there. What does this mean? Were these writers so little known that no Roman ever would have heard of them or wanted to read them?[49]

Parthenius was born in Bithynia (at that time an independent kingdom) in the early years of the first century BC He seems to have been captured and enslaved in the 70s or 60s BC, brought to Italy, and then set free.[50] Once he was free it appears that he supported himself by teaching, lecturing, and other scholarly activities.[51] More importantly, he was a significant figure in the literary scene in Italy during the middle of the first century BC[52] He was himself a poet, admired especially as a writer of elegiac verse. There are references to a number of poems on mythological subjects, others that were songs of lament (including one on the death of his wife), and a variety of other works.[53] In general, he seems to have enjoyed a good reputation as a poet; his poems, for example, were associated with those of Callimachus by a certain Pollianus, writing in the first or second century AD, and Parthenius was still being read at least as late as the fourth century AD[54] Of his works, nothing survives beyond some fragments of his poems and a series of prose summaries of love stories drawn from Greek myths. The latter, entitled *Erotica Pathemata,* was dedicated to the Roman elegist and general Cornelius Gallus. Gallus, suggested Parthenius in his prefatory remarks, might find some use for these stories in his poetry.[55]

Thus, Parthenius knew Cornelius Gallus (not necessarily very well) and may have assisted him in his writing. From Macrobius and

Aulus Gellius we learn that he also worked with and perhaps taught Vergil.[56] It is also all but certain that Parthenius knew Catullus's friend Cinna, since Cinna's work seems to have been influenced by Parthenius. It would thus not be at all surprising if Parthenius knew Catullus, too.[57] In sum, Parthenius knew in person at least a few (and perhaps many) of the most important poets of the generation that immediately preceded the first appearance of public libraries in Rome, he was himself a productive writer, and he continued to be read and reasonably well known for at least four centuries.

The Roman poets who were alive in Parthenius's day did not know Euphorion in person, for he had lived in the third century BC, but several of them were familiar with Euphorion's work. A scholar-poet, Euphorion served as director of the great library at Antioch, drew his poetic aesthetics from Callimachus, and composed several different types of poetry, mostly (so far as we know) in hexameters but perhaps elegiacs as well.[58] He is known to have written poems on mythological subjects, curse-poems, poems of praise and of lament, and several others of uncertain content.[59]

Vergil seems to have been particularly familiar with the work of Euphorion, for scholars have noted verbal echoes of Euphorion in Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and several details in book 2 (the story of the fall of Troy) and other books of the *Aeneid* seem to be drawn from Euphorion.[60] Fragments of Euphorion preserved in papyri show that Cornelius Gallus almost certainly and Catullus possibly drew from his work. Cicero clearly knew about Euphorion, for he twice refers specifically to him and his work, in one instance characterizing it as hard to figure out.[61] Papyrus fragments reveal that Euphorion retained a certain popularity and continued to be read, at least in Roman Egypt, well into the Roman Empire. From the town of Oxyrhynchus, for example, eight papyri containing fragments of Euphorion have been published to date. That is not a large number in absolute terms, but it gives us a rough idea of Euphorion's popularity in comparison to other authors known from papyri: at Oxyrhynchus, 128 authors are represented in papyri, and of them Euphorion is tied with the famous Athenian orator Aeschines for twenty-fourth most frequently attested author.[62] We also have what appear to be the partial remains of a personal library assembled over the course of several decades in the second century AD The authors represented in this small collection are in general the great standard authors of the past. Homer and Hesiod, the three great tragedians, the three great writers of Old Comedy, and Callimachus are all present, and we can safely infer that this was a conventional and traditional collection.

It is, then, significant that Euphorion is included. By the owners of this collection, at least, he was considered one of the authors one wanted in a solid basic collection of the Greek classics.[63]

Of the three authors Tiberius so admired, Rhianus is probably the least familiar to modern readers. Born on Crete and active, it seems, in the third century BC, Rhianus was a scholar and poet.[64] As a scholar he produced a moderately important edition of Homer (forty-five of his readings are cited by later scholiasts and so are known to us), and as a poet he wrote both epic poems (differing in this from Parthenius and Euphorion) and epigrams.[65] The epics survive only in short fragments, but Rhianus wrote at least half a dozen of them, and they could be long. An epic *Thessalica* (Thessalian history or legends or both), for example, ran to sixteen books, and another epic, perhaps on Heracles, was fourteen books long.[66] It is not known how many epigrams Rhianus wrote, but at least ten poems, totaling fifty-five lines, were chosen by Meleager—active circa 100 BC—for inclusion in his *Garland*, a collection of what he considered to be the best epigrams written down to his day.[67] As far as we can determine, Rhianus was not well known in first-century BC Italy. Vergil seems to have been familiar with at least some of Rhianus's work, and there is a slight possibility that Tibullus was, too, but otherwise we have no specific evidence of Rhianus's influence or presence in Italy before Tiberius.[68] Still, Rhianus was a prolific writer and a respected scholar. Greek readers had high regard for his epic history of Messenia, and in Meleager's selection of epigrams Rhianus is represented by more lines of poetry than forty-nine of the sixty-five epigrammatists whose works are included.[69] That gives at least a rough idea of where Rhianus rated in Meleager's estimation.

Much more could be (and has been) said about these three writers, but the essential picture should be clear. They are certainly not writers of the very highest rank. There is no Homer here, no Hesiod or Callimachus. On the other hand, at least some of the works of all three writers were available and known in Italy during the early Augustan period, precisely when Asinius and Augustus were establishing the first public libraries. Parthenius had lived and worked in Italy in the late republic, and a number of the writers of the time knew him personally. They read what he wrote, and through him their acquaintance with the works of Euphorion and Callimachus may have grown stronger and deeper.[70] The poetry of Euphorion was known to a wide readership both in the Augustan period and later, and a number of poets read and evidently admired his work, since reflections of it can be traced in their own poetry. Rhianus was a different sort of poet, more inclined to epic

and longish poems on historical themes, so he was less likely to be of interest to the Roman elegists, but he produced a large body of work, at least some of which was available in Italy, and his continuing popularity later indicates that he was a significant author.

It comes, then, as something of a surprise that the works of these writers—or at least substantial parts of their works—were not to be found in the Augustan-era libraries and had to be supplied by Tiberius. This has implications of considerable importance for library history. To put it bluntly, there were serious gaps in the imperial collection of Greek literature. If the works of these three writers were missing or present only in part, what of writers who were less well known or less highly esteemed, such as the ninety-three attested at Oxyrhynchus in fewer papyri than Euphorion or the forty-nine epigrammatists less prized than Rhianus? And, perhaps even more important, what of the lesser works of the great masters? Could we expect to find in the Apollo library, for example, all of the 120 or so tragedies that Sophocles had written? Would we find just a few, perhaps the most famous or the best-known ones? Or would the collection of Sophocles' plays be a random sample, whatever happened to be available when the library was being assembled? Such works by lesser authors or the lesser works of the great masters might be in a given library, but, then again, they might not. You would not know until you went looking.

We cannot know for sure why there were such gaps. In the case of Parthenius, Euphorion, and Rhianus we can rule out censorship on moral or political grounds, since Tiberius later included them, and he is not likely to have diverged from Augustan policy in such a matter.[71] There is, though, one possible explanation that should at least be considered. It may well be that the core collection of manuscripts in each of the great public libraries had originally been assembled by one or more private individuals. Many of the manuscripts in the Atrium Libertatis library might, for example, have been Asinius Pollio's own. Similarly, the principal collection in the Octavian library may well have consisted of Octavia's own bookrolls, for she was much interested in literature, and it is likely that she had inherited the library of Mark Antony.[72] If these early libraries were stocked in this way, with core collections coming from preexisting personal collections, then they would presumably include representative collections of the greatest works of Greek and Latin literature plus works that reflected the former owner's particular interests.[73] And if it happened that neither Asinius nor Mark Antony nor Octavia, for example, was interested in Parthenius, then that author would not be represented in the Atrium Libertatis or Octavian library.

Clearly there were and continued to be significant gaps. Authors such as Parthenius, Euphorion, and Rhianus could and did slip through the cracks. The great Augustan libraries, for all their splendor, do not seem to have regarded it as part of their mission to provide a complete collection of Greek literature.[74]

Conclusions

Thus far I have been using what is known from sources, or is nearly certain, in an attempt to shed light on what is not at all certain, and in so doing I have generally been moving backward in time from Tiberius to Augustus. I will now reverse this and construct a brief chronologically arranged narrative of the probable course of library history from 28 BC to AD 37.

Julius Caesar, according to Suetonius, envisioned a single great library that would contain the most complete possible collections of Greek and Latin texts, and toward the end of his life he entrusted the gathering of the texts and the organization of this library to the great scholar Terentius Varro.[75] This vision, however, was never realized, for Caesar was murdered before any such library could be established. Asinius Pollio and Augustus either rejected or ignored Caesar's conception and instead organized separate, smaller libraries on the model of the personal aristocratic collections of the late republic. The books for the new public collections may well have come from personal libraries that were established or already existing in the 40s to 20s BC The resulting public collections were not comprehensive, and we can infer that it was not considered important for the libraries of the Augustan era to provide comprehensive coverage of Greek literature. Augustus also did not follow Julius Caesar's plan for a single scholar as director of the libraries. Instead, he seems to have been content to appoint a scholar to organize each library and then to choose a man, perhaps a scholar or perhaps simply a steward from his domestic staff, to oversee the operation of each library.

Theoretically, Tiberius could have reversed course and returned to Caesar's idea of a single great collection under a single director. In the matter of library structures and collections, though, Tiberius chose to follow Augustan procedures, not Caesar's vision. Rather than consolidate all of the manuscripts within a single structure, he created a fourth separate library, the library at the Temple of Augustus, which opened in August of AD 37, five months after Tiberius's death. At roughly the same time—the 30s AD—he appointed Tiberius Iulius Pappus to take charge of all the emperors' libraries, in this respect departing from Augustan

practice.[76] It is a reasonable inference that Pappus assisted in planning and organizing the library at the Temple of Augustus, just as Pompeius Macer and Gaius Melissus had once organized libraries for Augustus, but that was not Pappus's only task: he then continued, through the principate of Caligula and into that of Claudius, to act as commissioner of all the libraries. So far as can be determined, he was the first such commissioner.[77] At an unknown date Tiberius also made sure that all of the libraries of Rome had copies of the works of Parthenius, Euphorion, and Rhianus. We cannot know if that action had any connection with the creation of the new library at the Temple of Augustus or with the appointment of Pappus.

The principate of Tiberius thus emerges as both transitional and formative in the history of Roman libraries. Tiberius continued and thus confirmed the practice of creating separate library buildings, but he also created a new position. Not only did he create the position, he chose as its first incumbent a scholar rather than a career administrator, and in so doing he defined and established its essential character; the man in charge of the libraries thereafter was always a scholar, and only much later were men appointed to this position who were career administrators as well as serious scholars. In these two actions Tiberius established principles for the administration of imperial libraries that all subsequent emperors could, and many did, follow.

Notes

My thanks to T. Keith Dix and Nicola Terrenato for discussing a number of different matters with me and to the anonymous referees for *Libraries & the Cultural Record* for helpful references. All translations of ancient texts are my own.

1. I will return to each of these topics and consider the evidence for them in the course of this article.

2. Barbara Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 16; Peter E. Knox, "The Poet and the Second Prince: Ovid in the Age of Tiberius," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 49 (2004): 9–10; F. R. D. Goodyear, "Tiberius and Gaius: Their Influence and Views on Literature," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, vol. 2, *Principat*, pt. 32.1, *Sprache und Literatur (Literatur der julisch-claudischen und der flavischen Zeit)*, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 603–6. All three give summaries of Tiberius's literary interests.

3. J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1902), 154–63. The literary men were not very distinguished, then or later (Knox, "The Poet and the Second Prince," 9–10).

4. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, 17; Rossella Granatelli, *Apollodori Pergameni ac Theodori Gadarei testimonia et fragmenta (accedunt Apollodoreorum ac Theodoreorum testimonia et fragmenta)* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1991), vi–vii.

5. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 11.1.

6. I. G. Kidd, "Posidonius," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., ed. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1231–33; Hendrik van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1900; reprint, Aalen: Scientia, 1979), 166–67, cf. 416, and for Tiberius's interest in astronomy see 418–20; and Jarrett A. Lobell, "The Antikythera Mechanism," *Archaeology* (March–April 2007): 44.

7. Martin Schanz and Carl Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur, bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, vol. 2, *Die römische Literatur in der Zeit der Monarchie bis auf Hadrian*, 4th ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1935), 421; Suetonius *Tiberius* 61.1.

8. I use the term "public libraries" cautiously, since it carries implications for moderns that it did not for the ancient Romans. For a full discussion of this see T. Keith Dix and George W. Houston, "Public Libraries in the City of Rome from the Augustan Age to the Time of Diocletian," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 118, no. 2 (2006): 671–73. Here I note that during this period "books" were always papyrus rolls and libraries were rooms, often highly decorated, with shelves on which the rolls were laid for storage. "Public" means that the collections of rolls were, at least in theory, open to the public, but it does not necessarily carry any implication about the source of the book collection or ongoing funding.

9. See Dix and Houston, "Public Libraries," 673–88; also F. Coarelli, "Bibliotheca Asinii Pollionis," in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 1, *A–C*, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1993), 196; P. Gros, "Apollo Palatinus," in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 1:55–56; and A. Viscogliosi, "Porticus Octaviae," in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vol. 4, *P–S*, ed. Eva Margareta Steinby (Rome: Quasar, 1999), 141. The Octavian library was certainly put into service after the Apollo library and so after 28 BC but before the death of Octavia in 11 BC

10. Horst Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1992), 152–57; T. K. Dix, "The Library of Lucullus," *Athenaeum* 88, fasc. 2 (2000): 441–64; Vitruvius, *De architectura* 6.4.

11. The men were given the title *a bybliotheca*, or "staff member active in the library." For the lists see Attilio Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. 13, *Fasti et Elogia*, fasc. 2, *Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1963), 203, 205, 207.

12. For the possibility of libraries on Capri see George W. Houston, "Tiberius on Capri," *Greece and Rome* 32, no. 2 (October 1985): 189–90. Other imperial villas of the time are listed in Gérard Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-empire romain: Rôle politique et administratif* (Naples: Jovene, 1970), 77, and in Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC–AD337)* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 24–28.

13. T. Keith Dix, "Private and Public Libraries at Rome in the First Century BC: A Preliminary Study in the History of Roman Libraries," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1986, 108–10.

14. Vitruvius, *De architectura* 1, preface; Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1, preface. For other authors who dedicated works to or praised Tiberius see J. L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea: The Poetical Fragments and the [Erotika Pathemata]* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 80.

15. For gifts to emperors in general and gifts of art in particular see Millar, *Emperor*, 139–53. Important collections of books, of course, had been treated as booty in war during the republic. Examples include the books of King Perseus of Macedon (Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paullus* 28.6; Polybius, *Histories* 18.35.4–5) and those captured in the sack of Asculum (Plutarch, *Life of Pompey* 4.1). We also hear of a man who had an iron chest in which he kept "money or papyrus rolls" (Appian, *Civil Wars* 4.44); clearly, his papyrus manuscripts were of considerable value.

16. Millar, *Emperor*, 153–56; Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis*, 76.

17. Individual texts could be purchased ready-made or commissioned or prepared by one's slaves from, say, a borrowed text. For a useful discussion of this mix of possible sources see William A. Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 157–60. See also, for the evolution over time of a specific personal library (in this case in Roman Egypt), George W. Houston, "Grenfell, Hunt, Breccia, and the Book Collections of Oxyrhynchus," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 47 (2007): 352–53.

18. On Macer s➡ Peter White, "'Pompeius Macer' and Ovid," *Classical Quarterly* 42, no. 1 (1992): 210–18. See also George W. Houston, "The Slave and Freedman Personnel of Public Libraries in Ancient Rome," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 132 (2002): 162.

19. Ovid *Tristia* 3.1.59–68, 69–70, and 71–72.

20. It is not clear what title this man had. Ovid, *Tristia* 3.1.67–68 refers to the person in charge of the Apollo library as a *custos e sedibus illis praepositus*, or "keeper put in charge of that place." *Custos* is not likely to have been a title applied to a scholarly director, since it generally means a physical guard or custodian. Perhaps *praepositus* was used, for not only does Ovid use the term here, but Suetonius, *De grammaticis* 20, in describing Iulius Hyginus's directorship of the Apollo library, also says of him, *praefuit Palatinae bibliothecae*, "he was in charge of the Palatine library." It is also possible, however, that the men who controlled access to the collections were simply *vilici*, "overseers," drawn from the ranks of the imperial freedmen; see further below, n. 44. We do not hear of the term *procurator* in connection with libraries in the early empire.

21. The temple had been decreed by the Senate soon after Augustus's death in AD 14, but Tiberius delayed building it for many years. M. Torelli, "Augustus, divus, templum (novum); aedes," in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 1:145, suggests that the delay was due to Tiberius's discomfort with the imperial cult.

22. We hear, in the second century AD, of a public collection in the Domus Tiberiana, or "residence of Tiberius," on the Palatine Hill. This should not be taken as a library that was built by Tiberius. The very name Domus Tiberiana probably did not come into use until the major new building programs under the Flavians, when it would have become necessary to distinguish the older (Tiberian) structures from the newer (Flavian) ones. Clemens Krause, "Palatium e Domus Tiberiana," in *Domus Tiberiana: Nuove Ricerche—Studi di Restauro*, ed. Reto Locher and Brigitt Sigel (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1985), 133–35, discusses the evidence. Under Tiberius there seem to have been several houses on the Palatine belonging to the imperial family, with some connections between them, and we may well assume that one or more of these houses had rooms set aside for the storage of manuscripts. It is possible that some of those manuscripts made their way into Tiberius's library at the Temple of Augustus, and it

is possible that some of them remained on the Palatine, eventually entering the collection that we know as the Domus Tiberiana library. There is no positive evidence for the existence of any book collection in the imperial residence(s) on the Palatine during the principates of Augustus and Tiberius, but surely the imperial family had one or more book collections. See also Dix and Houston, "Public Libraries in the City of Rome," 690–91.

23. The location of the Temple of Augustus, and hence of the library, has been much discussed. On the temple see the discussions by Giuseppe Lugli, "Aedes Caesarum in Palatio e Templum novum Divi Augusti," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 69 (1941): 29–58; and Mario Torelli, "Bibliotheca templi divi Augusti," in Steinby, *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae,* 1:197. For our purposes, the exact location is not as important as the very existence of the library and its connection to Augustus.

24. Roughly similar plans appear elsewhere in large urban complexes. At the Portico of Octavia, for example, two temples stood within an open space that was surrounded by a portico, and in the Forum of Augustus (which had no library) the great Temple of Mars stood at one end of the open space, with a portico once again surrounding the space. Exactly where the libraries in such complexes might have been—whether they stood outside the portico or somewhere within the square—remains unknown.

25. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 57.10.2, 59.7.1.

26. Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 34.43: "videmus certe Tuscanicum Apollinem in bibliotheca templi Augusti quinquaginta pedum a pollice, dubium aere mirabiliorem an pulchritudine."

27. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 74: "Supremo natali suo Apollinem Temenitem et amplitudinis et artis eximiae, advectum Syracusis ut in bibliotheca Templi Novi poneretur, viderat." "Temenites" in Suetonius means simply that the statue had been "within the sanctuary," that is, the sanctuary of Apollo in the Greek city of Syracuse. Even though Pliny refers to the statue as "Etruscan" (*Tuscanicus*), it must have been Greek. Perhaps Pliny made a mistake; perhaps he simply thought of the statue as archaic in style. The two writers are surely referring to the same statue, since they both remark on the size of the statue and the high quality of the bronze from which it was made.

28. Thus, for example, the Domitianic rebuilding of the Apollo library certainly, and the Augustan version of it probably, had large niches (*aediculae*) for statues. We can see the same feature in the second-century library of Celsus at Ephesus and the third-century library in Timgad. For the details and earlier bibliography see Blanck, *Das Buch,* 193 (Apollo), 206–7 (Ephesus), 211–12 (Timgad), and 213 (his summary statement on this architectural feature). It should be noted that we cannot be sure that the Augustan-era libraries had such niches, since the Apollo library may have been redesigned under Domitian. In that case, Tiberius's library may have been the first in Rome with such a statue placed on axis.

29. This would have been high enough, archaeologists believe, for three levels of bookcases, if three were wanted. The walls of the library of Celsus survive, however, only to a height of about ten meters, and the third level of niches for bookcases is a hypothesis that cannot be proven. The estimate of the original height of the walls—about sixteen meters—is from Rudolf Heberdey, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesus 1904," *Jahreshefte der österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien* 8 (1905): *Beiblatt* 62.

30. The figure for the height of the walls of the Trajan library comes from James E. Packer, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 121. He assumes a concrete vaulted roof rather than one of timber beams and roof tiles, but the maximum height would be about the same in either case. Compare the similar figure, also based upon a reconstruction, in Gioia Piazzesi, "Gli edifici: Ipotesi ricostruttive," *Archeologia Classica* 41 (1989): 181, fig. 76. Packer, *Forum of Trajan*, 121, 450, discusses the *aediculae* for colossal statues in the Trajan library and suggests the statues were of Minerva and Trajan.

31. Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.4.119.

32. Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 85–89.

33. Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 35.131.

34. Full publication and discussion in Silvio Panciera, "Miscellanea Epigrafica IV," *Epigraphica* 31, fasc. 1–4 (January–December 1969): 104–20.

35. Lorne Bruce, "The *Procurator Bibliothecarum* at Rome," *Journal of Library History* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 150, was inclined to think that Pappus was in charge of all the books in the imperial collections in Rome but was less sure about the libraries in imperial villas.

36. Lorne Bruce listed three men as library directors before Pappus, but we now know that none of those three was director of all the libraries (ibid., 146–47). See White, "Pompeius Macer," 214–15, followed by Houston, "Slave and Freedman Personnel," 142–43, 162–63. José A. Rodríguez Valcárcel, "*Procurator Bibliothecae Augusti*: Los bibliotecarios del emperador en los inicios de las bibliotecas públicas en Roma," *Anales de Documentación* 7 (2004): 235, took Tiberius Claudius Scirtus, an imperial freedman and *proc(urator) bybl(iothecarum)* or *bybl(iothecae)*, as the first director of all the libraries, but that is very unlikely. Scirtus must have been a freedman of Claudius, not Tiberius, whose freedmen were Tiberii Iulii (rather than Tiberii Claudii, like Scirtus), and he appears to have become procurator during the principate of Claudius, not under Tiberius. There is perhaps one possibility worth considering: it is very likely that Scirtus was set free by Claudius before he became emperor (H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser: Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur* [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1967], 39 n. 87), and it is possible that Claudius recommended Scirtus to Tiberius as a man suitable to administer the libraries. More likely, however, Scirtus was still working as a librarian in the villa at Antium at the time of Tiberius's death and so cannot have preceded Pappus as director of all the libraries. See Houston, "Slave and Freedman Personnel," 144–45 with notes f and g.

37. Although Tiberius was not an important innovator in the imperial administration, there is at least one other instance of his putting a single man in charge of what had earlier been separate offices, and that is his concentrating the accounts of the various provinces under a single man, the *a rationibus*. On this see Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis*, 77.

38. For Zoilos see Joyce Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982), 156–64, and R. R. R. Smith, *The Monument of C. Iulius Zoilos* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 4–13. Reynolds was "not quite convinced" that Zoilos was the father of Pappus (*Aphrodisias and Rome*, 164), but the coincidence of rare names and the coherence of

Pappus's career if we take him as Zoilos's son are powerful arguments in favor of the identification. Smith has no such doubts.

39. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 4.4a.1; Suetonius, *De grammaticis* 20.

40. We do not know when either Zoilos or Pappus was born. If Pappus was the son of Zoilos, he might have been born in the 30s or perhaps the 20s BC. That would make him slightly younger than Tiberius (born in 42) and some sixty years old when he was made commissioner of libraries. It is possible that Zoilos had a son, also named Zoilos, and that it was his son, perhaps born between 10 BC and AD 10, who was the commissioner of libraries. The former scenario may seem more likely if only because it helps explain the friendship of Tiberius and Pappus.

41. On the *amici* in the *consilium* of the emperor, the definition of *comites*, and the relation between *amici* and *comites* see John A. Crook, *Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 24–25. A summary account of Thrasyllus's life and work is in Marie-Luise Lakmann, "Thrasyllos [2]," in *Die neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, vol. 12, pt. 1 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2002), 496–97.

42. For these men see Houston, "Slave and Freedman Personnel," 160–67, or Bruce, "The *Procurator Bibliothecarum*," 147–48, 151–53.

43. We cannot, of course, prove that Pappus had a part in the planning for the new library, but the fact that he was commissioner of libraries at the very time that the library was completed and dedicated certainly suggests that he had some role in planning it.

44. Much of the day-to-day administration of the libraries was probably in the hands of imperial freedmen known to us from inscriptions as *vilici*, or, roughly, "overseers." They worked with slaves (owned by the emperors or by the people of Rome) and other freedmen to carry out the physical work in the libraries, including fetching manuscripts from storage for users and then reshelving them. See Houston, "Slave and Freedman Personnel," 155–56, 159–60.

45. Dix, "Private and Public Libraries," 136–37. Tyrannio was provided with slave assistants owned by Cicero's friend Atticus (135–36).

46. Houston, "Slave and Freedman Personnel," 142, no. 2 (Melissus organized the Octavian library), 142, no. 1 (Hyginus directed the Apollo library), and 162, no. 27 (Macer).

47. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 70.2: "Fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus, scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et praecipuos auctores dedicavit." Suetonius goes on to describe, among other things, the delight Tiberius took in the trivia of Greek mythology. A. F. Stewart, "To Entertain an Emperor: Sperlonga, Laokoon and Tiberius at the Dinner-Table," *Journal of Roman Studies* 67 (1977): 84–86, provides a very useful discussion of the whole passage, placing it within the broader context of Tiberius's aesthetic tastes generally.

48. By *imagines* Suetonius presumably means *imagines clipeatae*, or portrait busts in high relief, set within circular, garlandlike frames. We hear of *imagines* of Germanicus, Tiberius's adoptive son, placed on the walls of the libraries "above the column capitals," so that it is clear that busts, not full-length statues and not sculpture in the round, are what is meant by this term. See James H. Oliver and Robert E. A. Palmer, "Text of the Tabula Hebana," *American Journal of Philology* 75, no. 3 (1954): 227, l.3, for the Latin text.

49. Granted, Suetonius's statement cannot be taken as proof that none of the works of these authors was in any of the imperial libraries, for it may be that Tiberius was simply filling out what had previously been partial collections of their works. But the statement surely implies that very little and possibly none of the work of these authors was to be found in the Augustan libraries before Tiberius took action. Elaine Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture from Cicero to Apuleius* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 286 n. 26, noted that Suetonius's comment indicates that these writers had not been included in the Augustan collections, but she did not explore the implications of their omission.

50. For details, evidence, and a discussion of the many uncertainties regarding Parthenius's life see Christopher Francese, *Parthenius of Nicaea and Roman Poetry* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2001), 17–46; or Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 9–16.

51. Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture*, 28. Francese, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 38–43, suggests various additional ways scholars might have assisted poets. They could have helped them by carrying out research, helping them read and understand difficult texts, or working with them on matters of style and language. They might also have helped them organize and manage their book collections, as Tyrannio did Cicero (*Epistulae ad Atticum* 4.4a.1).

52. There has been considerable scholarly discussion about the precise nature and extent of Parthenius's impact on Roman literature. The seminal article was that of Wendell Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin Poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5 (Autumn 1964): 181–96, arguing, among other things, that it was through Parthenius that the young Roman poets of the 50s and 40s BC, including Cinna and Cornelius Gallus, came to know and appreciate Callimachus and Euphorion. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 50–76, was dubious about Parthenius's direct influence on the Roman poets, but see, e.g., Francese, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 47–67, and his review of Lightfoot in the *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, April 14, 2000, accessed November 29, 2007 http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2000/2000-04-14.html.

53. Parthenius's works are listed and discussed by Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 31–41, and more summarily by Francese, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 48.

54. *Greek Anthology*, 11.130. A convenient text of the *Greek Anthology* is available in the Loeb Classical Library series: *The Greek Anthology* with an English Translation by W. R. Paton, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, 1916–18); the relevant epigram of Pollianus is in 4:133, with the Greek text facing. For Pollianus's dates see Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, 54, and for Parthenius in the later empire see 76–96. Lightfoot notes that in some late lists of the canon of greatest Greek elegists, Parthenius replaced Philitas.

55. All the surviving poetic fragments and what survives of the *Erotica Pathemata* are gathered in the edition by Lightfoot. The stories tend to be obscure ones about unlucky lovers and loves, and ten of the thirty-six surviving stories deal with incestuous love. For Gallus and his relation to Parthenius see Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture*, 40, 56–60.

56. Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.17.18: "Vergil had Parthenius as his instructor (*grammaticus*) in Greek." This probably means that Vergil studied the style and meaning of Greek poetry with Parthenius. Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 9.9.3, 13.27 says that Vergil drew material from Parthenius and gives an example of such borrowing.

57. Clausen, "Callimachus," 188–91, argued that Cinna was deeply and directly

influenced by Parthenius's poetry and that Parthenius very probably played an important role in helping Cinna and other poets come to understand and appreciate Callimachus. So also Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture*, 40. See also Robert R. Dyer, "Where Did Parthenius Teach Vergil?" *Vergilius* 42 (1996): 21 with n. 29. There is no specific evidence of a personal connection between Parthenius and Catullus (on this see 21 nn. 30, 31).

58. B. A. van Groningen, *Euphorion* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1977) published the fragments and, on pages 249–50, provided a brief biography. (On van Groningen's edition, however, note the cautionary review by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Classical Review* 29, no. 1 [1979]: 14–17.) Euphorion modeled himself on Callimachus in preferring shorter poems to epics and in his style, which is straightforward in terms of syntax but reveals a preference for unusual words and learned references. For details on his style and meter see Enrico Magnelli, *Studi su Euforione* (Rome: Quasar, 2002), 22–56.

59. Euphorion's known works are listed and sorted by type in Magnelli, *Studi su Euforione*, 93–94.

60. Adelmo Barigazzi, s.v. "Euforione," in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), 421–22, assembles the evidence for Vergil's use of Euphorion.

61. Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 3.45 and *De divinatione* 2.132, both written in the years 45–44 BC In the latter passage Cicero says that Euphorion is *nimis obscurus*, "excessively obscure." He seems to be speaking from experience.

62. Julian Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit: Studien zur Topographie und Literaturrezeption* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990), 214. The papyri date from the first three centuries AD Obviously, these figures give only a very approximate idea of an author's relative popularity, since there are thousands of unpublished papyri, and those could change the numbers and relative rankings considerably. But clearly, Euphorion was known and read for many centuries.

63. Houston, "The Book Collections of Oxyrhynchus," 347–50.

64. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 4.1.6. On Rhianus's dates, which can be known only approximately, see Carla Castelli, "Riano di Creta: Ipotesi cronologiche e biografiche," *Istituto Lombardo, Accademia di Scienze e Lettere, Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche, Rendiconti* 128, fasc. 1 (1994): 73–87.

65. A convenient list of Rhianus's works is provided by Joachim Latacz, "Rhianos," in *Die neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, vol. 10 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2001), 990–91.

66. Some seventy fragments of Rhianus's epic poetry are known, although many of them are single words. The basic collection is in John U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina: Reliquiae minores Poetarum Graecorum Aetatis Ptolemaicae 323–146 A.C. Epicorum, Elegiacorum, Lyricorum, Ethicorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 9–21. Since Powell's day several fragments have been found in papyri. Most are listed in Luigi Leurini, "Osservazioni, vecchie e nuove, su Rhian. fr. 1 Powell," in *Poesia e religione in Grecia: Studi in onore di G. Aurelio Privitera*, ed. Maria Cannatà Fera and Simonetta Grandolini, vol. 2 (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2000), 385 n. 1.

67. The ten surviving epigrams of Rhianus are in A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965). The fragments themselves are in 1:174–76, with commentary in 2:503.

68. A. S. Hollis, "Octavian in the Fourth Georgic," *Classical Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (1996): 305–8, argues that at *Georgics* 4.560–62 Vergil imitated lines from a poem (title unknown) of Rhianus. He discusses Rhianus in the first century and the possibility of echoes in Tibullus (307 with n. 12, referring to earlier work by Francis Cairns).

69. For the importance of Rhianus's *Messeniaka* see Latacz, "Rhianos," 990, and Cristina Corbetta, "A proposito di due frammenti di Riano," *Aegyptus* 58, fasc. 1–2 (January–December 1978): 137–50.

70. Both Clausen, "Callimachus," 192, and Barigazzi, "Euforione," 162, took Parthenius as helping the Roman poets come to understand Euphorion.

71. We do know that Augustus was willing to exclude works on various grounds. We learn from Suetonius, *Julius* 56.7 that he instructed Pompeius Macer not to put what Julius Caesar had written when he was young in the new public collection on the Palatine, and, as we have seen, the poems Ovid wrote from exile were excluded from all three Augustan libraries. For a more detailed discussion of this topic see Nicholas Horsfall, "Empty Shelves on the Palatine?" *Greece and Rome* 40, no. 1 (April 1993): 60–61.

72. For the library in the Atrium Libertatis see Dix and Houston, "Public Libraries in the City of Rome," 675–80. In the case of the Octavian library, Antony may in turn have acquired through confiscation some of the personal collection of the great scholar Varro (686–87).

73. It would seem likely in any case that the early public libraries had extensive collections of the classic works of the past, and that assumption is supported by what we know of their contents. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 70.2 n. 47 states that Tiberius placed the works of Parthenius and the others "among those of the oldest and best writers." Horace, *Epistulae* 1.3.15–20 is more oblique: the poet Celsus is advised to be creative and not simply to copy the (great) works of the past that were already in the Apollo library. In passing, we may note that, if it is true that the public libraries incorporated preexisting private collections, then there was probably considerable duplication from one library to the next and perhaps within each of the public libraries, because most aristocratic libraries would have had complete copies of Homer, for example, and we would thus find numerous Homers in the imperial collection once the private libraries were absorbed into the public ones.

74. It may well be, of course, that the scholars who organized the libraries and those who subsequently directed them attempted to fill some of the gaps in their collections through purchase, commission, and in-house copying. But obviously they did not fill all the gaps, since authors of the importance of our three continued to be missing or incomplete into the reign of Tiberius.

75. Suetonius, *Iulius* 44.2. As has often been noted, Caesar's model was no doubt that of the library at Alexandria.

76. At first sight it may seem odd that Tiberius would be concerned about the libraries of Rome—concerned enough to devise a new administrative position and create a large new library—in the 30s, precisely the years when he was avoiding Rome. But by no means did his administration stop simply because he himself did not enter the city, and it may well have been in the 30s, when he was traveling around Campania, with its rich collections of manuscripts, that he was particularly interested in and had the time for literature. That involvement and his discussions with the scholars at court may have been the catalyst for his actions in Rome.

77. The experimental nature of this new position is revealed when we consider what happened after Tiberius. Under Claudius, the commissioner was not freeborn like Pappus but an imperial freedman, Tiberius Claudius Scirtus; late in the first century AD it was a free Greek scholar from Alexandria, Dionysius; and only from about the time of Trajan did the position become firmly established as one to be held by Romans who combined scholarly interests with administrative skills. For details and discussion of Scirtus, Dionysius, and the later commissioners see Bruce, "Procurator Bibliothecarum," 147–53, and Houston, "Slave and Freedman Personnel," 160–72.



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The *Procurator Bibliothecarum* at Rome

Lorne D. Bruce

Archaeological work commenced in the later part of the nineteenth century furnishes a great deal of our existing information on classical Roman libraries and their administrators. Because excavation continues to uncover new epigraphic and papyrus documents, correlation of literary references with archaeological discoveries is necessary to assess the value of both contributions. From epigraphic evidence concerning imperial library directors, it is possible to trace a historical outline of the administration of public libraries at Rome in the first and second centuries. For example, Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, the celebrated Roman biographer, was representative of the new equestrian administrator, scholar, and writer who appeared in first- and second-century Rome. His particular interest in libraries at the capital has often been utilized in modern studies to establish facts about these libraries, especially those founded by Augustus (31 B.C.-A.D. 14).[1] Yet the fact that Suetonius spent a short part of his administrative career as director of libraries, *procurator bibliothecarum* or *a bibliothecis*, was completely unknown until publication in 1952 of fragments from an inscription discovered by archaeological investigation at the ancient site of Hippo Regius, modern Annaba or Bône on the Mediterranean coast of Algeria.[2] Thus, Suetonius's references to libraries and the cultured literati who served as library administrators are testimony to his firsthand knowledge of library development, and his use of documentary details about libraries becomes more authoritative for research being conducted now.

The technique of using biographical information to study the holders of the library directorate in the first three centuries A.D. is useful for various purposes: to examine the significance of their position in relation to other offices; to see the changing role of

the library director; and to know the social status of men who occupied this position during the Principate.[3] Knowledge of the careers of men appointed as directors also helps to explain the development of public library service at Rome, especially its essentially passive character. Of course, it must be kept in mind that library procurators, and libraries themselves, are not extensively documented: careful examination of limited sources is required to understand general trends. Future discoveries will expand the present state of our knowledge.

The Equestrian Career

Standard studies on the daily administration of public libraries in Rome by the library procurator were completed before extensive research on equestrian and freedmen procurators was published in the last three decades.[4] An *eques Romanus* was usually a freeborn Roman citizen of financial means valued at 400,000 sesterces, less than half the value required for senatorial rank.[5] Knowledge of the equestrian order and its career patterns is essential to understand the development of the Roman library directorate.[6] The procurator was a direct agent of the emperor, who made appointments throughout the empire with the assistance of his advisors. During the first century, procurators were often freedmen (emancipated slaves with citizenship rights) of various backgrounds.[7] Normally, freedmen came from the emperor's staff (*familia Caesaris*). They performed a broad range of tasks encompassing private, public, and semipublic functions. Domestic staff were employed primarily in the maintenance of imperial properties and residences in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. Administrative staff were frequently employed in financial or departmental duties, supervising many services such as libraries, public baths, roads, aqueducts, mints, and so on. This dichotomous arrangement between personal and civil service functions was in many cases ambiguous, but it served as a general distinction and may be used to explain how libraries were administered.

Beginning with the Flavian dynasty in 69, important procuratorial positions were frequently held by men promoted from equestrian ranks. Equites were comfortably settled members of the upper class, and usually enjoyed certain traditional privileges, such as serving as jurors in Roman courts. For most men, promotion to imperial offices was the greatest reward. As a result, equestrian career officers were loyal to the emperor. The important point is that equestrian status did not prepare officials for specific

duties such as a *bibliothecis*. The Roman library director was therefore not a responsible public official in the modern sense; instead, he was a state officer whose ultimate well-being, status, and future prospects depended on the emperor's acquaintance with his abilities and performance. Entry into equestrian posts normally began with service in the *tres militae*, as prefect of an infantry cohort of auxiliary troops, tribune of a legion, and prefect of a cavalry regiment of auxiliaries. After this initial experience, equites could attain the post of *primus pilus*, first-ranking centurion of a legion, serve as a tribune of a fire brigade, police force, or praetorian cohort at Rome, then return to a second legionary command as *primus pilus* before being recommended for a more important equestrian civil administrative or provincial position. It was not until the reign of Hadrian (117–138 A.D.) that a civilian entry point designed for legal counsels in the imperial treasury (*advocatus fisci*) appeared. Service in all these positions was not necessary: some men might serve in a few posts, and others might spend many years in relatively minor offices before securing a better position.

After an equestrian had gained experience in the junior ranks, more prestigious administrative positions were open for career advancement. Procurators served the emperor in many roles: as provincial governors of small provinces, as imperial finance officers and managers of imperial property, as directors of a rapidly growing number of public services in Rome (or throughout the empire), or as ministers of the secretariats in the emperor's central administration. These ministerial positions were coveted because ambitious men could gain access to the emperor on a regular basis as *ab epistulis*, secretary-general in charge of official correspondence; *a patrimonio*, minister of imperial properties; *a libellis*, minister in charge of petitions; *a studiis*, the emperor's literary advisor; *a cognitionibus*, secretary of legal offices; or *a rationibus*, chief finance minister.[8] At the summit of the equestrian career were four great prefectures: *praefectus vigilum*, commander of the fire brigade and night watch at Rome; *praefectus annonae*, commander of the corn and bread supply at Rome; *praefectus Aegypti*, governor of Egypt; and the praetorian prefect, *praefectus praetorio*, commander of the emperor's Praetorian Guard at Rome. For talented men with records of successful performance and political friendships, these posts were reasonably accessible. Indeed, there were a number of library directors who secured prestigious positions, despite the nonmilitary nature of the library directorship.

The pay for procuratorial offices was graded into four salary divisions—the *sexagenarii* (those who received 60,000 sesterces each year), *centenarii*, *ducenarii*, and *tricenarii* (those who received 100,000, 200,000 , and 300,000 sesterces, respectively). In the second century the library director was well paid: he was classed as a *ducenarius*, equal in rank to governors in Britain, Spain, and other small provinces in the upper echelon of this grade.[9] The library procurator was distinguished from other officers because he was essentially an urban, civilian professional working mostly in Rome, not a military commander or provincial legate who rarely held urban posts in the capital.[10] These three distinct career paths in an equestrian cursus were not completely rigid. Naturally, it was always possible for exceptional men to advance rapidly because of their military or civilian skills, or finagle promotions by using contacts at court.[11] Candidates for the position of *procurator bibliothecarum* essentially were interested in literary studies or related educational careers such as jurisprudence. Thus, this urban position was attractive in the first century and a half after Augustus, although few equestrians were satisfied to remain in charge of libraries or stay in one post for a lengthy period. The emphasis on one professional occupation was foreign to the Roman "civil service."

Typical Library Careers

The epigraphic remains from excavations, the text of Suetonius's *De vita Caesarum*, and other literary sources offer valuable information about the history of the library director. The careers of men who occupied this office, its antecedents, and analogous positions from Augustus to the middle of the third century demonstrate that it was a relatively important position that attracted very capable candidates. Their progressive career offices follow below (complete sources for eight equestrians are given by Pflaum, *Les carrières*, and his numbering system is used for these men).

(1) C. Julius Hyginus:[12] *praefuit Palatinae bibliothecae, nec eo secius plurimos docuit; fuitque familarissimus Ovidio poetae et Clodio Licino consulari, historico, qui eum admodum pauperem decessisse tradit et liberalitate sua, quoad vixerit, sustenatum.*

(2) G. Maecenas Melissus:[13] *Quo delegante, curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae porticu suscepit.*

(3) Cn. Pompeius Macer: *qui ordinandas bibliothecas delegaverat.*
(Pflaum, no. B2) *proc. provinciae Asiae*
(4) T. Julius Pappus:[14] *comes Tiberius*
supra bibliothecas omnes Augustorum
(5) T. Claudius Scirtus:[15] *proc. bybliothecarum*
(6) Dionysius Alexandrinus: *archiereus musei Alexandrini*
(Pflaum, no. 46) *proc. bibliothecarum*
ab epistulis et responsis ad legationes
(7) C. Suetonius Tranquillus: *flamen*
(Pflaum, no. 96) *adlectus inter selectos*
pontifex Volcanalis
a studiis
a bibliothecis
ab epistulis
(8) Valerius Eudaemon: *proc. ad dioecesin Alexandreae*
(Pflaum, no. 110) *proc. bibliothecarum Graecarum et Latinarum*
ab epistulis Graecis
proc. provinciae Lyciae et Pamphyliae, Galatiae, Paphlagoniae, Pisidiae, Ponti
proc. hereditatium et provinciae Asiae
proc. Syriae
praefectus Aegypti
(9) L. Julius Vestinus: *archiereus Alexandriae et totius Aegyptus*
(Pflaum, no. 105) *archiereus musei Alexandrini*
proc. bibliothecarum Romanarum et Graecarum Romae
a studiis
ab epistulis
(10) L. Volusius Maecianus: *praefectus fabrum*
(Pflaum, no. 141) *praefectus cohortis I Aeliae classicae*
adiutor operum publicorum
a libellis
praefectus vehiculorum
a studiis et proc. bibliothecarum
a libellis et censibus
pontifex minor
praefectus annonae
praefectus Aegypti
praefectus aerari Saturni
consul designatus

(11) Annius Postumus: *proc. Augusti a bibliothecis = proc. bibliothecarum divi Trajani*
(Pflaum, no. 132) *proc. promagistro vicesimae hereditatium*
proc. Augusti ad annonae Ostis
proc. provinciae Pannoniae inferioris

(12) T. Aelius Largus:[16] *proc. Augusti bibliothecarum iuris publici et privati peritissimus*

(13) L. Baebius Aurelius Juncinus: *proc. bybliothecarum ad sestertium LX milia*
(Pflaum, no. 251) *proc. ad annonae Ostis*
praefectus vehiculorum ad sestertium C milia
praefectus vehiculorum ad sestertium CC milia
praefectus provinciae Sardiniae
proc. vicesimae hereditatium
praefectus Aegypti

(14) Sextus Julius Africanus:[17] *Romae Severo Alexandro bibliothecam condidit iuxta thermas Alexandri in Pantheo*

(15) Q. Veturius Callistratus:[18] *proc. rationum summarum privatarum bibliothecarum Agusti procurator . . .*

The characteristics that are presented in modern scholarly analyses of all procuratorial posts during the first three centuries apply to the careers of library directors. First, there was an evolution from promotion of freedmen to equites during the later part of the first century when the director of libraries assumed more responsibility and became recognized as an important urban officer. In the early period of the Principate, imperial freedmen and their descendants often benefited by receiving promotions because of their proximity to the emperor. The reign of Claudius was notable for the domination of secretarial posts by influential imperial freedmen.[19] It was during this initial period that talented freedmen like Julius Hyginus, Gaius Melissus, and Julius Pappus could gain the personal confidence of the emperor and attain public office without previous administrative experience. But beginning with the appointment of Dionysius of Alexandria, equestrians regularly were appointed *a bibliothecis*. In theory, by this means better-qualified candidates were attracted to the library office. In fact, this process was an element of Roman social prejudice that worked to exclude ex-slaves and their immediate descendants from important positions.

Second, the men recruited especially for urban posts in Rome, like the library director, were not associated with the military background that was usual for most procurators, but often were men with cosmopolitan skills, such as knowledge of the Greek language.[20] Valerius Eudaemon and Pompeius Macer both served in the financial administration of eastern provinces. Greek expertise in library administration was advantageous, but not essential: only two men, Dionysius of Alexandria and Julius Vestinus, were directors of the Alexandrian museum before they served as *a bibliothecis* in Rome. In the second century judicial expertise became another important asset: both Volusius Maecianus and Aelius Largus appear after Hadrianic legal reforms.

Third, the importance of personal contacts facilitating career advancement, in the case of Suetonius and Maecianus, often was crucial for a procurator.[21] Promotion did not necessarily depend upon a candidate following a rigid, mechanical pattern. With the exception of Maecianus, no library director pursued a typical career pattern during his initial offices because of predominant civilian experience. In this respect, a fourth factor, the absence of evidence demonstrating that the library procurator was a specialized, professional position in the modern sense, is significant.[22] The post of *procurator bibliothecarum* was merely one office in the equestrian cursus that candidates attained. Use of influence to secure recommendations for more suitable positions was not uncommon. There was no emphasis on library education or training —the directorship of libraries was an office open to men from diversified backgrounds with a general aptitude for public service.[23] In this case, the consequences for developing a comprehensive library service were mostly negative. There was seldom attention to management issues or new plans for providing services; instead, career advancement or loyalty to the existing regime were prevailing sentiments.

Library Administration during the Principate

The origin of the library directorate at Rome rested in the imperial household of Augustus. Undoubtedly, the promotions of Hyginus and Melissus, teachers and writers whom Augustus confidently appointed as separate overseers of the library on the Palatine beside the temple of Apollo (after 28/23 B.C.) and the library in the Porticus Octaviae (after 23 B.C.), were part of the emperor's expansion of powers as *princeps*. Suetonius speaks favorably of their character and ability. Hyginus came to the capital from Spain

to teach students and to write. He enjoyed a lasting friendship with Ovid, who addressed him in *Tristia* 3.14, written shortly after the poet's exile to Tomis in A.D. 8.[24] As a consequence of his relationship with Ovid, Hyginus may have lost imperial favor, for Suetonius relates that he died in complete poverty despite writings encompassing many subjects: agriculture, history, religion, a commentary on Vergil, and archaeology. Melissus was teacher for Gaius Maecenas, loyal confidant of the emperor, but was less prolific than Hyginus.[25] He wrote a form of drama, *fabula trabeata*, and completed a book of jests, *ineptiae*. In the beginning, therefore, Augustus did not create a procuratorial position for libraries in Rome, and he remained satisfied with the decentralized administration of separate libraries by freedmen until the later part of his reign.

Information on the successor to Hyginus and Melissus, Pompeius Macer, is less precise, possibly because his family incurred disgrace in A.D. 33. Although his family origin was Greek, he had become an *eques* connected with Augustus's retinue, and was given the task of consolidating all libraries in Rome under one office before A.D. 5. Pflaum regards this as a procuratorial post because Macer also served as an agent for imperial properties in the province of Asia.[26] However, the 1958 discovery of a dedication to Tiberius Julius Pappus, who was *supra bibliothecas omnes Augustorum* during the three reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius (14-54), casts doubt on Pflaum's hypothesis. Pappus, another man of Greek origin, was certainly Macer's successor, a *comes* of Tiberius, and a Roman citizen, but not an *eques*. His promotion depended on his position in the imperial retinue and Tiberius's philhellenic attitude, not on his status or service in an emerging equestrian cursus. His jurisdiction implied supervision of the libraries in the Temple of Augustus, House of Augustus, Temple of Apollo, Tiberian palace, Porticus Octaviae, and Atrium Libertatis. Perhaps the imperial private libraries in Italian villas were included, although it is more probable that freedmen or slaves were in charge under the direction of procurators of estates until the second century. The primary duty of Macer and Pappus was to rationalize the management of newly constructed libraries in the capital.

Not until Scirtus, a freedman of Claudius, was an imperial library procurator documented. Claudius was a keen antiquarian, writer, and patron of the arts. He personally arranged to have a new room in the Alexandrian museum constructed so that his own Etruscan and Carthaginian histories could be read and recited.[27]

He was, as well, the author of several lengthy works that have not survived: a Roman history commencing after the civil wars, a book on a theory of adding three new letters to the Latin alphabet, an autobiography in eight books, and a defense of Cicero.[28] On the basis of existing evidence, therefore, Claudius was the first emperor to make the library directorate a procuratorial office, for he possessed the organizational inclination to implement this change, which lasted for a century.

After Claudius, the *procurator bibliothecarum* is frequently recorded. Dionysius of Alexandria, a skilled Greek grammarian, held the directorship sometime between the reigns of Nero and Trajan, c. 54–117. Prior to his appointment, he had been in charge of the Alexandrian museum, and subsequently he was promoted as *ab epistulis* in charge of letters, legations, and verdicts. Beginning with his tenure it became normal practice for an equestrian to serve as director. Suetonius comments on this general development, dating to the Flavian period, in *Domitianus* 7.2; half of the more important court appointments, formerly held by freedmen, were from this point on reserved for equestrians. This policy opened the way for the notable men who held the library directorate at Rome during the first half of the second century.

Suetonius was the most prominent Roman director.[29] He was the son of a military tribune, born about 70, possibly at Hippo Regius, where it appears he held a local priesthood. Later, he moved to Rome, where his early vocation as a *grammaticus* was distinguished; he established an influential friendship with Pliny the Younger, who obtained a military tribunate that Suetonius declined to receive because he was not interested in military appointments. About 111 he served on Pliny's staff in Bithynia and was recommended to Trajan for the right of *ius trium liberorum*, the privileges granted to the parents of three children (Suetonius was married, but childless) that the emperor generously bestowed. After this grant, he was selected to serve on a jury of equites in Rome, then became *pontifex Volcanalis*, priest of Vulcan at Rome, or perhaps Ostia. Both offices were suitable for a man with literate tastes, an antiquarian who could continue to write and research while serving in an official capacity. His career culminated in three posts at court as *a studiis, a bibliothecis*, and *ab epistulis* between 114 and 122, but his advancement ended suddenly when Hadrian dismissed him in Britain because he allegedly behaved indiscreetly with Sabina, the emperor's wife. Suetonius's abrupt censure ruined his chances for further advancement. He retired to finish the histories and biographies that he had already commenced.

During the following quarter of a century Valerius Eudaemon, L. Julius Vestinus, and L. Volusius Maecianus were directors. Eudaemon's knowledge of Greek and the eastern provinces was to prove beneficial for his advancement under Hadrian. He began as *procurator ad dioecesin Alexandreae*, a financial responsibility. Before 125 he became *procurator bibliothecarum Graecarum et Latinarum*, the first indication that both Greek and Latin sections of public libraries were under one procurator's charge, although this has been assumed for the entire first century. Thereafter, he returned to the eastern provinces for a lengthy stay at three important commands until Hadrian dismissed him about 136. Eudaemon's fortune revived when Antoninus Pius offered him one of the most prestigious posts in the equestrian cursus: in 142 he became *praefectus Aegypti*, governing this rich province from the provincial capital, Alexandria, where he had started his career two decades before. Vestinus was a respected sophist and writer who had administered the Alexandrian museum before Hadrian selected him as director in Rome. After c. 130 he remained at court as *a studiis*, then *ab epistulis*.[30] Both Eudaemon and Vestinus were cultivated, intelligent administrators who complemented the hellenic temperament of Hadrian's policies.

Another director from this period, Maecianus, was an exceptional career *eques*: he served in three positions, primarily military in nature, before reaching the secretarial post *a libellis* in 138. Later, about 145, he occupied the unique combined post, *a studiis et proc. bibliothecarum*, under Antoninus Pius. Subsequently, he became a ranking imperial jurisconsult and was selected as *praefectus Aegypti* by his former student, the emperor Marcus Aurelius, about 161. Maecianus's rise was capped with selection to the senatorial order and title of *consul designatus* for his successful, loyal years of service. Like Suetonius and Hyginus, Maecianus was a prolific writer. His legal offerings included *Assis distributio*, a reference work on inheritance; *De lege Rhodia*; *De iudicis publicis* in fourteen books; and a legal reference work on trusts in sixteen books, *Quaestiones de fideicommissa*.[31]

Under the directorate of Maecianus, transformation in the administration of Roman libraries is evident: the reason he held a combined office at the *ducenarius* level appears to be that various second-level procuratorships for libraries at the *sexagenarius* level, the lowest pay scale, were created by Hadrian and/or Antoninus Pius. To be sure, the *proc. Augusti bibliothecarum* continues to be recorded; however, the epigraphic arrangement of titles and different terminology indicates that some innovations were intro-

duced, the first since Claudius established a procurator for libraries. Men of the quality of Aurelius Juncinus, who served as director before his nomination as *praefectus Aegypti* about 213, still served as library procurators. Nevertheless, the offices were different from the traditional one at the *ducenarius* scale. Juncinus was definitely paid at the lower rate of 60,000 sesterces, and three commands separate his library work from his fifth office as governor of Sardinia, previously a position equivalent to the *a bibliothecis* in the early second century.

Modification first appears in the evidence relating to Annius Postumus, c. 117–161. Postumus may have been limited to the care of Greek and Latin libraries located in the *basilica Trajani*, according to Pflaum's analysis.[32] Another inscription indicates that Postumus's first office (or second one) was simply titled *proc. Augusti a bibliothecis*. A lower-level position for the new libraries in Trajan's forum (dedicated in 112) is certainly not impossible, but it seems unlikely, because no other similar position is known.[33] Further, this kind of office would indicate a return to the decentralized administration of individual city libraries, which Augustus had abandoned. Given that there were as many as twenty-eight libraries in Rome by the fourth century, this devolution of responsibility does not seem appropriate.[34] Unmistakably, Postumus was serving in an inferior library grade because it was his first office. Tiberius Aelius Largus subsequently may also have held a second-level office because his career was limited to one procuratorial office. But the most important change is revealed by Veturius Callistratus, who began his career as financial procurator of the emperor's libraries about 240, a previously unrecorded position. In these four cases, the essential point is that candidates were beginning their equestrian careers as library managers, then progressing to positions that had been equivalent to *a bibliothecis* in the early second century.

The conclusion must be that after Trajan's death in 117 an administrative reorganization increased the number of library procurators. The reasons for this division of responsibility are uncertain, because the inscriptional evidence identifies only parts of the administrative change. Nonetheless, the transition in imperial responsibilities is not surprising, since there had been substantial growth in the number of libraries during the first and second centuries. As a result, by mid-second century there was a need for more detailed administrative work in libraries, especially in areas of finance and personnel, leading to a more complex administration. Because the position of library director at the *ducenarius*

level is not documented after Maecianus, it is logical to infer that it disappeared. One office was no longer regarded as sufficient for administrative duties. This idea is reinforced by the decision made by Alexander Severus (222–235) to chose Julius Africanus, who had not served in any known official capacity, to establish a collection in the Pantheon. While it is conceivable that he was recommended for this task by a library director, it is more likely that Africanus, who dedicated his work *Kestoi* to the emperor, was selected because of his acquaintances at court.[35] Therefore, the *a bibliothecis* at the ducenariate grade disappeared after Maecianus, and a lesser office (or offices) was created at the *sexagenarius* rate of pay.[36]

This premise is reinforced by similar reforms that occurred in central imperial ministries associated with libraries. After Valerius Eudaemon, responsibility for imperial correspondence was usually divided between an *ab epistulis Graecis* and an *ab epistulis Latinis*,[37] an alteration Hadrian implemented between 128 and 132. The two ministries superintended by the *proc. patrimonii* and *proc. a studiis* also underwent changes. Following the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), the emperor's *patrimonium*, his personal properties, was merged with a new department, the *ratio privata* (private accounts) headed by the *magister rationis summae privatae* at the tricenarian level.[38] The old office *a patrimonio* ceased to exist. This reorganization was dictated by the immense growth of imperial possessions that had occurred in two centuries. At some imperial residences outside the capital, on the island of Capreae, at Tibur, at Praeneste, and at Antium, the emperors had constructed private libraries. There is no reliable information on the administration of these libraries,[39] but logically the result of this sort of expansion would eventually be greater fiscal scrutiny by bureaus distinct from the regular estate procurators, especially regional offices for crown property. By 240 fiscal supervision had become direct, according to Veturius Callistratus's title, *proc. rationum summarum privatarum bibliothecarum Augusti*, which corresponds with the organization of the *ratio privata*. Thus, Callistratus was a subordinate responsible for cash payments to libraries made from the treasury of the emperor's *ratio privata*, not an independent official in a department for libraries.

This administrative evolution has been postulated by one group of scholars to explain the disappearance of the independent ducenariate *a bibliothecis*.[40] Given the fortuitous nature of epigraphic discoveries, it is possible that this arrangement predated Callistratus. I suggest that the disappearance of the ducenariate director

may be linked with a division of his responsibilities between two lower-level procurators—one for public libraries, the other for libraries in imperial residences. Partial evidence for this dichotomous arrangement exists in the case of procurators like Postumus and Juncinus, who worked at Rome in other public equestrian positions. Largus's inscription was set up in the imperial palace at Praeneste, suggesting this possible separation of lower offices. The division may also be inferred from the distinctive titles for Eudaemon and Vestinus, who were both styled procurators of the Greek and Latin libraries, that is, libraries situated in public temples, baths, and porticos, but perhaps excluding small libraries in imperial residences such as the Domus Augusti, Domus Tiberiana, and countryside villas.

A second group of historians has preferred to amplify an argument that the responsibility for private libraries (or all libraries) was assumed by the *a studiis*, citing the two cases of Vestinus and Maecianus.[41] It has even been proposed that this administrative union commenced with Suetonius, although emendation of existing readings is necessary for acceptance.[42] According to this theory, part (or all) of the ducenariate office of *a bibliothecis* was assumed first by the *a studiis* in the early second century, and later by the *magister a studiis*, who replaced the *a studiis* in the third century. The case of Maecianus, who was styled *proc. a studiis et proc. bibliothecarum*, is the soundest basis for this theory. However, I believe Maecianus's unified post may have been created especially for his talent and rank. While he served as the emperor's advisor, it is possible that his library duties were limited to supervision of residential libraries because he would be in attendance with the emperor on a regular basis, even for travel outside Rome. Thus, his dual responsibilities were complementary and would not be too onerous because another procurator directed most city libraries.

On the whole, the creation of two equal lower-level library procurators followed by the financial management of libraries by the *ratio privata* after 200 correlates more with existing evidence than transfer of power to the *a studiis*. This arrangement also offers an explanation for the administrative organization in Rome during the later empire. After 240 it is reasonable to assume that the maintenance of public libraries was ultimately acquired by the city prefect of Rome (*praefectus urbi*), a senatorial position supervising many civic activities. One source, the *Augustan History*, suggests that the prefect was in charge at Rome, but the passage is not precise, nor is the source reliable.[43] After 300 the prefect

had supreme charge of the temples, public buildings, and imperial baths, where some libraries were located according to the *Notitia Dignitatum Occidentis IV*. Thus, all civic officials were under the prefect's disposition, rather than equivalent to him and directly responsible to the emperor, as they had been during the first and second centuries. However, the *Notitia* does not specifically mention library officials, and outside Rome regional divisions of the *ratio privata* managed finances for all imperial properties. Because direct evidence linking libraries with these officials does not exist in Rome, definitive statements about library administration in the fourth century are not possible.[44]

Conclusion

The nature of library service at Rome is revealed by its administration. Libraries and directors obviously depended on the personal patronage of the emperor and his decisions regarding the range of services. There was no responsible body of citizens, elected or appointed in the modern sense, assigned authority for operations. Important decisions regarding financing, censorship, and organization were not subjected to public scrutiny or discussion. Consequently, Rome's city libraries were essentially passive institutions, greatly dependent on the emperor's appreciation. The historian Tacitus often deplored the arbitrary and casual suppression of authors and political partisans by emperors.[45] Suetonius also related specific episodes of censorship: Augustus wrote a letter to Pompeius Macer forbidding the publication of some of Caesar's minor works; Tiberius condemned the writings of the historian Aulus Cremutius Cordus, and forced him to commit suicide; Domitian ordered the execution of the historian Hermogenes of Tarsus, and the crucifixion of copyists.[46] Thus, without favorable imperial direction progress was not possible.

Societal values and traditions also contributed to a quiescent character: the buildings and collections were small because the reading public was limited. The library procurator did not consider promoting services. Collections were housed in buildings that were not public in the normal sense: for example, Suetonius records that Augustus and the Senate often met in the library beside the temple of Apollo. Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero also summoned senators to this library until the great fire of 64.[47] Vitruvius expressed this semipublic aspect clearly in *De architectura* 6.5.2, where he commented on the private dwellings of high-ranking nobles holding magistracies: they should have princely vestibules,

very spacious atria and peristyles, decorated park walkways, plus beautiful libraries and basilicas because public and private activities were transacted in their palaces. Therefore, the typical settings for a public library constructed by the emperors were designed for public gatherings and personal activities in temples, forums, and (after Trajan) in baths. It was not practical for the public to have access to the emperor's own residential collections, but it was possible to apply Vitruvius's private/public concept to the civic activities of the Roman populace.

Consequently, the procurator remained an administrative officer. Libraries were not an integral part of educational institutions or used frequently by cultivated Graeco-Roman writers. Pliny and his nephew exemplified the typical attitudes of the gentlemen scholars in the senatorial order toward research and private writings. The Elder Pliny regretted the lack of research: original study was seldom undertaken, discoveries were not critically examined, and avarice was held to be more important than the pursuit of knowledge.[48] The Younger Pliny complained about the constant distractions and monotony of Rome compared to the leisurely pace that permitted time for writing at his country villas (*Epistulae* 1.9 and 9.6). His opinion of research at Rome was less than enthusiastic, for he cautioned the historian Titinius Capito that writing ancient history would require great labor to assemble all the requisite materials (*Epistulae* 5.8). When necessary, Pliny was quite capable of researching beyond the confines of his own private collection. His scathing condemnation of Claudius's freedman secretary, Pallas, using information from senate decrees in Rome, is an illustrative case (*Epistulae* 8.6). But these occasions were infrequent.

Within a favorable political environment the consequences of such drawbacks were not serious. In times of political tranquillity emperors could indulge in literary details. Domitian (81–96) personally ordered copies of Alexandrian manuscripts made to replace ones lost in a fire at the beginning of his reign.[49] Generally speaking, Roman city libraries were important depositories of knowledge and had a salutary effect on creative writing and literary culture for a century and a half after the death of Augustus.[50] But the weaknesses inherent in library organization surfaced after the Antonine monarchs, when foreign wars and civil rebellions plagued Roman political life for a century. Beginning with Septimius Severus, the foundation of imperial power and government demonstrably rested in the Roman army, and the civilian aspect of the Principate rapidly decreased in significance. The reigns of

many emperors were inaugurated and concluded by treachery, assassination, or defeat on the battlefield. It was no longer possible to reside at Rome or display munificence in the old capital. The customary supervision of Rome's temples, libraries, aqueducts, public drains, statues, and new building schemes declined accordingly. During the third century the need for an independent library procurator associated with the imperial administration and properties vanished. The emperors seldom resided at their countryside villas in Campania or Latium, or their palaces in Rome; they were needed along the frontiers to repel invasions and quash usurpers. In these circumstances, the supervision of libraries languished and improvements were not considered.

The evolving administration of libraries in Rome closely parallels the growth of absolute monarchy and declining status of Rome during the Principate. Between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius, imperial freedmen were mostly responsible for libraries. Claudius's creation of the library procurator opened the way for more prestigious equites to occupy the office. During the following century, the office *a bibliothecis* attracted distinguished equestrians whose importance in the capital was sustained by an enlightened aristocratic predilection for books and book collecting that was fostered by a series of emperors. Pliny the Elder had lauded Gaius Asinius Pollio's decision to "make men's talents public" by establishing a library in the Atrium Libertatis, and Augustus's successors followed his example.[51] They enjoyed the role of benefactor; indeed, conscientious rulers regarded it as a duty. In this setting libraries and their administrators were readily accepted features of Graeco-Roman cultural life.

By the second century, the *a bibliothecis* had become an integral part of the equestrian cursus, aided by the presence of the sovereign and related offices in the capital. After Trajan's reign the ducenariate office was divided between two procurators. This reorganized library structure did not survive the third-century disorders as a separate department. In the third century, the financial management of libraries was directly undertaken by the *ratio privata*. By the fourth century it seems the *praefectus urbi* was in charge at Rome, and librarians had disappeared completely at an administrative level. At Milan in 355, the newly appointed Caesar, Julian, selected a Greek physician, Oribasius, to care for his private book collection because he was the only confidant who shared Julian's worship of pagan gods.[52] Two decades later, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus recorded that libraries in Rome were closed like tombs.[53] Clearly, the significance of these libraries

had rapidly declined and their administration was no longer a matter of interest to the emperors.

Notes

1. Heinz Gomoll, "Suetons bibliotheksgeschichtliche Nachrichten," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 52 (1935): 381-388, discusses library foundations, holdings, restoration, portraits and statues, and directors.

2. Ervan Marec and Hans-Georg Pflaum, "Nouvelle inscription sur la carrière de Suétone, l'historien," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* (1952): 76-85 = *L'Année Epigraphique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1888-), no. 73 (1953).

3. The technique and potential of prosopography are discussed by Claude Nicolet, "Prosopographie et histoire sociale: Rome et Italie à l'époque républicaine," *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilizationes* 3 (1970): 1209-1228; and André Chastagnol, "La prosopographie, méthode de recherche sur l'histoire du Bas Empire," *Annales* 3 (1970): 1229-1235.

4. Basic introductions are Otto Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), pp. 302-306 (hereafter cited as *KV*^{2}); Clarence E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915), pp. 41-43; and André Langie, *Les Bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans le l'empire Romain* (Fribourg: Fragnière Frères, 1908), pp. 137-145.

5. T. P. Wiseman, "The Definition of 'Eques Romanus' in the Late Republic and Early Empire," *Historia* 19 (1970): 67-83.

6. H. -G. Pflaum, *Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1950); and *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, 4 vols. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1960-1961) are standard monographs.

7. See Gérard Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain* (Naples: Jovene, 1970), for freedmen procurators.

8. Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 B.C.-A.D. 337)* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1977), pp. 83-110.

9. Pflaum, *Procurateurs*, pp. 236, 253-254.

10. Ibid., pp. 237-238.

11. R. P. Saller, "Promotion and Patronage in Equestrian Careers," *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980): 44-63.

12. Suetonius, *De viris illustribus: grammaticis* 20; and Edmund Groag, Arthur Stein, and Leiva Petersen (eds.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933-), part 4, p. 223, no. 357 (hereafter cited as *PIR*^{2}).

13. Suetonius, *De viris illustribus: grammaticis* 21.

14. *L'Année Epigraphique* no. 26 (1960) = *American Journal of Archaeology* 63 (1959): 384 = *Museum Helveticum* 17 (1960): 118; and *PIR*^{2}, part 4, p. 243, no. 447.

15. Theodor Mommsen et al. (eds.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin: G. Reimerum, 1863-), vol. 10, no. 1739 (hereafter cited as *CIL*). Hermann Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916), no. 1587.

16. *CIL* 14, no. 2916.

17. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt et al. (eds.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1898-), no. 412, lines 63-68; and *PIR*^{2}, part 4, pp. 127-128, no. 124.

18. *CIL* 6, no. 2132.

19. Pflaum, *Procurateurs*, pp. 36-42.

20. Ibid., pp. 249-250. For background on the libraries in the Broucheion and Serapeum, see Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 320-335.

21. Saller, "Promotion and Patronage," pp. 55-57.

22. Ibid., pp. 52-55.

23. See Jacques Gascou, "Suétone et l'ordre équestre," *Revue des Etudes Latines* 54 (1976): 257-277, emphasizing this point.

24. P. van de Woestyne, "Un ami d'Ovid, C. Iulius Hyginus," *Musée Belge: Revue de Philologie Classique* 33 (1929): 31-45.

25. For his writings, see Paul Wessner, "Melissus," in August Pauly, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, and Karl Mittelhaus (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassichen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893-), vol. 15 (1931), cols. 532-534.

26. Pflaum, *Carrières*, vol. 1, pp. 11-13, and vol. 3, p. 957. Also Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 73-74. The date 18-17 B.C. proposed for Macer's office by J. Schwartz, "Pompeius Macer et la jeunesse d'Ovide," *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes* 25 (1951): 188-189, is too early.

27. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius* 42.2.

28. Ibid., 41.2-3.

29. Pflaum, *Carrières*, vol. 1, pp. 219-224; G. B. Townend, "The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius," *Historia* 10 (1961): 99-109; Francesco Della Corte, *Suetonio eques Romanus*, 2nd ed. (Florence: Nuova Italia, 1967), pp. 5-25; Claude Baurain, "Suétone et l'inscription d'Hippone," *Etudes Classiques* 41 (1976): 124-144; Jacques Gascou, "Nouvelles données chronologiques sur la carrière de Suétone," *Latomus* 37 (1978): 436-444, attempts to extend his administrative career to c. 128; but his evidence is not conclusive; → Ronald Syme, "Travels of Suetonius Tranquillus," *Hermes* 109 (1981): 105-117, for Suetonius's Palatine career.

30. *PIR*^{2}, part 4, p. 293, no. 623.

31. Th. Mayer-Maly, "L. Volusius Maecianus," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 9A (1961), cols. 904-906.

32. Pflaum, *Carrières*, vol. 1, pp. 316-319.

33. Edmond van't Dack, "*A studiis, a bybliothecis*," *Historia* 12 (1963): 180, notes that the genitive *divi Trajani* may be considered to establish chronological order for this office, not to define the libraries he directed.

34. *Notitia Regionum Urbis XIV cum breviariis suis* and *Curiosum Urbis Romae Regionum XIV cum breviariis suis* in Henri Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*, 2 vols. in 4 (1871-1907; reprint ed., Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1970), vol. 2, p. 565; and *Mirabilia Romae* in vol. 2, p. 637.

35. W. Kroll and J. Sickenberger, "Julius Africanus," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 10 (1917), cols. 116-125; and A. von Harnack, "Julius Africanus, der Bibliothekar des Kaisers Alexander Severus," in *Aufsätze Fritz Milkau gewidmet* (Leipzig: Karl Hiersemann, 1921), pp. 142-146.

36. Dack, "*A studiis, a bybliothecis*," p. 184, suggests that Trajan created the first directorate at the *sexagenarius* level and that Postumus may have been an adjutant for Suetonius. Pflaum, "Procurator," in *Real-Encyclopädie*,

vol. 23 (1957), cols. 1249-1250, credits Trajan with separating the ducenariate procurator and sexagenariate *bibliothecae Ulpiae*. Previously, in *Procurateurs*, pp. 56-57, 64, and 66, he had credited Trajan with creating the Ulpian position and Hadrian with the ducenariate position.

37. G. B. Townend, "The Post *ab epistulis* in the Second Century," *Historia* 11 (1961): 375-381.

38. Arnold Kränzlein, "Patrimonium," and "a patrimonio," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, suppl. 10 (1965), cols. 495-498, 500-502.

39. For Capreae: Carl F. W. Weichardt, *Tiberius's Villa and Other Roman Buildings on the Ile [sic] of Capri* (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1900), p. 113. For Tibur: Jeppe Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2. Århundrede e Chr.* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Biblioteksskole, 1976), pp. 60-65; and Heinz Kähler, *Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1950), pp. 106-117, and tables 1-5. For Praeneste: *CIL* 14, no. 2916. For Antium: *CIL* 10, no. 6638 (col. 1, 12; col. 2, 22, 29; col. 3, 3); and Flavius Philostratus, *Vita Apolloni* 8.20. I have not included private libraries in Rome, such as Gianfilippo Carettoni, "The House of Augustus—1," *Illustrated London News* 29 September 1969, pp. 24-25. The evidence for Tacitus serving as Titus's private head librarian is not conclusive: → Nicholas Reed, "Some Neglected Evidence on the Early Career of Tacitus," *Classical Quarterly* 26 (1976): 309-314; a → Revilo P. Oliver, "Tacitus—Librarian?" *Classical Quarterly* 29 (1979): 223-224. The source that depicts Lucianus serving as Diocletian's private librarian is a forgery. Cf. Pierre Batiffol, "L'épitre de Theonas à Lucien," *Bibliothèques de l'Ecole des Chartes* 47 (1886): 336-340 = *Bulletin Critique* 7 (1886): 155-160; T. Mommsen, "Brief des Bischofs Theonas," in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 8 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905-1913), vol. 6, pp. 649-652, reprinted in A. von Harnack, "Der gefälschte Brief des Bischofs Theonas an der Kammerherren Lucian," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 24 (1903): 109-113.

40. Hirschfeld, *KV*^{2}, pp. 303-304, emphasizes financial control separate from scientific direction of several individual libraries by librarians; Langie, *Bibliothèques publiques*, p. 140; M. Rostovtzeff, "Fiscus," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 6 (1909), col. 2400; and Kränzlein, "Patrimonium," col. 496.

41. T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 6, pp. 651-652; B. Kuebler, "a studiis," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 4A (1931), col. 397; Pflaum, *Procurateurs*, p. 241. Hirschfeld, *KV*^{2}, pp. 305 and 332-334, rejects this argument.

42. Dack, "*a studiis, a bybliothecis*," pp. 180-184. A further problem is that Eudaemon did not hold these offices simultaneously, thus interrupting the period between Suetonius and Maecianus.

43. See my analysis of this passage: "A Reappraisal of Roman Libraries in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *Journal of Library History* 16 (1981): 559-560. Hirschfeld, *KV*^{2}, p. 306, gives some support to this passage. André Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous la Bas-Empire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960), p. 289, accepts it.

44. See Chastagnol, *Préfecture*, pp. 45-46, for administration of temples and baths. Prefects erected various statues in the baths of Trajan (*CIL* 6, no. 1670), Caracalla (*CIL* 6, nos. 1170-73a), and Diocletian (*CIL* 6, no. 31881) where libraries were situated.

→ Frederick H. Cramer, "Bookburning and Censorship in Ancient Rome," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6 (1945): 157-196, outlines Augustan and Tiberian forms of repression.

46. Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 56.7; *Tiberius* 61.3; and *Domitianus* 10.1.

47. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 29.3; a→ David L. Thompson, "The Meetings of the Roman Senate on the Palatine," *American Journal of Archaeology* 85 (1981): 335-339.

48. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 2.45.117-118.

49. Suetonius, *Domitianus* 20.1.

50. The useful role of libraries is emphasized by Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 52-60 and 66-69; Evelyn H. Clift, *Latin "Pseudepigrapha": A Study in Literary Attributions* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1945), pp. 38-39; a→ Anthony J. Marshall, "Library Resources and Creative Writing at Rome," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 252-264.

51. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 35.2.9.

52. Julian, *Epistula ad senatum populumque Atheniensem* 7, b-c. The identification of the "librarian" as Euhemerus, an African sophist, is discussed → George W. Robinson, "The Librarian of Julian Apostate," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 26 (1915): 165-168. However, see H. O. Schröder, "Oreibasios," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, suppl. 7 (1940), col. 798; and Glenn W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 50.

53. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri* 14.6.18.



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Pliny's Library at Comum

T. Keith Dix

Pliny the Younger, a Roman senator whose career spanned the late first and early second centuries C.E., won notice during his lifetime as a skilled imperial administrator and as a man of letters. Pliny maintained close ties with his native town of Comum in northern Italy; he owned large agricultural estates there, promoted the public careers of individual citizens of Comum, and was a generous benefactor to the town throughout his life. He donated a library to Comum in about 96 or 97 C.E., in what was probably his first major benefaction to the city, and delivered a speech to the town councilors of Comum on the occasion of its dedication. We have this information from a letter (*Letter* 1.8) in which Pliny asks a friend to read the speech before Pliny undertakes its publication. Pliny also established a fund worth one hundred thousand *sestertii* for the maintenance of the library; we learn this from an inscription which records a number of the gifts which Pliny made to Comum (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 5.5262).

The existence of public libraries has important implications for any assessment of education, of literacy, and of literary culture in the Roman world. Pliny's library at Comum occupies an important place in the history of Roman libraries, for it seems to have been the first donated by a private individual to a town in the Roman empire, and it seems to precede a spate of library-building throughout the empire. This paper combines the evidence from Pliny with the evidence of other libraries from the Roman world, known to us through inscriptions and from physical remains, in order to consider Pliny's reasons for donating a library, the identity of the library's potential users, the cost of the library's construction, the operation and purpose of the library maintenance fund, and other such questions. Other libraries considered in the paper are the library of Celsus at Ephesus, the library of Pantainos in the Athenian Agora, and the library of Dio Chrysostom at Prusa in Bithynia.

The role of libraries in the literary, intellectual, and social life of the ancient Greek and Roman world remains a subject of speculation and scholarly discussion. The anecdotal and incidental nature of the evidence makes it difficult to answer questions about the intended purposes and actual uses of ancient libraries. As an example of the problem, we might consider the function of "public libraries" in a world where

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the level of literacy was probably below ten percent.[1] One document that might have proved a landmark in library history was a speech delivered by the Roman senator Pliny the Younger when he donated a library to his native town of Comum in northern Italy. Pliny might have answered perhaps the most important questions about his library and certainly the most difficult for us to answer: namely, what activities Pliny foresaw taking place in his library and what benefits he believed a library would bestow on his fellow townspeople.

Alas for library history—Pliny's speech does not survive. On the other hand, we know a great deal about Pliny, about his family, about his social and economic background, and about his relations with his home town. We have also the evidence of libraries established in other cities of the Roman empire, several of them during Pliny's lifetime. In this paper I will combine the evidence from Pliny with the evidence from other Roman libraries in order to consider both philosophical and practical aspects of Pliny's library philanthropy.

Pliny the Younger's career spanned the late first and early second centuries C.E. Our knowledge of Pliny rests on a collection of letters that he wrote to friends and to the emperor Trajan and on several Latin inscriptions that describe Pliny's official career in detail.[2] Both sides of Pliny's family belonged to the local landowning aristocracy of Comum.[3] Pliny's father, whose name was probably Lucius Caecilius Secundus, died while Pliny was a boy; Pliny and his mother then went to live with his maternal uncle, Gaius Plinius Secundus. Pliny's uncle was an an experienced imperial administrator whose career culminated in the command of the Roman naval base at Misenum on the Bay of Naples.[4] He was also a prolific author, although only the encyclopedic work known as the *Natural History* survives to us. While living in his uncle's house at Misenum, Pliny (then seventeen years old) was witness to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in August of 79, an event that he describes in two letters to the historian Cornelius Tacitus (*Letter* 6.16, 6.20). Pliny's uncle perished in the eruption. He seems to have adopted his nephew in his will, and his nephew then took the name Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, combining the nomenclature of his natural and adoptive fathers. Modern historians commonly refer to our Pliny as Pliny the Younger, to distinguish him from his uncle and adoptive father, referred to as Pliny the Elder.

Pliny the Younger undertook a conventional political career at Rome.[5] He first appeared as an advocate in the law courts in Rome at the age of eighteen and went on to acquire a reputation as an orator. He worked his way up the ladder of elected office, culminating in the consulship in the year 100 C.E. He also held a series of administrative appointments, including prefect of the military treasury and prefect of the Senate's treasury. The emperor Trajan sent Pliny to govern the province

of Bithynia and Pontus, on the south shore of the Black Sea; Pliny seems to have died while in this post, around 111 C.E.

Throughout his life, Pliny maintained close ties with his native town of Comum; he owned large agricultural estates there, promoted the public careers of individual citizens of Comum, and was a generous benefactor to the town. Pliny donated the library in about 96 C.E., in what was probably his first major benefaction to Comum. In *Letter* 1.8, written probably in 97, Pliny asked a friend to read and criticize his dedicatory speech before he undertook to publish it.[6]

Pliny's comments on his speech suggest its contents. He hesitates to publish the speech, he explains, because its subject matter will make him appear vainglorious and conceited, especially as he is compelled to discuss both his family's and his own generosity. His reflections on the difficulties inherent in self-praise suggest that he discussed the benefits of generosity, especially for the giver: reasoned and principled generosity frees the giver from the chains of avarice, prevents the regret that follows an impulsive act of generosity, and is more praiseworthy than impulsive giving, he writes to his correspondent.

Pliny's discussion of generosity appears to have had a twofold goal: first, to urge other potential donors to acts of generosity, as we find him doing also in letters;[7] and second, to convince his audience that his own generosity was not intended to curry favor with the general population, the *plebes*. Here we have a reminder that a library in the Greek and Roman world was probably not intended to serve the general public. In the opening of *Letter* 1.8, Pliny says that his speech was to his fellow citizens; at the end of the letter, however, he says that he delivered the speech to the town councilors of Comum in their council building, thus avoiding the favor and acclamation of the mob and even the appearance of seeking their favor.[8] The town councilors were chosen from members of the local aristocracy; thus Pliny's audience represented at one and the same time those most able and most likely to bestow gifts upon Comum, those most likely to fear the courting of popular favor by other members of their own class, and those most likely to avail themselves of a municipal library.

From the difficulties of self-praise, Pliny turns to another difficulty he encountered in his speech. Following a common procedure in public munificence, Pliny promised a second benefaction to Comum upon completing his first.[9] He was not promising public games or gladiatorial shows, however, which seem to have been expected, but rather an annual contribution towards the maintenance of freeborn children. This system of payments, known as *alimenta*, was intended to encourage child-rearing and thus increase the population of Comum.

Pliny must have devoted a major, perhaps predominant, portion of his speech to this second gift. He realized that such a benefaction did not

offer the pleasures for eyes and ears provided by the public entertainment that often accompanied the dedication of a public building. Pliny did not always disdain such pleasures: he himself gave a public banquet at the dedication of a temple that he donated to the town of Tifernum Tiberinum in Umbria (*Letter* 4.1.6). Such entertainment could be expected even at the dedication of such a monument to high culture as a library. The donor of the library at Dyrrachium in Illyria presented twelve pairs of gladiators on the occasion of its dedication (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.1.607). Pliny apparently spent a great deal of time explaining the purpose of his gift and trying to make the childless appreciate the benefits gained by parents. An explanation and justification of the complicated financing mechanism of Pliny's maintenance fund, which Pliny describes in another letter (*Letter* 7.18), might also have required considerable time in his speech.

In his comments on his speech, Pliny provides a great deal of information about the proprieties of benefaction. On the other hand, we find very little to explain why Pliny chose to make a library his first major gift to Comum. Pliny calls his *alimenta* fund a "most useful gift" and one that served the common good; presumably he would have applied the same words to his library. Perhaps Pliny envisioned the library as part of an educational "system" at Comum, available for use by those students whom he sought to keep in Comum and away from Milan.[10] When Pliny learned in about 104 or 105 C.E. that the people of Comum were forced to send their sons to Milan for an education because there were no teachers in Comum, Pliny offered to contribute one-third of the salary for a teacher, and he asked his friend, the historian and orator Cornelius Tacitus, to look for suitable candidates for the position among his circle of students in Rome (*Letter* 4.13).

These students, the sons of the local aristocracy, would have been a relatively small group, and interest in a library probably did not extend far beyond the class represented by the town councilors to whom Pliny delivered his speech. There was one way, however, in which Pliny's library might serve to disseminate literate culture, even to the illiterate, and that was through public recitations. The public libraries in the city of Rome certainly served as a setting for recitations by authors,[11] and Pliny might well have imagined local litterati or even himself performing before the townspeople in his library. Indeed, the gift of a library fits Pliny's broad literary interests: he engaged in all the literary pursuits of his day—writing poetry, publishing his speeches, sponsoring and attending recitations—with great relish, and he liked to pair himself with Tacitus as a man of letters.[12]

Pliny's remark in *Letter* 1.8—that he was compelled to discuss the generosity of his family—may offer another clue to his motives. This phrase



1. *Athens: the southwest corner of the Agora.* (Photo by the author)

suggests that Pliny in his speech listed past gifts from his family to Comum, presumably to justify his own generosity to Comum as a continuation of family tradition. Perhaps Pliny dedicated the library in the name of his parents, as well as in his own name. A library would have been a particularly appropriate memorial for Pliny's literary relative, his uncle and adoptive father, Pliny the Elder. Pliny the Younger is likely to have inherited his uncle's personal library, which must have been extensive; this library might have formed the core of the municipal library's collection.[13]

Three libraries contemporary with Pliny's appear to have functioned as family monuments. In the Agora at Athens, Titus Flavius Pantainos, along with his son and daughter, dedicated a library between 98 and 102 C.E. Pantainos identifies himself as "priest of the Muses who love wisdom" and identifies his father Flavius Menander as "head of the School"—presumably one of the famed philosophical schools of Athens. On the basis of the archaeological record and the wording of the dedicatory inscription, it has been suggested that Pantainos was making additions to a preexisting building, perhaps the school building of his father.[14]

In Ephesus in the Roman province of Asia, Tiberius Julius Aquila Polemaeanus, consul in 110 C.E., dedicated a library to his father, Tiberius Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, consul in 92 C.E. and former governor of the province. In the library's interior, at the middle of the back wall, was an

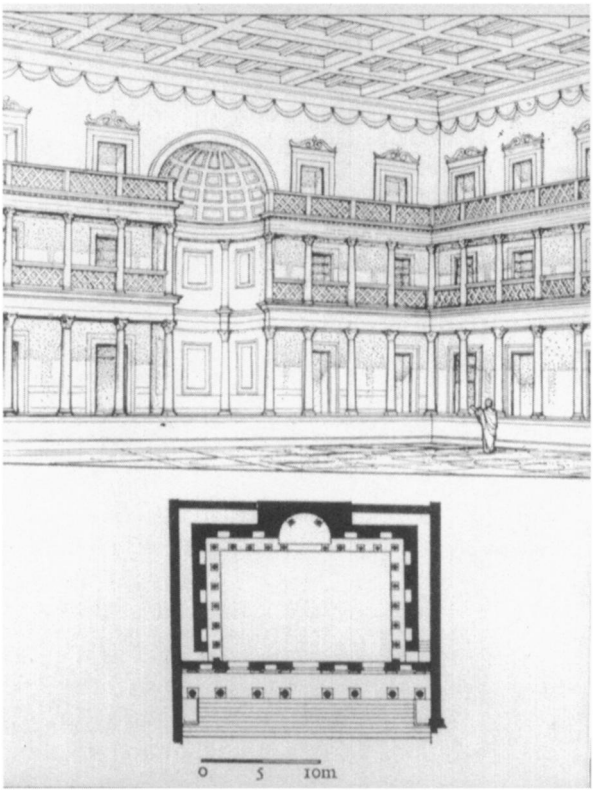


2. *Athens: the library of Pantainos. Its site is at the center, between the southern end of the restored Stoa of Attalus (the long building to the rear) and the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles (left foreground).* (Photo by the author)

apse; beneath the apse lay a chamber, accessible from a passage that separated the inner and outer walls of the library building. This chamber held a marble sarcophagus containing a lead coffin, apparently that of Celsus. Celsus seems to have obtained the rare privilege of burial within a city; and the library named after him served also as his tomb monument.[15]

The use of a library as a burial place may seem incongruous; but Pliny shows that the library of Celsus was not unique. In carrying out his duties as governor of the province of Bithynia and Pontus, Pliny had to inspect a building that the famous orator Dio Chrysostom was about to turn over to his native town of Prusa: it consisted of a library, in which stood a statue of Trajan, and a courtyard, in which the wife and son of Dio were buried.[16]

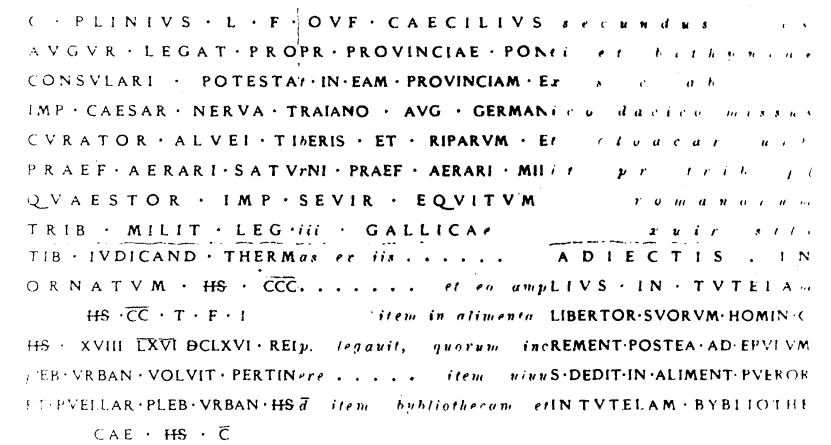
Pliny may also have been following the example of the emperors at Rome in building his library. The first public libraries in Rome were by now over a century old, having been built by Asinius Pollio and Augustus in the 30s and 20s B.C.E.; but the emperors of the Flavian family had recently added new libraries to the city. Vespasian included a Greek and a Latin library in his Temple of Peace;[17] Domitian restored and restocked the imperial libraries damaged in the fire of 80, he rebuilt the Palatine library in connection with the construction of his palace, and he may have provided a new location for the library of Asinius Pollio in the por-



3. *Ephesus: restored view of the interior and plan of the Library of Celsus.* (Reprinted with permission from Axel Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture*, Yale University Press/Pelican History of Art [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970], 398, fig. 150)

tico of the later Forum of Trajan.[18] Pliny later donated public baths to Comum; in both cases, Pliny was providing his home town with amenities already available in the capital city. An inscription found at Comum suggests that Pliny's family had long taken its cue from Rome: it records that Lucius Caecilius Secundus, who has been identified as the natural father of Pliny, built a temple to the Eternity of Rome and Augustus. The temple was dedicated by his son, Caecilius Secundus, who has been identified as Pliny the Younger. Thus, Pliny would have completed the temple begun by his natural father, some time before his testamentary adoption by his uncle.[19]

From Pliny's motives, I turn now to practical matters of construction and maintenance. Neither *Letter* 1.8 nor the inscription that records some of Pliny's other donations to the city (*Corpus Inscriptionum Lati-*



4. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum *5.5262, which records Pliny's official career and gifts to Comum. Only the top left fragment has survived to the present; the top middle and two bottom corner fragments are known from a fifteenth-century copy; the top and bottom middle fragments, in italics in this edition, are conjectural restorations.*

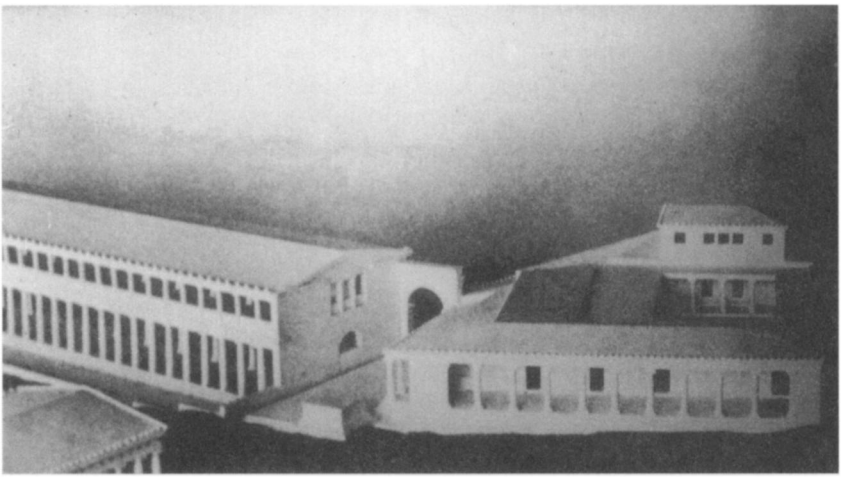
narum 5.5262) preserves the construction cost of Pliny's library. Theodor Mommsen arrived at the figure of 1 million *sestertii* through a process of subtraction: from the figure of 1.6 million that Pliny gives in a letter (*Letter* 5.7.3) as the value of his gifts to Comum, Mommsen subtracted the amount of one hundred thousand intended for the maintenance of the library and the amount of five hundred thousand intended for the *alimenta* fund for freeborn children. This leaves a balance of one million *sestertii* for the cost of the library itself.[20]

Mommsen's figure is open to criticism on several grounds. First, his subtraction method rests on the assumption that the inscription as restored records all the donations made by Pliny to Comum during his lifetime. That assumption may be incorrect. The inscription does not, for example, include Pliny's endowment, mentioned above, of one-third of the salary of a teacher for the children of Comum.[21] Another cost that might be subtracted from the total of 1.6 million is that for the temple to the Eternity of Rome and Augustus, mentioned above, if the dedicant and his son are correctly identified as Pliny's natural father and Pliny. In addition, the baths mentioned in the inscription may have been promised while Pliny was still alive, since the fund for their furnishings was an addition to the original sum promised for their construction.[22] As the inscription is known only from a fifteenth-century copy and one fragment remaining in Milan, there is also the possibility that the inscription as restored is incorrect or incomplete.

Another reason for doubt is that the figure of 1 million *sestertii* would make Pliny's library, when compared to the other buildings in Italy for which we know the costs, the most expensive building given by a private citizen and the second most expensive building in Italy.[23] The only building project known that is more expensive is that of the Baths of Neptune at Ostia, which cost more than 2 million *sestertii*; the emperor Antoninus Pius paid for that project (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 14.98). An unspecified building project at Aquileia cost 1 million *sestertii*; the city of Aquileia and a private citizen each contributed one-half of the amount, five hundred thousand *sestertii* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 5.969). Thus, Pliny's donation of one million *sestertii* would be the most expensive donation known from a private citizen for a building in Italy.

We know the construction cost for only one library in the Roman world, that of Timgad in Numidia, which probably dates to the third century C.E. and cost four hundred thousand *sestertii* (*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 9362).[24] In addition, we know that the purchase of the land for a library at Dyrrachium, during the second century C.E. cost 170,000 *sestertii* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.1.607). We obviously have too little information to establish a "typical" cost for a public library during the Roman period; nevertheless, the figure of 1 million *sestertii* calculated by Mommsen seems far too high.

A single gift worth 1 million *sestertii* also would seem to contradict Pliny's assertion (*Letter* 2.4) that his resources were entirely modest. He goes on immediately to say that his *dignitas*, his political and social position, is expensive to maintain; and the paired gifts of the library (whatever its cost) and the *alimenta* fund (worth five hundred thousand), followed by the maintenance fund for the library (worth one hundred thousand), demonstrate the expense that Pliny was willing to bear in order to maintain his position at Comum. His income, he says, was less or rather uncertain, due to the condition of his "little farms"; but what was lacking from income could be supplied by frugality, from which his generosity flowed as if from a fountain.[25] The implication is that Pliny paid for his gifts out of income or savings, rather than from the sale of land, which was the chief source of Pliny's income. Scholars have estimated that the value of Pliny's estate was between fifteen and twenty million *sestertii*; assuming a rate of return between 4.5 and 6 percent, that would produce an annual income from 675,000 to 1.2 million. Pliny also received substantial income from inheritances and legacies; in his letters he mentions bequests with a total value of more than 1.45 million *sestertii*. In addition, Pliny served as Prefect of the Military Treasury, probably from 94 to 96, in which post he would have received a salary of about three hundred thousand *sestertii* or more. The evidence shows both that Pliny was very generous in his public and private philanthropy—indeed,



5. *Athens: model of the Library of Pantainos. The Stoa of Attalus is to its left.* (From Homer A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, vol. 14: The Agora of Athens* [Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1972], plate 62a. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

he has been identified as "easily the largest public donor in Italy among those the value of whose gifts is known,"[26]—and that he had the means to support that generosity. Perhaps Pliny was bolstered in 97 by bequests and his recent salary and perhaps he intended to make his first gift to Comum one of the most expensive buildings in Italy (outside Rome); we should note, however, that the sum of 1 million *sestertii* postulated as the cost of the library would probably represent one year's income for Pliny.[27]

Pliny gives no evidence for what was included in his gift, but we might assume that the donation of a library included not only the building but also the fittings and the initial endowment of books. The evidence from other libraries in the Roman period supports that assumption. Pantainos in Athens provided "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with the books, and all the furnishings within them."[28]

At Ephesus, the donor of the library of Celsus gave "the library with all the decoration, the offerings [probably statues] and the books."[29]

At Volsinii in Italy, the initial dedication included the library and the books and statues in it (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 11.2704). Other arrangements were possible: a donor at Dyrrachium purchased only the land for the library, while the city seems to have borne the remainder of its cost (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.1.607). This type of arrangement, dividing up the cost of a project between a city and one or more individuals, must have been fairly common in large and expensive projects, as in the 1 million *sestertii* project at Aquileia mentioned above.



6. *Ephesus: the reconstructed façade of the Library of Celsus* (Courtesy of Naomi J. Norman)

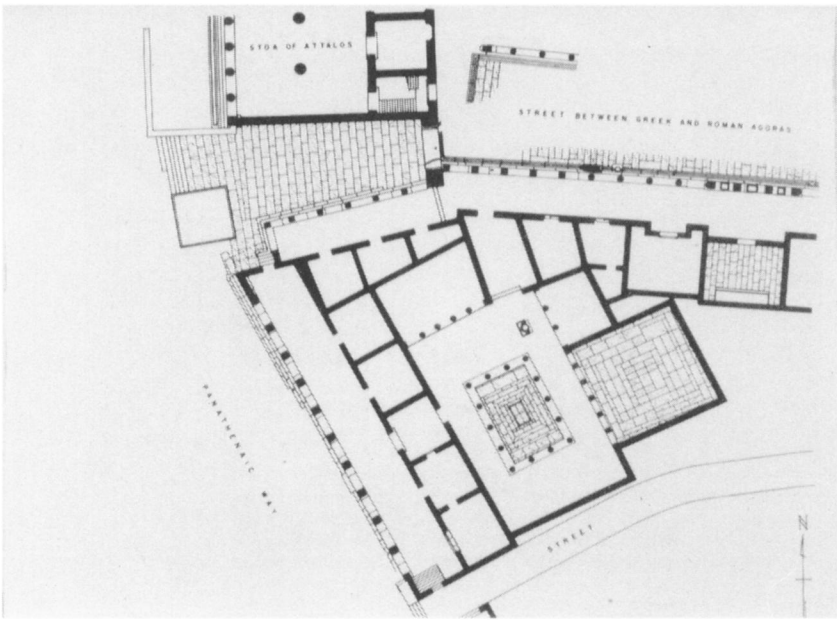
The inscription listing Pliny's gifts concludes with the fund for the maintenance of the library, *in tutelam bibliothecae.* We do not know whether such a fund was a normal complement to the presentation of a library. Such a fund might be set up later by some one other than the original donor; we know of funds for the maintenance of roads, aqueducts, baths, statues, temples, and other monuments.[30] In the absence of such provisions, the maintenance of the library would become, presumably, a matter for the city.[31]

In general, a maintenance fund would have been invested, and the income from the investment would have been used to carry out the purposes of the fund. Investment opportunities in the ancient world were neither so plentiful nor so diverse as they are today; the only way to obtain safe long-term revenue was through investment in land. In a letter to a friend (*Letter* 7.18), Pliny explains how he set up his *alimenta* fund for the maintenance of freeborn children. Pliny rejects a pair of alternatives: handing over the sum of the capital to the town or giving land to the town. Instead, Pliny first transferred landed property, worth more than the promised sum, to Comum's agent; Pliny received the land back, charged with an annual rent of thirty thousand *sestertii.* This sum represents an annual return of 6 percent on the fund's nominal value of five hundred thousand. The rent provided the city with the income for the maintenance of the children. Pliny would continue to exploit the property himself during his lifetime, and the property would remain in

private control in perpetuity; the city, technically the owner, would always have the right to thirty thousand *sestertii* from the annual income of the estate. This procedure was intended to protect Pliny's fund from the neglect suffered by public property under the city's direct control; and since the city received land rather than cash as capital, the city could not squander the capital. Pliny believed that the property could be sure of always finding some one to work it, because the property was worth more than the five hundred thousand *sestertii* the income from which was represented by the annual rental—in other words, sufficient income would remain after payment of the rental to make the investment profitable.[32]

If we assume that Pliny followed the same procedure with his maintenance fund for the library and achieved the same nominal return of 6 percent, the annual income would have amounted to about six thousand *sestertii*.[33] Much of the evidence for maintenance funds and for the costs of building restorations is associated with baths, roads, and water systems, which obviously required substantial expenditure for upkeep and repair.[34] Maintenance of a library presumably was a much less expensive proposition; Pliny's fund for the maintenance of his library was worth only half the fund for the maintenance of the baths. In addition to maintenance, the other continuing expense of the library would be for staff. We can only guess at staffing levels in ancient libraries, but a staff of one or two—a "librarian" and a "maintenance man," perhaps—might be sufficient.[35] A typical price for a slave is difficult to establish; slaves were often assumed to have a value of two thousand *sestertii* for legal purposes, and prices known in Rome and Italy from inscriptions and other historical sources range from nine hundred for a male slave, to six to eight thousand for a skilled agricultural slave (a vinedresser), to fifty thousand for a doctor.[36] An annual income of six thousand would appear to have been sufficient for periodic purchase of slaves for the library staff.

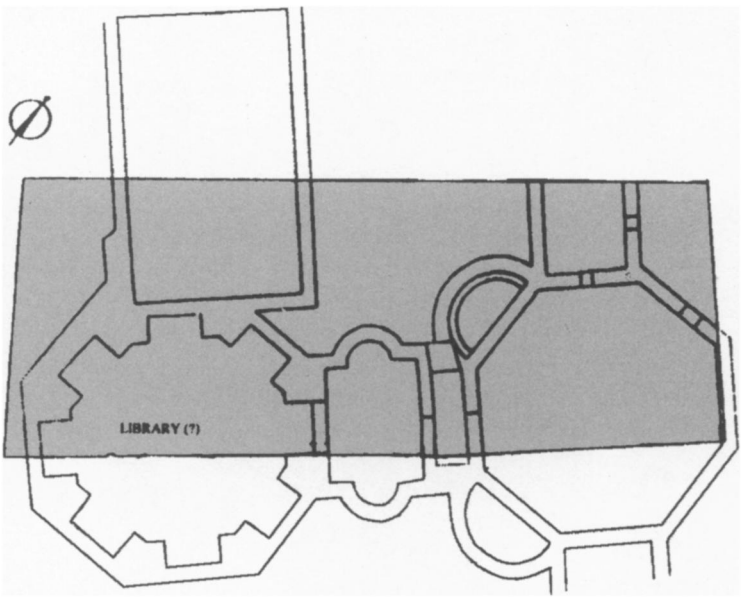
In the only other instance known to us of a library maintenance fund, the donor of the library of Celsus provided a fund, like Pliny's, worth one hundred thousand *sestertii,* for the repair of the library and the purchase of books. The provision for the purchase of books is an interesting one; we have very little evidence from the Roman period that any imperial or municipal library undertook systematic acquisitions after its original foundation.[37] Pantainos in Athens may have found another way to provide for his library's maintenance. The dedicatory inscription records "the outer stoas" as well as a peristyle and the library. The complex consists of a central courtyard with a large square room opening off it to the east—the peristyle and the library. Around these two rooms are three colonnades, the stoas, set at irregular angles to one another: one



7. *Athens: plan of the Library of Pantainos (From* The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum [Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1990], 140, ill. 90. Courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens)

to the west along the Panathenaic Way, one to the north facing the south end of the Stoa of Attalus, and one to the east along the street to the Roman Agora. The rooms behind the three colonnades had no direct communication with the central courtyard. These rooms may have been rented out as shops—one seems to have been the shop of a marble worker—thus providing a source of income for the maintenance of the library.[38]

I return to the questions that I posed at the beginning of this paper: what activities Pliny foresaw taking place in his library and what benefits he believed a library would bestow on his fellow townspeople. Perhaps Pliny envisioned a schoolmaster instructing the boys of Comum, using as his text a work of Pliny's or of his uncle's plucked from the library's own scrolls; or perhaps he envisioned an audience of townspeople giving rapt attention to the local aspiring poet, orator, or historian; or perhaps he imagined the kind of scholarly browsing, serendipitous discovery of obscure texts, and philosophical discussion among a small group of learned men that took place in the public libraries at Rome.[39] More likely, I think, is that Pliny imagined his fellow townspeople admiring the library as they strolled past and being led to recall the brilliant career of



8. *Como: plan of the structure identified as Pliny's library and baths. The room with rectangular niches to the left has been identified as the library. The area in gray is the portion actually excavated.* (Adapted with permission from Giuliana Cavalieri Manasse, Graziella Massari, and Maria Pia Rossignani, *Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardia.* Guide archeologiche Laterza 1 (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1980), 331.)

its donor, the most prominent citizen of Comum. I believe we should view Pliny's library at Comum as a monument to high culture—the culture of education, literacy, and literature, the culture of the capital city of Rome, the culture of those natives of Comum like Pliny who had made their mark in the capital city, the culture to which the local aristocrats aspired and in which they might have participated through their occasional contact with the great man. Pliny's dedication of a library told his fellow townspeople what kind of man he was, just as the publication of his letters told a reading audience what kind of man he was. As is sometimes the case with philanthropy, Pliny's library at Comum was a gift inspired more by the self-conception of its donor than by the needs of his community.

In 1971, the foundations of two octagonal rooms were found outside the ancient city wall of Comum. The Italian excavator, Mario Mirabella

Roberti, identified the structure as the public baths donated by Pliny, and the smaller of the two octagonal rooms as the library of Pliny.[40] Mirabella Roberti pointed to the octagonal shape of the rooms as evidence for his identification. No other evidence, such as traces of heating or hydraulic systems, has been found to support the identification as a bath; and octagonal rooms are also associated with other types of building in Roman architecture. Mirabella Roberti pointed to the supposed presence of libraries in the great imperial bath buildings of Rome to support his contention that this structure represented both Pliny's baths and his library. Even if we accept that imperial bath buildings incorporated libraries, a proposition that remains difficult to prove,[41] we have no reason to believe that Pliny's library was attached to his baths. The two structures would seem not to have been built at the same time: while Pliny donated the library about 96, as his first benefaction to Comum, the inscription that details Pliny's gifts indicates that the baths were still incomplete at the time of his death, around 111. The identification of the complex as Pliny's baths and library has not won general acceptance. Pliny's library, I believe, is yet to be found.[42]

Notes

1. In a recent study of ancient literacy, William Harris makes this estimate: "The likely overall illiteracy level of the Roman Empire under the principate is almost certain to have been above 90 percent" (*Ancient Literacy* [Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press, 1989], 22). On public libraries, see T. Keith Dix, " 'Public Libraries' in Ancient Rome: Ideology and Reality," *Libraries & Culture* 29:3 (1994): 282–296.

2. The standard commentary on Pliny's letters is A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). The Penguin Classics series has a good translation by Betty Radice, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963). The Latin inscriptions that mention Pliny are collected in Sherwin-White, 732–733, and translated in Radice, 303–304.

3. For Pliny's family, see Sherwin-White, 69–72.

4. Pliny describes the literary work and public career of his uncle Gaius Plinius Secundus in *Letter* 3.5; see Sherwin-White, 215–225.

5. For Pliny's political career, see Sherwin-White, 72–82.

6. On *Letter* 1.8 and its date, see Sherwin-White, 102–106.

7. For examples, see Pliny's *Letters* 5.7, 5.11, 6.34, 7.18.

8. Paul Veyne points to the significance of the verb used by Pliny, *dedicaturus* (the future active participle): when Pliny delivered his speech, he was "going to dedicate" a library. He had not yet dedicated his library, and he did not deliver this speech at the library's dedication. Veyne calls *Letter* 1.8 "a little manual of the benefactor of good taste" ("Autour d'un commentaire de Pline le jeune," *Latomus* 26 (1967), 725–726.

9. Pliny here follows the usual etiquette of gift-giving. Pliny writes to his wife's grandfather, praising him for the dedication of a colonnade, followed the next day by his promise of money for the decoration of gates, "making your second

act of generosity the consummation of the first" (*Letter* 5.11). Elsewhere, Pliny says that the best way to confirm one's services to someone is by adding to them, especially when grateful appreciation reveals the recipient as worthy of more (*Letter* 2.13.9); in a less sanguine statement, he says that past benefits cease to count unless confirmed by later ones, and that those who have every reason to be grateful remember only the thing they were denied (*Letter* 3.4.6).

10. The evidence for libraries as part of an educational "system" comes from the Greek world and from the Greek portion of the Roman Empire. With the increasing importance of the gymnasium as an educational and cultural institution during the Hellenistic period, some gymnasia appear to have been provided with libraries. In Athens, for example, the *ephebes* (young aristocratic men undergoing military and cultural education under state auspices) in several years made gifts of books to the gymnasium called the Ptolemaion (J. Delorme, *Gymnasion. Etude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grece* [Paris: E. de Boccard, 1960], 146, n. 6, 331–333; R. W. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, vol. 3: The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia* [Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957], 142–144, nos. 460, 461; M. Burzachechi, "Richerche epigrafiche sulle antiche biblioteche del mondo greco," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei* ser. 8, vol. 18 [1963]: 82–87). An honorary decree from Halicarnassus in Caria dating to the second century C.E. orders that the literary works of an honoree be placed in the town's libraries at public expense, "in order that the young might learn from them" (P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archeologique en Grece et en Asie Mineure, 1843–1844* [Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1853–1870], vol. 3.1, no. 1618). Similar evidence is lacking from Italy and the Roman West. I owe this point to Professor George Houston.

11. Dix, " 'Public Libraries' in Ancient Rome," 287.

12. See Pliny's *Letters* 7.20, 8.7, 9.23.

13. In the preface to his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder says that he read two thousand volumes by one hundred authors to compose his work (*Natural History* pref. 17). Pliny the Younger says that his uncle left him 160 notebooks of selected passages. Pliny the Younger was also able to produce on request a complete list of his uncle's literary works, including the length and subject-matter of each work (*Letter* 3.5), which suggests that he had a complete set of his uncle's works.

14. The Library of Pantainos: *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavation and Museum* (Athens: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1990), 140–142; John M. Camp, *The Athenian Agora* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1986), 187–191; John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York: Praeger, 1971), s.v. Pantainos, Library of, 432. The dedicatory inscription: Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, vol. 3*, 150, no. 464. The family of Pantainos: Arthur W. Parsons, "A Family of Philosophers of Athens and Alexandria," *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII (1949): 268–2[illegible]; James H. Oliver, "Flavius Pantaenus, Priest of the Philosophical Muses," *Harvard Theological Review* 72 (1979): 157–160, reprinted in Oliver, *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 62–65.

15. W. Wilberg, *Forschungen in Ephesos. 5.1: Die Bibliothek* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1953); Volker Michael Strocka, "Römische Bibliotheken," *Gymnasium* 88 (1981): 322–329; Axel Boëthius and J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 397–398; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48 (1980): 60–61.

16. *Letter* 10.83; Sherwin-White, 675-679; Veyne, 749; C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univerity Press 1978), 111–114.

These instances of burial in or near a library bring to mind the burial place of the emperor Trajan, in the base of the column standing between the two libraries in the Forum of Trajan in Rome. Both the library of Celsus at Ephesus and of Dio at Prusa were constructed during the reign of Trajan; and the architect of Trajan's forum, Apollodorus, was a Syrian Greek (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie d. Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, s.v. Apollodorus, no. 73). For the Forum of Trajan, see S. B. Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, revised by Thomas Ashby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), s.v. Forum Traiani, 237–245; Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), s.v. Forum Traiani, vol. 1, 450–456; Filippo Coarelli, *Roma.* Guide archeologiche Latera 7 (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1983),110–115; Carla Amici, *Foro di Traiano: Basilica Ulpia e Biblioteche* (Rome: X Ripartizione del Comune di Roma, 1982); L. Richardson Jr., *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), s.v. Forum Traiani, 175–178.

17. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5.21.9, 16.8.2; Platner-Ashby, s.v. Pax, Templum, 386–388; Nash, s.v. Forum Pacis, vol. 1, 439–445; Coarelli, *Roma*, 119–121; Richardson, *New Topographical Dictionary*, s.v. Pax, Templum, 286–287.

18. Domitian restoring libraries: Suetonius, *Domitian* 20. Palatine library: Platner-Ashby, s.v. Domus Augustiana, 158–166; Nash, s.v. Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini, vol. 1, 204–205; Gianfilippo Carettoni, "Le costruzioni di Augusto e il Tempio di Apollo sul Palatino," *Quaderni del Centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica* 1 (1978): *Archeologia Laziale*: 72–74. Moving Library of Asinius Pollio: James C. Anderson Jr., *The Historical Topography of the Imperial Fora* (Brussels: Latomus, 1984), 172–177.

19. Pliny's baths: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 5.5262. The temple to the Eternity of Rome and Augustus: *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 5. *Supplementa Italica* 1.745; Sherwin-White, 70.

20. Theodor Mommsen, "Zur Lebengeschichte des jüngeren Plinius," *Gesammelte Schriften* (Berlin: Wedimann, 1905–1913), 4.434. Radice gives a useful table of relative money values in her translation, *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, 311. The minimum property census for a senator was 1 million *sestertii*, for a town councilor one hundred thousand; a legionary soldier's annual pay was one thousand two hundred; the state-regulated price for a peck of grain was three *sestertii*.

21. *Letter* 4.13. There is the possibility, of course, that the townspeople of Comum did not take Pliny up on his offer.

22. A suggestion made by Richard Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 30-31.

23. See Duncan-Jones, "List of Italian Costs," 157, nos. 439–441.

24. Homer F. Pfeiffer, "The Roman Library at Timgad," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 9 (1931): 157–165.

25. *Sunt quidem omnino nobis modicae facultates, dignitas sumptuousa, reditus propter condicionem agellorum nescio minor an incertior; sed quod cessat ex reditu, frugalitate suppletur, ex qua velut fonte liberalitas nostra decurrit.*

26. Duncan-Jones, 31.

27. For Pliny's finances, see Duncan-Jones, "The finances of a senator," 17–32; Sherwin-White, 149–150; Dennis P. Kehoe, "The Economic Goals of a

Roman Estate-Owner: The Example of Pliny the Younger," *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire* (Bonn: R. Habalt, 1992), 10–15; Kehoe, "Investment in Estates by Upper-class Landowners in Early Imperial Italy: The case of Pliny the Younger," in Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al., editors, *De Agricultura: In Memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve* (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1993), 214–237. My thanks to Professor Kehoe for his help in understanding the problem of liquidity.

28. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora, vol. 3*, 150, no. 464.

29. R. Heberdey, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen in Ephesos 1904," *Jahreshefte d. Oesterr. Archaeolog. Instit.* 8 (1905), Beiblatt col. 67; and see note 15 above.

30. For examples, see Duncan-Jones, 206–207.

31. Pliny had a low opinion of the management of public property (*Letter* 7.18).

32. I follow here the interpretation of Duncan-Jones, 298–300; see also Sherwin-White, 422–424.

33. The maintenance fund for the library had a value only one-fifth that of the *alimenta* fund, so Pliny may have found a simpler form of investment for this endowment. The friend to whom Pliny gives advice in *Letter* 7.18 was offering Comum an endowment for an annual feast, but there is no indication of its value.

34. Duncan-Jones, "Miscellaneous Building Works and Restorations, 160–162; "Funds for Upkeep and Maintenance," 206–207.

35. I owe the suggestion that the maintenance fund was used to purchase a staff to Professor George Houston.

36. Duncan-Jones, "Prices of Slaves in Rome and Italy," 348–350. Other prices cited by Duncan-Jones: 725 for a slave-boy, 2700 for a cook, 10,000 for a *pantomimus* (an actor), 100,000 each for 11 slaves, each of whom knew the works of one Greek poet by heart, 700,000 for a *grammaticus* (a teacher of literature and language).

37. See notes 15 and 20 above. I owe the point on library acquisition to Professor Houston.

38. Homer A. Thompson, "The Excavations of the Athenian Agora, 1940–1946," *Hesperia* 16 (1947): 202–2→ Gorham P. Stevens, "A Doorsill from the Library of Pantainos," *Hesperia* 18 (1949): 269–274; and see note 14 above.

39. Dix, " 'Public Libraries' in Ancient Rome": 283–286.

40. Mario Mirabella Roberti, "L'urbanistica romana di Como e alcune recenti scoperte," *Atti del Convegno celebrativo del Centenario della Rivista archeologica Comense* (Como: Noseda, 1974), 31–35; Giuliana Cavalieri Manasse, Graziella Massari, and Maria Pia Rossignani, *Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardia.* Guide archeologiche Laterza 1 (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1980), s.v. Cosiddette terme (viale Lecco 13), 331.

41. Dix, " 'Public Libraries' in Ancient Rome": 287–288.

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GALEN, HIS BOOKS, AND THE HORREA PIPERATARIA AT ROME

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In a passage familiar to both library historians and topographers of Rome, the physician Galen explains that he is writing a new version of his work *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* (*On the Composition of Medications by Type*) because his original copy of the first two books had been destroyed in a fire:

> Ἤδη μοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐγέγραπτο πραγματεία, δυοῖν μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῶν πρώτων βιβλίων ἐκδοθέντων, ἐγκαταλειφθέντων δὲ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἀποθήκῃ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἡνίκα τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ὅλον ἐκαύθη, καὶ κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον αἱ μεγάλαι βιβλιοθῆκαι. τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἑτέρων τε πολλῶν ἀπώλοντο βιβλία καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἀποθήκην ἐκείνην ἔκειτο.
>
> I have already written a treatise (on this topic), and the first two books of it had been circulated, but they were kept along with others in the storeroom (ἀποθήκη) on the Sacra Via when the whole Temple of Peace was burned, and the great libraries (βιβλιοθῆκαι) on the Palatine. The books of many others too were destroyed at that time, and all of mine that were in that storeroom.[1]

We know from two anecdotes of Aulus Gellius that there was a library in the Temple of Peace.[2] Since Galen says his work was burned in the fire that destroyed the Temple of Peace,[3] and since it is perfectly reasonable to assume that books would be kept in a library, scholars have often thought that the books Galen mentions in *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* formed part of the collection of the library in the Temple of Peace.[4] This assumption has led to

[1] Galen, *De comp. med. per gen.* 1.1 (13.362 Kühn). Readers may wish to know that Kühn is available online at http://www.bium.univ-paris5.fr/histmed/medica.htm. All translations are my own, and all dates are A.D. I wish to thank Peter M. Smith and Ann Ellis Hanson for reading earlier drafts of this article and making numerous helpful suggestions. I am grateful also to the anonymous referee for *MAAR* for very useful comments.

[2] Gell. *NA* 5.21.9 and 16.8.2. The dramatic dates, dates of composition, and dates of publication of these essays cannot be established with any certainty, although the second essay (16.8.2) seems to refer to a time when Gellius was a student, perhaps in the 140s or early 150s. See Holford-Strevens 1988, 9–19 for a review of the evidence on dating Gellius's works and for a suggestion that the publication date was after, and perhaps well after, 160. For our purposes, it is enough that Gellius proves the existence of the library in the mid-second century. On the history and name of the Temple of Peace (not Forum Pacis until later), see Coarelli 1999, 67–70. I will throughout use Templum Pacis or Temple of Peace to mean the entire complex of open space and surrounding structures, not just the *aedes*.

[3] The date of this fire cannot be determined with certainty. It is described in Cass. Dio 72.24.1–2 and in Herodian 1.14.2, both of whom put it not long before the death of Commodus. Since Commodus died on 31 December 192, the year 192 seems most likely for the fire, but 191 cannot be excluded. For a full discussion of the date, see Daguet-Gagey 1997, 50–55. I follow her in dating the fire in 192.

[4] See, for example, Langie 1908, 69; Vleeschauwer 1964, 115 with n. 77; Anderson 1984, 115 n. 51; Blanck 1992, 195–196; Coarelli 1999, 68. Langie, Vleeschauwer, and

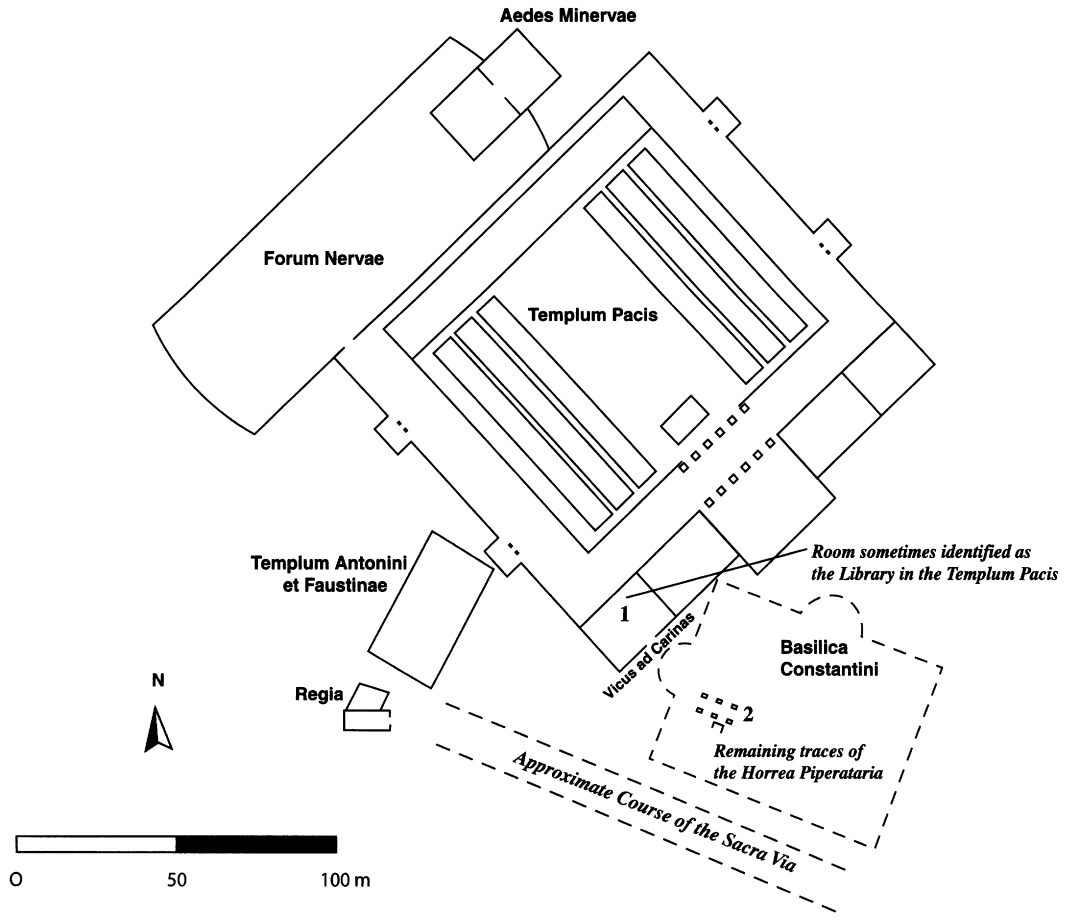


Fig. 1. Area of the Templum Pacis and Horrea Piperataria, Rome (plan of the Templum Pacis adapted from Meneghini 2000, fig. 68; other features from Lugli 1947, pl. 1). The Horrea Piperataria occupied roughly the area of the later Basilica Constantini, which is indicated in dotted lines. As shown here, traces of the Horrea were found under the floor of the Basilica (Minoprio 1932, pl. 1). Drawing Margaret M. Reid.

further inferences. First, Galen says his books were in a collection near the Sacra Via, so some scholars have argued that the Templum Pacis library, or more specifically the Greek section of it, must have been near the Sacra Via.[5] And second, we know of an interior space, within the Templum Pacis precinct and near the Sacra Via, that burned in the fire of 192. This is the hall or halls that later became the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian (1 on fig. 1). The hall was rebuilt under the Severans, and the late version of the hall included nine rectangular wall niches that resemble the wall niches in known libraries.[6] Given the location

Coarelli do not discuss Galen's books explicitly, but all take Galen's statement about his books as evidence for the burning of the library (not just the Templum).

[5] Castagnoli and Cozza 1956–1958, 141; Anderson 1984, 115 n. 51; Blanck 1992, 196.

[6] The rebuilding is probably to be dated under Septimius Severus. For the archaeological remains, which are difficult to interpret, see Whitehead 1927, 13–17 and Castagnoli and Cozza 1956–1958, 139–141. The latter report (141) that of the earlier building only the great tufa wall along the Vicus ad Carinas survived the fire.

The wall niches are described by Castagnoli and Cozza 1956–1958, 139. For wall niches in Roman-era libraries, see Pfeiffer 1931, 162 (Timgad), Sève 1990, 177–178 (summary of dimensions of known niches), and Packer

of the hall and the presence of such niches, some scholars have argued that this room was the library in the Templum Pacis and that it was precisely here that Galen's books were being stored when they were burned.[7]

Recently, however, Ann Ellis Hanson has pointed out that in *De comp. med. per gen.* 1.1 Galen never says that his books were in a library at all.[8] Instead, he tells us they were in an ἀποθήκη on the Sacra Via, and an ἀποθήκη is not a βιβλιοθήκη. Hanson reasonably suggested that Galen here meant a "private depository," and she pointed out another passage in which Galen refers to what must be this same ἀποθήκη:

> Λαβὼν δ' ὅσον ἐβουλόμην ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ εἰώθειν, ἀπεθέμην ὀλίγα παρ' ἐμαυτῷ κλώνια κατὰ τὴν ἀποθήκην, ἐν ᾗ πάντα μου τὰ τιμαλφέστατα κτήματα περιείχετο. κατακαυθείσης δ' αὐτῆς, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ἐκαύθη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πέντε διαφορῶν τοῦ κινναμώμου πᾶν ὅσον ἐκεκτήμην ἀπώλετο.
>
> Taking as much cinnamon from it as I wished, as I always did, I stored a few stalks at my place in the storeroom (ἀποθήκη) in which were kept all of my most precious possessions. When this was destroyed by fire, when the Templum Pacis also was burned, every bit of the other five qualities of cinnamon I had acquired was also destroyed.[9]

Galen, that is, seems to have stored books, cinnamon, and other precious possessions together in one place, in a kind of "private safety deposit box," and all of these items were destroyed together when the ἀποθήκη in which he kept them was burned in 192.[10] Now this ἀποθήκη clearly cannot have been in a library: one would not store cinnamon in a library. Thus there is no reason to assume that Galen's books were in the library of the Temple of Peace when it burned in 192, and we cannot use Galen's anecdote as evidence for the location of the library. All of this follows from Hanson's observations. But can we go further? Can we identify the specific ἀποθήκη, not just move it, along with Galen's books, out of the Templum Pacis?

An ἀποθήκη, of course, is a storeroom, both generally in Greek and specifically in Galen. Galen twice refers to warm rooms for the storage of wine as ἀποθῆκαι.[11] At *De antid.* 1.4 (14.26 Kühn) in a discussion of honey and its qualities, Galen tells us that there is a large store of Hymettan honey in the "imperial ἀποθήκη" and that he had chosen some that was sweet and some that was sharp. Similarly, in preparing theriac (an all-purpose antidote) for Marcus Aurelius, Galen was looking for high-quality cinnamon and checked many wooden containers that had been stored at various times in what he calls ἀποθῆκαι.[12] And Galen can

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1997, 453–454 (Forum of Trajan in Rome). The niches in the hall of Cosmas and Damian are on the northwest, northeast, and southeast walls of the room marked 1 on figure 1.

[7] Langie 1908, 67–68 and 70 (writing before the Church had been studied systematically), Anderson 1984, 116, and Blanck 1992, 196. Castagnoli and Cozza 1956–1958, 141 were cautious since the archaeological evidence is slim, especially for the original Flavian-era building.

[8] Hanson 1998, 52.

[9] Galen, *De antid.* 1.13 (14.65–66 Kühn). The point of reference of ἐξ αὐτοῦ in the first clause is not entirely clear. Peter Smith has pointed out to me that these words seem to refer to the "whole cinnamon tree" (δένδρον ὅλον) mentioned at 14.64 Kühn, line 14. Thus it would appear that Galen had access to a considerable supply of cinnamon, presumably the emperor's, and that he took what he needed of it, but that which he took was destroyed in the fire of 192.

[10] The suggestion of the safety deposit box is Hanson's (personal correspondence, 18 December 1996).

[11] *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 4.14 (11.663 Kühn); *De antid.* 1.3 (14.19 Kühn).

[12] *De antid.* 1.13 (14.64 Kühn). Here, as generally throughout, Galen calls Marcus Aurelius "Antoninus."

perfectly well distinguish between an ἀποθήκη and a library, as we learn from his famous set of anecdotes about the Alexandrian library: before books were ever put in the βιβλιοθῆκαι, he says, they were stacked for a time in ἀποθῆκαι.[13] Ἀποθῆκαι, in sum, were storage areas, more likely rooms than whole buildings. Were there such storage rooms on the Sacra Via? Yes, and they were right by the Templum Pacis, in the Horrea Piperataria, or Spice Warehouse, and I suggest that that is precisely where Galen's ἀποθήκη was. Consider the evidence:

1. A glance at figure 1 will reveal that the Horrea Piperataria (2 on fig. 1) were very close to the Sacra Via, just as Galen says his ἀποθήκη was. On the west, the Horrea seem to have been separated from the Templum Pacis only by the width of the Vicus ad Carinas, as indicated on figure 1.
2. We know from Dio that the ἀποθῆκαι in the Horrea Piperataria burned in the same fire that destroyed the Forum Pacis: πῦρ . . . ἐς τὸ Εἰρηναῖον ἐμπεσὸν τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων ἐπενείματο ("A fire fell upon the Temple of Peace and spread to the storerooms of Egyptian and Arabian wares").[14] Thus any books and possessions Galen had here would have been consumed "when the whole Temple of Peace was burned," just as he says at *De comp. med. per gen.* 1.1.[15]
3. We know that imperial horrea might contain units that could be rented and used for storage by individuals. Roughly half of a *lex horreorum Caesaris*, announcing units for lease in imperial horrea and specifying the terms for their rental, survives.[16] It mentions *armaria* and *loca* (probably *loca armaris*; see below), and other rental units were clearly named in the lost section of the inscription. What the other units were can be inferred in part from a similar text, one that describes the *horrea privata* of Q. Tineius Sacerdos.[17] The units mentioned are *horrea, apothecae, compendiaria, armaria, intercolumnia*, and *loca armaris*. The units seem to be listed in order of decreasing size, and the second largest type of unit mentioned, *apotheca*, is the Latin equivalent of Galen's ἀποθήκη.[18]
4. Galen might well want a storage unit in what Dio calls the "storerooms of Egyptian and Arabian wares," for many ingredients in his medications came from Egypt, the Orient, or relatively exotic places within the empire. For example, of the first twenty ingredients Galen lists as components of the theriac he prepares for the emperor, at least five come from Egypt, Africa, or the East,[19] and five others—garlic from Crete, Illyrian iris, Pontic rhubarb, saffron, and opium—were certainly or probably imported

[13] *Hippocratis Epidemiarum III et Galeni in illum Commentarius* 2.4 (17.1.606–607 Kühn).

[14] Cass. Dio 72.24.1.

[15] Daguet-Gagey 1997, 61–63 reconstructs the course of the fire. Following a suggestion of R. Meneghini, she believes the fire began northwest of the Templum Pacis, somewhere near Trajan's Markets, then moved southeast and south, burning the Templum, the Horrea, and parts of the upper Forum and Palatine.

[16] *CIL* 6.33747, from outside the Porta Salaria. Rickman 1971, 198–200 discusses the text and gives earlier bibliography.

[17] *CIL* 6.33860. For a full discussion of this inscription and the storage units mentioned in it, see Rickman 1971, 197–198.

[18] We might assume that *apothecae*, as the second largest storage units after *horrea*, were whole rooms or small suites of rooms. *Horrea* and *intercolumnia* now have appeared also on some of the wax tablets from località Murecine near Pompeii: *Tabula Pompeiana Sulpiciorum*, Camodeca 1999, vol. 1, no. 45, p. 2, line 9; cf. vol. 1, no. 51, p. 5, lines 14–15 (plates of both tablets are in vol. 2).

[19] The list is in *De antid.* 7 (14.42-43 Kühn). The five, in descending order by weight, are black pepper (from India, Miller 1969, 80–83), cinnamon (Arabia or East Africa, Raschke 1978, 652–655), the juice of the balsam tree (Miller 1969, 101–103), myrrh (Miller 1969, 104–105), and ζιγγίβερις (an Arabian plant, probably ginger, Miller 1969, 53–57).

into Italy.[20] We might well imagine Galen shopping for some of these items in the Horrea Piperataria and thus finding it convenient to have a storage space there.[21] Moreover, a building specifically designed for the storage of expensive dry goods would obviously be a good place for Galen to keep his supply of drugs and spices.[22]

In sum: Galen rented a storage unit in the warehouse on the Sacra Via or was provided with one by the emperor. Here he kept cinnamon, other ingredients for his drugs, and a copy of his own work *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*. There may have been other books as well. All of this was destroyed in the fire of 192. It is then clear that we cannot use Galen's references to his books as evidence for either the location or the contents of the Templum Pacis library.[23] On the other hand, we get for the first time a glimpse (not quite certain, but very likely) of how an individual might use a rental storage unit in the horrea, and armed with this new information we may briefly consider two further matters.

Were Any of Galen's Works in Public Libraries in Rome? Although Galen's reference to his work *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* cannot be taken as showing that that particular work was in the library of the Temple of Peace, it would be very surprising if none of Galen's works were to be found in that or in one or more of the other public libraries of Rome. Authors often gave presentation copies of their works to the libraries—or to the emperors, whence they might find their way into the public libraries.[24] Galen himself was close to the imperial family,[25] and one would expect him to make such a gift. He certainly thought that the works of other medical writers would be available in the libraries, since we find him searching there for the works of Hippocrates and Archigenes,[26] and we might therefore expect him to make sure that copies of his own works would be available as well.

We have, moreover, two further passages in *De libris propriis* that refer to books of his that were lost in the fire of 192. At *De libr. propr.* 2 (19.19 Kühn), Galen tells us in summary

[20] Miller 1969, 110–118 (table of spices that grew within the empire).

[21] For the possibility of merchants in the horrea, see Rickman 1971, 106.

[22] We do not know much about the physical structure of the building. Piranomonte 1996, 45–46, and Rickman 1971, 104–106, give an account of the scanty physical remains and provide earlier bibliography. The horrea seem to have been organized in groups of rooms arranged around open courts, with many water tanks (no doubt protection against the pepper and other spices, as Rickman noted). Recent excavations on the opposite (south) side of the Via Sacra have revealed a warehouse that seems to be similar in plan, and reconstructed elevations and sections of it may give an idea of what Galen's warehouse was like. For these, see Papi 1996, 49–50 with figs. 33 and 34 on p. 399. Finally, note that the name we now use for this structure, Horrea Piperataria, is late, known from the *Chronographus anni 354,* Jerome, and other late sources. Galen and Dio both use more descriptive names: the "storeroom on the Sacra Via" (Galen *De comp. med. per gen.* 1.1 [13.362 Kühn]) and the "storerooms of Egyptian and Arabian wares" (Cass. Dio 72.24.1). Pepper may have been the most important item that was bought and sold here, at least by weight, but Dio's name for the structure shows that there were many others too.

[23] It is, of course, possible that this library, or part of it, was housed in the hall that eventually became the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian. As noted above, however, we have at present very little information concerning the shape or interior design of this or the other rooms in the Templum Pacis, and a positive identification of the room as a library is not possible at this time. Perhaps the ongoing investigations in the area of the imperial fora will provide conclusive evidence.

[24] So, for example, Hor. *Epist.* 1.13 (presentation of the *Odes*), Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.67–72 (the *locus classicus* for entry into the public libraries), Mart. 12.2 (3) (sending a book from Spain to the emperor for inclusion in some collection).

[25] This emerges very clearly from such passages as those gathered in Moraux 1985, 131–139.

[26] *In Hipp. Epid. Libr. VI Comm.* 4.22 (Wenkebach and Pfaff 1956, 233) for Hippocrates; *De locis affectis* 3.5 (8.148 Kühn) for Archigenes.

fashion about the things he wrote while in Rome in the years from 170 on. Most of these, he says, had been destroyed in the fire. Later in the same work, while discussing another group of his writings, Galen tells us that some had been burned but that he had given copies of some to friends, and in that and other ways they had survived.[27] In both of these passages it is not clear where the books were when they burned: were they in the library of the Templum Pacis, or were they in Galen's storeroom in the Horrea Piperataria? In the first case, it might seem most likely that works written in the 170s would, by 192, be published and in the libraries rather than squirreled away among Galen's papers and cinnamon. On the other hand, both passages seem to refer to informal compositions,[28] and Galen elsewhere tells us that he sometimes wrote more for himself and for his students than for publication.[29] While this claim may be something of a pose, it is clear that Galen had private copies of some of his works, and he might have kept them in his storage space. It is possible, then, that both of these passages refer to books in the same ἀποθήκη that Galen refers to in *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*.[30]

Galen Goes Shopping. At many points in *De antidotis* Galen tells his reader how to assess the quality of various herbs and spices. While most of this material could be derived from earlier writers on pharmacology, some of it seems to come from Galen's own experience. He tells us, for example, that you develop your ability to distinguish between the varieties and qualities of a given plant by looking carefully at many samples.[31] He says, as though he had seen them, that huge quantities of iris were imported from Libya but that iris from Illyria was superior.[32] We find Galen himself searching for the best cinnamon he can find, looking in wooden containers stored in a warehouse (ἀποθήκη), and browsing for and choosing honey in the "imperial warehouse" (αὐτοκρατορικαὶ ἀποθῆκαι).[33] The cinnamon, we might well assume, was to be found within the Horrea Piperataria. Honey, however, was not an exotic spice, and perhaps it was for sale in one of the other nearby horrea that had replaced the old general market (*macellum*) when the Templum Pacis was built.[34] It does not seem unreasonable to imagine Galen shopping in the Horrea Piperataria and other nearby and less exotic markets, then returning with his spices, herbs, and other items to his ἀποθήκη in the Piperataria, where he could prepare his theriac and other compound medications, consulting his own books if necessary.

[27] *De libr. propr.* 11 (19.41 Kühn). My thanks to Professor Hanson for calling these two passages to my attention.

[28] In both cases Galen states that he wrote to keep himself busy (γυμνάζων ἐμαυτόν) and does not specify the works involved.

[29] *De libr. propr. prooem.* (19.10 Kühn). This passage is discussed by Boudon 1994, 1431–1433 and by Hanson 1998, 28–30.

[30] Even if this is not the case, and these books *were* in the Templum Pacis library when it burned, we still learn nothing about the location of that library within the Templum Pacis, since Galen does not in these passages provide any topographical information. Another possibility, suggested by the reader for *MAAR*, is that these books were in one of the libraries on the Palatine (the Apollo or the Domus Tiberiana libraries), since Galen tells us, in the passage we began with, that the same fire destroyed the libraries on the Palatine.

[31] *De antid.* 1.12 (14.60 Kühn).

[32] *De antid.* 1.12 (14.59-60 Kühn).

[33] Cinnamon: *De antid.* 1.13 (14.64 Kühn); honey: *De antid.* 1.4 (14.26 Kühn).

[34] For the *macellum* and its relation to the Templum Pacis, see Anderson 1984, 103. Papi 1996, 49 notes that the Horrea Vespasiani, on the north slope of the Palatine, were perhaps made necessary by the destruction of the *macellum*.

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A REVISIONARY NOTE ON AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS 14.6.18: WHEN DID THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES OF ANCIENT ROME CLOSE?[1]

George W. Houston[2]

On the basis of a passage in the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, modern scholars have regularly stated that the public libraries in the city of Rome were all closed by A.D. 380. Ammianus, however, is not talking about public but, rather, about private libraries, and there is no other good evidence to support the idea that Rome's public libraries were closed at that early a date. On the contrary, there is evidence that many libraries were still identifiable as late as circa A.D. 350, that there was both scholarly and building activity in Rome around A.D. 400, and that at least one library was still in use about A.D. 455. We thus need to alter our thinking: far from being all closed by A.D. 380, at least some of Rome's libraries were probably open well after that date.

Citing a passage in the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus as evidence, modern scholars—both classicists and library historians—have almost unanimously asserted that the public libraries of the city of Rome were closed by the end of the fourth century A.D. C. E. Boyd's statement is typical: "Public libraries existing in Rome up into the fourth century are said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been closed forever, like so many tombs" [1, p. 2]. Similar statements will be found in the studies of, for example, H. Peter [2, p. 244], K. Dziatzko [3, col. 419], J. W. Thompson [4, p. 38], and H. J. de Vleeschauwer [5, p. 116]. One finds the same idea in standard reference works such as the article by C. Wendel and W. Göber in *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft,* where Ammianus is cited as evidence that the libraries of Rome were "dauernd

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verschlossen" [6, p. 125], and in L. S. Thompson's treatment of ancient libraries in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* [7, p. 26]. Finally, scholars concentrating on other aspects of ancient libraries have often referred in passing to Ammianus and assumed that Rome's public libraries were closed by about A.D. 380, as did E. Makowiecka in her survey of the architectural form of libraries [8, p. 98] and L. Bruce in his useful recent review of the *procuratores bibliothecarum* [9, p. 158].

Only a few scholars, among them A. Langie [10, p. 150], O. Hirschfeld [11, p. 306], and E. D. Johnson and M. H. Harris [12, p. 72], have noticed that there are difficulties or have been more cautious in their statements. Langie remarked that the passage in Ammianus has to do primarily ("en première ligne") with private, rather than public, libraries, while Hirschfeld and Johnson and Harris noticed that there is some evidence (not cited in Johnson and Harris) for the use of public libraries after the time of Ammianus. These reservations, however, have been largely ignored in the literature, scholars for the most part being content to repeat the formulaic phrase, "closed like tombs," so that a reexamination of the evidence concerning Roman public libraries after the time of Constantine is needed.

Ammianus 14.6.18

We must begin by considering Ammianus's statement in full: "In consequence of this state of things, the few *houses*[3] that were formerly famed for devotion to serious pursuits now teem with the sports of sluggish indolence, re-echoing to the sound of singing and the tinkling of flutes and lyres. In short, in place of the philosopher the singer is called in, and in place of the orator the teacher of stagecraft, and while the libraries are shut up forever like tombs, water-organs are manufactured and lyres as large as carriages, and flutes and instruments heavy for gesticulating actors" [13, p. 47]. It is quite clear that there is no mention whatsoever of public libraries in this passage. In the middle of a long section (some eight pages in a modern text) in which he describes the decadent manner of life in fourth-century Rome—characterized by men who take pride in huge coaches and foppish clothing, who abuse their friends or devote themselves to gluttony—Ammianus pauses here to summarize the situation in the great private houses (*domus*) of Rome. As he says, serious studies in these houses have been replaced by partying, philosophers by singers, rhetoricians by actors, libraries by water organs. The

3. The italics are mine. The Latin word here is *domus*. Rolfe's rendering into English is accurate and reliable.

passage is bitter, satirical, exaggerated, and aimed solely and entirely at individuals and their private dwellings: there is no suggestion that the *public* libraries have been replaced by water organs. This is not evidence on the status of public libraries in Rome, and it must in the future be completely excluded in any discussion of such libraries.

Other Possible Indications That the Public Libraries Were Closed by A.D. 400

Honorary and funerary inscriptions of the first two centuries A.D. mention several dozen men involved in the administration or staffing of Roman public libraries. Inscriptions of the third century, however, mention only a few such men, and later inscriptions none at all [9, pp. 143–62]. Does this mean that there were no such administrators, and thus no such libraries? Similarly, a late catalog of the administrative posts held by officials throughout the Roman empire, the *Notitia dignitatum* [14], contains no clear reference to any library officials. Since the *Notitia* was compiled circa A.D. 400 [15, p. 359], can we infer that there were no such functionaries at that time?

In both cases we are dealing with negative evidence—the absence of library officials—and in both these cases the negative evidence is particularly vulnerable. First, our evidence from inscriptions is by no means an accurate reflection of the number of libraries in existence. In the century and a half from Antoninus Pius to Constantine, for example, we know of only two library administrators [9, pp. 153–54], yet in this very period at least three new libraries were built [8, pp. 191–98], and there may have been as many as two dozen in existence throughout the period. The reason for this decline in the number of attested administrators is clear: the fashion of creating the kinds of inscriptions that might mention officials and personnel declines precisely in this period, as a recent study has shown [16, pp. 240–45]. Thus the absence of library administrators on inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries is due not to the disappearance of libraries but simply to the tendency no longer to create inscriptions.

As for the *Notitia dignitatum,* it should be noted that the administration of the city of Rome is dealt with in this document in very summary fashion. The prefect of the city is said to have seventeen officials who are responsible to him—men in charge of the port, the cattle market, public works, and so on—as well as an unspecified number of staff in his own office whose functions (secretary, scribe, etc.) but not spheres of competence are stated [14, pp. 113–14]. The administration of Rome certainly required many more than seventeen officials in this period, and one may

safely infer that numerous subordinate tasks and subdivisions of responsibility were simply omitted from the list. For example, at least two public services, both certainly still in operation and both more important than the libraries, are not mentioned explicitly in the *Notitia.* No official in charge of the streets or roads of Rome appears, even though the streets were certainly still in use, and similarly no director of the games or of the Flavian amphitheater is mentioned, although we know from a letter of Cassiodorus that there were still publicly organized beast hunts as late as A.D. 523 [17, pp. 168–70]. It is reasonable to assume, then, that the *Notitia* does not list explicitly all branches of the administration of Rome, and officials in charge of these and many other services may simply have been subordinate to one or another of the seventeen officials who are included. Thus library officials might well not show up in the *Notitia,* and their absence is no evidence at all that they did not exist.

There are, so far as I have been able to discover, no clear indications that the public libraries of Rome had ceased to function by the late fourth century A.D. Certainly neither Ammianus nor the absence of known library administrators can be used as evidence. It is time now to consider the question from the opposite point of view: are there reasonable indications that the public libraries of Rome *were* still functioning as late as A.D. 400?

Evidence for the Continued Existence of Public Libraries in Late Antiquity

Writing late in the fifth century, Sidonius Apollinaris mentions that he had once delivered a panegyric in honor of the emperor Avitus (A.D. 455–56) and had been rewarded with a statue set up in the Forum of Trajan "between the authors of the two libraries," by which he means the Greek and Latin libraries now called the Bibliotheca Ulpia [18, p. 601].[4] Since the libraries are used to define the spot, they must have been recognizable, and if they had been closed it hardly seems likely that Sidonius would have chosen to use them as a landmark, for he could just as well have said "near the column of Trajan" or "in front of the Temple of the Deified Trajan." There is, then, good reason to believe that the

4. The passage in Sidonius has been noted by previous scholars, among them de Vleeschauwer [5, p. 129], Wendel [6, p. 123], and Hirschfeld [11, p. 301]. Yet these and other scholars have not either used it to correct the inference that has been drawn from Ammianus or noted its implications, which I discuss in what follows. Another reference to the same statue, but not to the libraries, appears in a poem (*Carm.* 8.7–10) of Sidonius [18, p. 171].

double library in the Forum of Trajan was still in existence at least as late as A.D. 455, and this is an important point. Had the Christian emperors gone about systematically closing the public libraries because of their collections of pagan works, this one, which seems to have been the most important and most visible of all Rome's libraries, ought to have been one of the first to be closed. The continued existence of *this* library, that is, suggests that other libraries too may have been allowed to remain open by the Christian emperors.[5] We have, moreover, an indication that scholarly work continued into late antiquity in the Forum of Trajan. One of the "declamationes maiores" that has come down to us under the name of Quintilian ends with the notation, "I, Dracontius, and my brother Hierius . . . read and edited this in the *scola* of the Forum of Trajan at Rome" [19, p. 154].[6] The date of Dracontius's activity, while not known exactly, is toward the end of the fourth century [19, pp. 156–58]. Here, of course, we do not have an explicit reference to a public library, but this reference to scholarly studies in the Forum of Trajan about A.D. 390, combined with Sidonius's reference to the libraries themselves some sixty-five years later, argues strongly that the library in the Forum of Trajan was still open and in use as late as the middle of the fifth century.

Our last item of evidence comes from the fourth-century regionary catalogs, lists of the buildings and monuments of Rome. Compiled at a date which, while uncertain, is certainly not before Constantine and probably after A.D. 334,[7] our two catalogs (now known as the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*) list among the buildings of Rome twenty-eight (in the *Curiosum*) or twenty-nine (in the *Notitia*) libraries [21, p. 97]. This seems a very high number, and it may well be that some of these buildings were not libraries, but archives or public records offices. Even so, the catalogs do indicate, at the very least, that there were many buildings in Rome that could be identified as libraries even late in the fourth century, and that the cataloger thought it worthwhile to call them to the attention of his audience: he, at least, assumed they would remain open for the foreseeable future. There is little reason to suppose that all or even most of these libraries were shut down during the fourth century, for there

5. Some scholars have argued that it was the Christian emperors, even more than the barbarian invaders, who dismantled Rome's libraries. While this thesis may be correct, there is no explicit evidence to support it, and the apparent continued use of the library in the Forum of Trajan argues against it. For the thesis, see, for example, de Vleeschauwer [5, pp. 129–30].

6. This passage was noted by de Vleeschauwer [5, p. 115].

7. For a recent discussion of the date of these catalogs, see Hermansen [20, pp. 140–45]. Here we need only note that they are certainly Constantinian or later; the *Notitia* most likely dates to the period A.D. 334–57, the *Curiosum* later than that.

were no barbarian attacks on the city itself until A.D. 410,[8] and, as we have seen, there is no convincing evidence that the Christian emperors thought it advisable to close the old public libraries. The apparent continued use of the library in the Forum of Trajan, the most likely candidate for such closure, indicates rather the opposite. It certainly seems possible that at least some of the libraries known to the compiler of the regionary catalogs continued to exist, at least for another century or so,[9] until fires or neglect or willful destruction did them in.

Conclusion

There is no evidence that the public libraries of Rome had ceased to function by about A.D. 380. Ammianus refers only to libraries in private houses, and the absence of attested officials can easily be attributed to the nature of our evidence rather than to the thesis that there were no such officials. A significant number of libraries was still in existence in the early part of the fourth century, and at least one, in the Forum of Trajan, seems to have been open as late as A.D. 455. We cannot now know exactly which libraries were still open in the fourth century, or how they were eventually destroyed; but there is at least the possibility, contrary to what most modern scholars have thought, that around A.D. 400 one could still go to one of a number of public libraries in Rome and read a good book, or a bad one.

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A Reappraisal of Roman Libraries in the *Scriptores Historiae Auguste*

Lorne D. Bruce

The existing literary knowledge about libraries from the second to the fourth centuries at Rome is largely furnished by the collection of authors known as the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae.*[1] This work, which has never enjoyed a reputation for accuracy among modern scholars since the initial critical commentary published at Paris in 1603 by Isaac Casaubon, has provided library researchers with many passages that have been used to support statements and illustrate the nature of libraries in Rome, especially the Ulpian Library. However, most of the evidence pertaining to libraries in the Historia Augusta (HA) has not been critically evaluated by library historians because the standard works on ancient Roman libraries by Carlo Castellani,[2] Filippo Garbelli,[3] André Langie,[4] Clarence E. Boyd,[5] and Max Ihm[6] were completed before the more radical theories on the HA were fully developed, debated, and gradually accepted by scholars in this century. The more recent standard library discussions are more cautious on this subject, but have relied upon earlier works for synthesis.[7] Since 1963 annual *Colloquia* devoted to the HA have been held to provide historical and textual commentaries.[8] The publication of this research has greatly helped to clarify the issues about the HA, and ultimately a "definitive" commentary will be published as a result of these *Colloquia.* It is the purpose of this article to reevaluate the statements in the HA referring to libraries, and to develop new explanations for these passages with regard to accuracy and reliability. The general effect, it must be admitted at the outset, will be revisionist, because for historical purposes many parts of the

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HA are no longer regarded as valuable historical or biographical sources.

The HA itself deserves a brief introduction to understand the voluminous studies devoted to it. The entire collection was ostensibly written during the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, that is, from 284–337 A.D., because some lines are dedicated to these monarchs or personages associated with them. Today it is the major continuous history of the imperial Caesars in the second and third centuries and remains a vital work for scholarly study. According to the manuscript tradition, six biographers—Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus—composed biographies of the Roman emperors from the time of Hadrian to Diocletian. In addition, the biographers claim to have written other works that are not extant; there is an extensive lacuna for the period 244–259, and numerous usurpers' lives are included. The authors attempted to follow the model of Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus's *De vita Caesarum* by giving information on various aspects of the emperors' lives: their ancestry, personality traits, physical appearance, and so on. This emphasis on personality and private details seldom adds historical value or even literary interest to the biographies. In addition, they are fond of quoting documents such as letters, speeches, senatorial decrees and acclamations, or inscriptions to authenticate and illustrate their histories, especially the cases of lesser-known imperial figures.

A century of research has produced many divergent theories about the HA. The first serious attacks on its genuine historical value were launched a century ago by scholars who believed much of the documentary evidence had been forged. Few scholars now believe the Diocletianic or Constantinian date of the HA; it appears that a date at the end of the fourth century, most likely the decade of the 390s, is more authentic. Further, the six biographers are believed to be one writer, perhaps an editor, whose purposes are subject to controversy. In this article the biographers are assumed to be one person who disguised himself for some reason by giving his work an earlier origin.[9] On the question of literary references and documents produced there has been general consensus: these documents and texts are very suspect, perhaps completely fabricated for the purpose of entertainment. Are we dealing with forgery or deceit? It is difficult to judge exactly. When examining the HA it is wise to be conservative and circumspect. As research continues on the HA the explanations for the authorship, date, and purpose multiply; but in the words of an authority, Sir Ronald

Syme, writing in 1968: "With the HA the great danger is still credulity."[10] This may be overstating a case in strong terms, yet caution is advisable.

There are a number of occasions when the imperial biographer refers to librarians and libraries at Rome. Before these references are studied, it must be advised that in this article the passages in question are believed more to illuminate the author's character than to describe in detail the existing conditions of the libraries at Rome in the second, third, and fourth centuries. I completely support the statement: "The author is a scholar, devoted to the techniques of research. He likes libraries."[11] There are repeated passages throughout the HA that show the author is anxious to convey the impression that his efforts to research and record history have been quite extensive.[12] He is able to read Greek.[13] He is capable of discerning problems of confusion among genuine historical writers that modern researchers know he used, such as the Greeks Herennius Dexippus and Herodian, and the Latin epitomes of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius.[14] He even reveals facts that would otherwise be unknown from any other ancient literary source, a good case being the building of Hadrian's wall ca. 122.[15] Because the HA freely introduces or intersperses the element of fiction, critical enquiry is essential to decide how much is invention, how much is fact. This aspect is the real difficulty in dealing with the HA. In the absence of evidence to corroborate statements appearing in the HA, one cannot be certain how seriously its statements should be considered. The character of the sources that have been drawn upon becomes as important as studies of the authorship and the date. But in many instances what can be inferred from the HA is as important as what is read from the statements of the bogus biographers. Behind each statement of "contemporary" events or facts pertaining to an emperor, one must recognize it is the author's real intention to mislead the reader.

To begin the enquiry on the HA's use of libraries for information, there are passages in the earlier lives that do not refer specifically to libraries or librarians, but provide some reliable information that can be utilized by library historians. The author "Julius Capitolinus" was responsible for the lives of Antoninus Pius (137–161), Lucius Verus (161–169), and Marcus Aurelius (161–180). On the whole his statements have a more accurate and trustworthy base than the later chapters in the HA, although the life of Verus is rhetorical in character and contains more anecdotes or interpolations, and the lives of Pius and Marcus are uncritical on many points. However, some substantive information is pro-

vided, and on three occasions Capitolinus makes references that can be utilized to infer that the library in the imperial residence on the Palatine was in active use during the mid-second century. These passages, in order of appearance, are summarized as follows.

A. *Antoninus Pius* 10, 4: At one time Antoninus summoned the Stoic philosopher Apollonius of Chalcis to his residence at the *domus Tiberiana* so that he could tutor Marcus Aurelius. Despite the imperial request Apollonius refused by saying the master should not come to a pupil, but a pupil come to the master. Antoninus thereupon rebuked the philosopher.
B. *Marcus Antoninus* 2, 4: Marcus's masters in oratory were the Greeks Aninus Macer, Caninius Celer, Herodes Atticus, and the Latin Cornelius Fronto.
C. *Marcus Antoninus* 6, 3: When he was designated as Pius's colleague in power, Marcus Aurelius was given the consulship and title of Caesar, then ordered by Pius to take up official residence in the *domus Tiberiana.*
D. *Verus* 2, 4–5: Verus was reared in the *domus Tiberiana* receiving instruction from the grammarian Scaurinus and the Greeks Telephus, Hephaestio, Harpocratio; his rhetoricians were Apollonius, Caninius Celer, Herodes Atticus, and Cornelius Fronto; his philosophers were Apollonius of Chalcedon and Sextus of Chaeronea.

The *domus Tiberiana* was the large palatial residence of emperors on the northwest summit of the Palatine Hill originally begun during the reign of Tiberius (14–37). This palace was occasionally occupied by the Caesars until the sixth century.[16] The archaeological remains of this building and its library are slight; most discussion of the library has revolved around two citations that are reasonably contemporaneous with the four passages cited in the HA above. This related knowledge of the library in the *domus Tiberiana* is essential because the HA does not actually refer to the library but to the palace. Marcus Aurelius himself mentioned the librarian working in the palace in a letter to his friend and teacher Marcus Cornelius Fronto about 144–145 relating that a speech by Cato the Censor was sought from the *Tiberianus bibliothecarius.*[17] The library is also specifically mentioned by Aulus Gellius (ca. 130–180): he recounted sitting in this library with his teacher, Sulpicius Apollinaris, when they were brought a book written by M. Cato Nepos.[18] Although Capitolinus does not actually make direct reference to the library in the Tiberian palace, it is certain

the tutors and students made good use of the collection for research, study, and discussion. What the HA does add to our knowledge is a fuller chronological outline in a period when the library in the Tiberian palace was in active use.[19] It also suggests that the emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus regarded literary studies as an important part of their daily lives in contrast with later emperors in the third and fourth centuries.

The mid-second-century chronology of the Tiberian library can readily be deduced from the HA. Aurelius received the title as Caesar in 138, and was consul with Pius in 139. It was normal practice to receive teaching from a *grammaticus* from age eleven to fifteen, and to receive training from a rhetorician between fifteen and twenty, perhaps a bit longer.[20] Verus would therefore have been educated by the grammarian and orator before ca. 150; Marcus's rhetorical study would have ended earlier, ca. 141. Marcus is said to have abandoned rhetoric about 146/147 for Stoic philosophy, which becomes apparent in his *Meditations.* It may be said that the library in the *domus Tiberiana* was actively used between 138 and 150 according to the evidence provided by Capitolinus. There is no information about the content of its collection in the HA, although it may be reasoned from Marcus's and Gellius's remarks that after a century of development and new acquisitions its quality was recognized by many scholars at Rome.

The first mention of library directors in the HA occurs in the life of Hadrian by "Aelius Spartianus." Here is found the name of Eudaemon, who assisted Hadrian in obtaining imperial power and was reduced to poverty by the suspicious emperor.[21] This person was first linked by Otto Hirschfeld with an anonymous *procurator bibliothecarum* attested by inscriptions in Asia Minor at Ephesus (published in 1873) and in Syria at Berytus, discovered in 1879.[22] In this capacity Eudaemon would have been responsible for all libraries in Rome directly under the emperor, because this was an imperial appointment. Hirschfeld's emendation to the inscription is now accepted.[23] The last years of Hadrian's reign were clouded by the execution of the conspirators, Julius Servianus and Pedanius Fuscus, in 136; thus Eudaemon's fall from favor may be a typical case of the atmosphere absolute power can create. His eclipse did not last many years, however, for Antoninus Pius later appointed the former director of libraries to the very important post of prefect of Egypt ca. 141/142.

Valerius Eudaemon was not the only man who had served as imperial administrator of libraries before he incurred the displeasure of Hadrian. Until 1952 it was not known that the famous

biographer Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (b. 69) had been a library director: Suetonius served in the imperial palace as *a studiis, a bibliothecis,* and *ab epistulis*[24] before he was dismissed from this last post by Hadrian ca. 121/122. Spartianus gives this colorful, perhaps fanciful reference in *Hadrianus* 11, 3, where it is stated that Hadrian replaced his secretary of correspondence because he had behaved improperly with the emperor's wife, Vibia Sabina. Suetonius's career in the imperial service, especially his post as library director, accounts for the detail in his *De vita Caesarum,* which frequently utilizes Greek and Latin documents to elaborate the Caesars' lives, even their library policy.[25] It is no surprise that the author "Flavius Vopiscus" expresses a preference in *Probus* 2, 7, for Suetonius the historian over Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. Again, one theme of the author of the HA, recording simple facts rather than composing an eloquent history, is invoked. In fact, the qualities of the encyclopedist, the arrangement *per species,* the literary simplicity, the inclusion of documents, and the anecdotal nature of many parts of the HA recall features of the *Lives of the Caesars.* Is it possible to suggest that the author of the HA might have served as *a bibliothecis* for a time and chose to write a biographical form of history? This is a possibility discussed later in this article, but cannot be a certainty because the author's identity and the reason he composed his work have evaded scholars for a century. Certainly his identification as a researcher-librarian would explain his ability to weave fact with fiction and escape detection, but the question must be posed: why disguise his ability or introduce bogus names, facts, and incidents? An identification of the writer cannot be complete without an explanation of his varied purposes.

Two further references to librarianship occur in the early chapters of the HA in a typical indirect fashion; both offer information on Lucius Volusius Maecianus. *Antoninus Pius* 12.1 states that Maecianus was one of the legal experts frequently consulted by Antoninus for legal matters. The same jurist is noted in *Marcus Antoninus* 3.6 as a legal lecturer to the future emperor Marcus Aurelius. Again, it is necessary to consult epigraphic remains to recognize that Maecianus had also served as *a studiis et procurator bibliothecarum* under Antoninus after 138; indeed, Maecianus's administrative career was so distinguished that he eventually secured senatorial rank, his reward for outstanding administrative service.[26] However, the HA does not elaborate on his life or writings; the author is content with these casual references. The elaboration of the career of all three known administrators—their backgrounds, their training, their contact with various emperors—

remains a task for modern scholars to take up using the HA's brief remarks as footnotes.

Thus far the second-century references to library matters in the HA do add some substantive information when used with other sources. It must be noted that the author was reluctant to offer detail about the location of his research material. Obviously he reworked familiar ground in his biographies and deliberately chose not to introduce evidence his readers would immediately suspect if they were knowledgeable on the topic. When combined with other evidence, it is possible to establish an indication of the usage of the library in the *domus Tiberiana* and episodes in the administrative careers of Valerius Eudaemon, Suetonius, and Maecianus. But beginning in the third century, the biographies' accuracy disappears, to be replaced by forged documents, fictional events, and bogus names. Strangely, as more information is paraded forth and extensive detail recited, the quality of the information deteriorates markedly. Unfortunately for library historians, it is these third-century passages that have attracted most commentary. In many cases these references have not received critical examination; they have been taken at face value. But, as the following review will demonstrate, the best material on libraries at Rome that the HA has to offer has already been presented here.

Capitolinus makes one additional reference to libraries in his biography of the three Gordians, who came to the imperial purple during the chaotic years immediately after the death of Alexander Severus in 235. In *Gordiani tres* 18, 2–3, Capitolinus states that Gordian II (d. 238) was a well-educated person who had studied under Serenus Sammonicus, junior. After Sammonicus died, the 62,000 books that had belonged to his father were willed to his former pupil Gordian II, who was naturally delighted with the magnitude and quality of this collection. This fact is not known from any other source, which should arouse suspicion, but it has been generally accepted in library studies.[27] Two scholars have suggested that Sammonicus's private library may have passed into the library collection in the Palatine, Pantheon, or Ulpian Library, or been gradually dissipated during the third-century period of disorder.[28] However, it is not necessary to expand these suppositions. More in question is the very existence of Serenus Sammonicus, junior, himself! It is likely that he is one of the invented names the author of the HA uses on occasions to enliven his histories and provide tantalizing facts that are otherwise impossible to corroborate.[29] Also, the existence of this private library may be doubted simply because of its immense size, which is far larger

than any other reported private collection in antiquity.[30] This private library should now be regarded as fiction.

Another third-century reference in the HA occurs in *Tyranni Triginta* 31, 10, where the author "Trebellius Pollio" says that none of his critics in the *Templum Pacis* would be able to claim he had included women among the thirty pretenders, because he appends the lives of two more tyrants, Titus and Censorinus, at the end of his collection to make thirty men and two women. Pollio is anxious not to give his critics an opportunity to criticize his fanciful history. The purpose of the *Tyranni Triginta* is to give brief sketches of the imperial usurpers who flourished in the mid-third-century turmoil, but in fact the information verges on the fantastic in most instances. Pollio's critics may not have existed. The *Templum Pacis* was destroyed in a fire during Commodus's reign (180–192) but was rebuilt in subsequent years by Septimius Severus and Diocletian, and renamed Forum Pacis in the fourth century.[31] It is interesting to note that Pollio, ostensibly writing during Constantine's reign, refers to the older name for this spacious area, giving his aside an authentic touch. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in *Rerum gestarum libri* 16.10.14, refers to the Forum Pacis in connection with Constantine II's visit to Rome in 357. His reference, together with archaeological work, demonstrates that the *Biblioteca Pacis* located in a temple in this forum still existed in the fourth century. The library building proper eventually became part of the church of St. Cosmas and Damian erected by Pope Felix IV (526–530). It appears, therefore, that Pollio's reference may be reliable, for it would not be unusual for critics or literati to gather at the library to debate various topics or engage in Socratic dialogue. The statement frequently has been accepted by library historians,[32] and I believe Pollio was aware this passage would add credence to an otherwise unreliable chapter in imperial biography.

The most extensive use of libraries in the HA is made by the author "Flavius Vopiscus" of Syracuse. He has much incidental information to offer about the libraries at Rome that he claims to have used when composing his histories of the emperors Aurelian (270–275), Tacitus (275–276), Probus (276–282), Carus (282–283), Carinus (283–285), and Numerian (283–284). Vopiscus, according to his own testimony, is an indefatigable researcher intent on recording history as it happened without pretentious literary style. At the same time, he is also disarmingly careful to give notice that his sources can be verified if the reader decides to take the oppor-

tunity to do so. These laudable qualities have disguised his misrepresentations in the nine instances where he refers to libraries.

Vopiscus's lengthiest passage that involves libraries occurs in his famous introduction to the life of *Aurelianus* 1, 1–10. To summarize his opening, during the festival of the *Hilaria* the prefect of the city of Rome, Junius Tiberianus, who claimed a relationship to Aurelian, took the author into his official carriage to engage in casual conversation. After they arrived at the Temple of the Sun, Tiberianus lamented that there were no Latin histories of his illustrious relative, only ones in Greek, despite the fact that Aurelian's own written journal (*ephemerides*) and his historical record of wars (*digesta*) still existed. Then he exhorted Vopiscus to write the emperor's biography by researching the facts from the linen books that Aurelian had ordered compiled (*libri lintei*). Tiberianus suggested these could be located in the Ulpian Library. The prefect expressly stated that he would give official approval for Vopiscus to have access to these books. Vopiscus concludes by saying he followed these instructions by consulting the Greek books (*lectites Graecos*) and linen books, and he adds that these materials can be studied in the Ulpian Library at any time upon demand.

What is fact, what is fiction in this remarkable episode? To begin, the *Hilaria* was an annual spring festival celebrated on March 25 in honor of Cybele, the great mother-goddess.[33] The entire day was given over to banqueting and merrymaking, and this particular introduction may be the author's technique to preface a fictional story with wry humor. Junius Tiberianus has usually been identified as city prefect of Rome during Diocletian's reign from 18 February 291 to 3 August 292.[34] The temple of Sol was erected by Aurelian during his five-year reign in the Campus Agrippae on the Quirinal Hill.[35] The *libri lintei* were traditionally archival lists of magistrates written on linen housed in the temple of Moneta dating back to the early fifth century B.C. Republican period and first cited by the historian Livy.[36] The Ulpian Library was constructed for the emperor Trajan by the architect Apollodorus of Damascus in a magnificent new forum ca. 114 and is last attested by the Christian bishop and author Sidonius Apollinaris, whose statue was set up in this library after he recited an extensive panegyric in verse to the emperor Avitus on 1 January 456.[37] The phrases illustrious man (*vir inlustris*) and the official carriage (*carpentum judiciale*) do not inspire confidence because they are suspected to be anachronisms by some scholars, although this charge is denied by others.[38]

Despite the factual references, there have been harsh judgments

made concerning the entire incident: it has often been branded as complete fiction.[39] Thus, its value is questionable—even the existence of the *libri lintei* is doubted.[40] Library researchers have been more kind, perhaps believing that Vopiscus's account of linen books and Greek histories is generally trustworthy and that it is no surprise that the Greek biographies and written war journals have disappeared after the passage of time. The destruction of literature is, after all, not an uncommon fate. Many historians have quoted the passage concerning the *libri lintei* to illustrate some of the contents of the Ulpian Library.[41] But it is important to realize that the very existence of the *libri lintei* is revealed in a circuitous, clever fashion. Tiberianus seems to have had knowledge of these books, perhaps because of his stated family connection. The prefect obviously had not read them himself, because he asked Vopiscus directly who had written a biography of Aurelian (1, 3). No authorship is stated: the *libri lintei* are demonstrated to have been in existence because Vopiscus searched for them and found them himself, a rather dubious proof. Because Tiberianus's relationship to Aurelian is suspect,[42] and he appears ignorant of the authorship, it is justified to doubt the existence of the *libri lintei* as well. The case for the linen books is not proven, especially if one examines the documents discussed later in this article that Vopiscus alleges derive from the Ulpian Library shelves.

One further point of interest has arisen from this stimulating passage. A claim has been made that the prefect of Rome may have taken direction of the city libraries in the late third century.[43] Formerly this position had been the responsibility of the *procurator bibliothecarum,* directly appointed by the emperor. The city prefect was an important personage, and it is likely he could arrange for anyone to have access to any city library. Nevertheless, Tiberianus does not issue an order for Vopiscus to have access to the books; he says he will merely expedite the matter, perhaps meaning he will make arrangements with proper officials. On the whole, it is not sound to regard this statement as factual evidence for the power of the *praefectus urbi* over Roman city libraries. The statement by itself proves nothing; in fact the office and powers of the city prefect in the fourth century remained little changed from the previous centuries.[44]

Later in Aurelian's biography Vopiscus introduces some of the evidence in the linen books of the Ulpian Library. Examining these documents illustrates their essential worthlessness. In *Aurelianus* 8, 1-5, he discloses the contents of a letter (*epistula*) written by the emperor Valerian (255-260) to the consul Antoninus

Gallus, which he inserts into his history verbatim. It relates that Aurelian was too stern and that even Valerian feared him at times. At the beginning it is revealed that Valerian's son, Gallienus, was guarded by the imperial usurper, Postumus (259–268), but this is not a historical fact.[45] Next, in *Aurelianus* 9, 1–7, Vopiscus includes another letter by Valerian praising Aurelian; he claims he located it in the files of the city prefecture (*ex scriniis praefecturae urbanae*). Valerian's letter is addressed to the *praefectus urbi,* Ceionius Albinus, asking for supplies and money for his soldiers at Rome; it also contains numerous administrative procedures that contradict reality.[46] There is nothing in these letters to commend. The consul Antoninus Gallus is not attested elsewhere. The second letter to Ceionius Albinus, who is apparently M. Nummius Ceionius Annius Albinus, who served as urban prefect in 256 and 261–262,[47] contains inaccurate descriptions of administrative affairs at Rome. The prefect of the treasury (*praefectus aerarium*) was not responsible for providing supplies directly to an army officer, even of Aurelian's ferocious calibre.[48] The most that can be said for these letters is to echo Vopiscus's reason to introduce them for curiosity's sake, "sed curiositas nihil recusat" in *Aurelianus* 10, 1. The letters are curious—and worthless. Boyd cites the first letter to illustrate the contents of the Ulpian Library,[49] but this should be discarded. Nor is there sufficient basis to postulate that the files of the city prefecture are equivalent with the library in the Tiberian Palace,[50] particularly in an instance such as this where the documents are obviously spurious. These two letters are simply forgeries passed off as history by the author of the HA.

Vopiscus relates a third incident that he confirmed in books at the Ulpian Library. In *Aurelianus* 24, 2–9, when Aurelian was besieging the city Tyana in Asia Minor, the philosopher-mystic Apollonius of Tyana appeared before him in his tent, and then asked Aurelian to spare his native city. Aurelian, greatly impressed by his visitation, promised to erect a portrait, statue, and temple for Apollonius. Vopiscus claims he learned of this incident from trustworthy men, and later read it in the books at the Ulpian Library. He believed the entire story was true because of Apollonius's remarkable fame, and he adds that there are Greek biographies of the philosopher that can be consulted. What are the facts? Apollonius of Tyana died ca. 98 during the emperor Nerva's reign.[51] Tyana was indeed invested by Aurelian in early 272, but more sober historians such as Zosimus fail to mention Apollonius;[52] the only extant Greek biography of Apollonius was composed by Flavius Philostratus (b. ca. 170), who of course makes no mention of

this incident because his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* was completed about the year 220. In short, there is little profit in evaluating this episode; the reference to the Ulpian Library is again useless despite previous acceptance.[53]

Having provided rather questionable information on Aurelian's life, Vopiscus continues in the same vein throughout his history of the emperor Tacitus.[54] In *Tacitus* 8, 1-2, he cautions the reader by divulging that he has not rashly placed his trust in Latin or Greek authors for an account of Tacitus's assumption of power, but referred to a decree of the senate (*senatus consultum*) signed by Tacitus when he became emperor; he found it in the sixth case (*armarium*) inside an ivory book (*liber elephantinus*) in the Ulpian Library. It is known that the *senatus consulta,* the advice of the senators to magistrates, were normally deposited in the Aerarium, the treasury of Rome in the temple of Saturn. The last known decree is dated 280, or shortly after Tacitus's death in 276. It is not credible that the decree referred to would be housed in an ivory book in the Ulpian Library, for this fact contradicts other sources.[55] The most telling argument against acceptance of the statement is presented by Vopiscus himself. In *Probus* 7, 1, the biographer relates that the personal judgments of Claudius and Tacitus concerning Probus would be too long to include in his history, but that it was reported Tacitus said Probus should be selected emperor by the senate when first offered imperial power himself. Despite a search, Vopiscus had been unable to find this senate decree (*senatus consultum*). Needless to say, Vopiscus has contradicted himself on this point. The only credible fact to emerge from these two passages is the arrangement of books in cases, hardly a significant point because it is revealed in many other ancient sources and archaeological discoveries.[56]

The problem of attempting to distinguish between trustworthy historical references and more fanciful material is displayed by Vopiscus in *Probus* 2, 1, which has produced much commentary. Here Vopiscus mentions that to write his portrait of Probus he relied primarily on the books in the Ulpian Library, which had been removed in his time to the Baths of Diocletian (*aetate mea thermis Diocletianis*), books from the Tiberian Palace, the registers (*regestis*) of the clerks of the Porticus Purpuretica, the transactions of the senate and people (*actis senatus ac populi*), and the journals of an older friend, Turdulus Gallicanus. Many library scholars have debated the removal of books to Diocletian's Baths because it is known the Ulpian Library continued its existence to the time of Sidonius Apollinaris. The statement has been both rejected[57] and

accepted, often in the limited sense that only a few books were transferred.[58] The official opening of Diocletian's Baths occurred between 1 May 305 and 25 July 306, completing a construction period that had lasted approximately eight years.[59] Apparently part of the Ulpian Library collection was removed for the purpose of having a small deposit for bathers on the Quirinal Hill. Considering the small size of Trajan's library (each room was approximately 2,700 square feet), it would not be surprising that space would become a problem after two centuries. No doubt the proximity of the Ulpian Library to the *Thermi Diocletiani* was one motive for the transfer, although it has been postulated that the move was only a temporary measure caused by building renovations to the Basilica Ulpia during Constantine's reign.[60]

The most interesting comments on Vopiscus's transfer passage have been issued by Boyd, who believed the existence of the *vilicus themarum bibliothecarum* was generally supported by Vopiscus's remark.[61] Further, he was tempted to propose that there was no actual transfer of the library, but rather the establishment of a small new collection.[62] Both these suggestions should be regarded as the most plausible interpretations. Vopiscus was anxious to stress that he used many collections, such as the Tiberian palace library, and, in fact, his reference to the clerk's registers at the colonnade of the Porticus Purpuretica in Trajan's Forum is the only report of it in antiquity.[63] Of course, his use of the senatorial transactions and the journals of his friend Turdulus Gallicanus are unsubstantiated. Vopiscus may be partially believed in *Probus* 2, 1; however, it is wise to be conservative in judging his remarks.

Vopiscus makes two final revelations about libraries in *Tacitus* 10, 3, and *Numerianus* 11, 2–3. In Tacitus's biography he relates that the historian of the same name was a forebear of the emperor, and that the monarch ordered ten copies of his illustrious ancestor's works made each year by copyists and placed in libraries. Tacitus's alleged preservation of texts is laudable; however his relationship to the historian of the same name is entirely fictitious.[64] Vopiscus's second reference is to the emperor Numerian, who, according to Vopiscus, was an eloquent speaker and poet, a man able to compete with such notable poets as Olympius Nemesianus. On one occasion after Numerian forwarded a speech to the Senate, the fathers voted him a statue for his oratorical powers and set it up in the Ulpian Library, bearing the inscription: "To Caesar Numerian, the most powerful orator of his time." If this event took place it happened sometime in 282/283 before Numerian became emperor. The poet referred to, M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus,

was from Carthage and his *Eclogae* and *Cynegetica* compiled ca. 283/284 have survived in part.[65] But it may be doubted whether he was ever bested by Numerian in poetic competition. The author of the HA is fond of attributing oratorical or poetical powers to the emperors of the third century, for example, Gordian the elder.[66] Naturally no works that can be ascribed to these particular emperors have survived, if indeed they ever existed. Needless to say, none of Numerian's works survives, nor does his statue exist today. It is not necessary to believe that it was ever erected.[67] Again, in both these cases the insights on libraries are not of use to the library historian.

To evaluate the nine occasions when Vopiscus makes reference to libraries and to his sources produces a discouraging record for historical purposes:

A. *Aurelianus* 1, 1–10: a charming introductory episode that is suspect and cannot be regarded as historical.
B. *Aurelianus* 8, 1–5: a forged *epistula.*
C. *Aurelianus* 9, 1–7: a forged *epistula.*
D. *Aurelianus* 24, 2–9: an imaginary tale that capitalizes on the mythic element associated with Apollonius of Tyana.
E. *Tacitus* 8, 1–2, and *Probus* 7, 1: two references concerning a *senatus consultum* in the Ulpian Library that contradict the existence of this document.
F. *Probus* 2, 1: a careful justification of his sources that records the existence of a small library collection in the Baths of Diocletian.
G. *Tacitus* 10, 3: a fraudulent reference to copies of works by the historian Tacitus placed in libraries.
H. *Numerianus* 11, 2–3: the erection of a nonexistent statue of this emperor in the Ulpian Library.

The entire offering gives scant information for library history. Fiction cannot be made into fact, and it must be accepted that there is little value in the remarks about libraries in the HA's third-century biographies because the author obviously is not recording history but is motivated by other purposes. It appears he is desirous of achieving credit for researching and discovering documents, yet he indulges in deception for the sake of humor on many occasions. He also has striven to promote the brief biographic sketch on the model of Suetonius. His purpose is to deceive his readers.

But what of the author himself? At the beginning of this article

the fondness of the author of the HA for libraries was alluded to. At this point it is necessary to discuss the theories of Alfred von Domaszewski, who dealt in part with the HA's reference to libraries in two articles.[68] Domaszewski accepted the theory of forgery after studying remarks on the geography in Rome and the empire, and the dates and personal names in the HA. On the basis of his work he arrived at the extraordinary hypothesis that the author of the HA lived in Nemausus in Gaul (modern Nîmes in southern France) and composed the HA in the later part of the sixth century. With regard to some passages disclosed in this article, Domaszewski rejected all the HA's references to the *bibliotheca Ulpia* because he insisted the official name for this library was *bibliotheca Templi Trajani.* Further, he maintained the author was actually referring to the library in Nemausus where the writer served as municipal *curator,* or civic manager.[69] Thus, the forger's references to the transfer of books to Diocletian's Baths or the books in the Porticus Purpuretica are discarded as outright inventions on the basis of terminology.[70] Few scholars have adopted Domaszewski's general theory, and it must be pointed out that one need not accept his ideas to reject the evidence provided by the HA. As outlined before, there are many considerations that lead to skepticism about the HA's mention of libraries and materials in libraries. While it is tempting to believe that the author was a *curator* of a municipal library, there is no substantial evidence to support this position.[71] For these reasons Domaszewski's theories have not been accepted.

One of the HA's conventional methods to win over readers does offer some information on the author. The writer repeatedly urges his readers to check his accuracy in documents he uncovered. The question can be fairly asked: why would a clever forger request that his readers check the veracity of his statements by examining the actual records in libraries? The answer can only be that he was certain there was no possibility of this happening. Obviously, assigning his work the appearance of an earlier origin would impart more authority and make it more difficult for his readers to discover his fraud, but if alert readers took the trouble to search for the bogus documents they might become suspicious if none was available. However, if the author knew that the libraries in question were no longer in active use, or had suffered losses that would explain the disappearance of documents, he could introduce his own fabrications without fear of being uncovered as a falsifier. Viewed in this manner, Ammianus Marcellinus's statement ca. 375 that the public libraries of Rome were closed like tombs takes on

more significance, although his recollections of Rome were generally critical because he was not accepted by aristocratic Romans.[72] The final death knell for public libraries that had been established in temples came after 24 February 391, when the emperor Theodosius the Great enacted a series of laws that effectively forbade sacrifices, worship of the pagan gods, and the visiting of temples for worship.[73] As a result, the collections in libraries that were associated with temples, especially the Ulpian Library and the library in the *Templum Pacis,* would no longer be accessible.[74] In these circumstances, an ambitious forger could give free rein to his fervid imagination, provided his account was not too sensational and agreed in part with existing histories that were recognized. This hypothesis depends upon the acceptance of a late date for the HA, perhaps the last decade of the fourth century; if this is acceptable it helps provide a sound explanation for the author's references to documents in libraries.

At the outset of this article it was stated the analysis of the HA would help revise conceptions of Roman libraries. It can be realized now that most of the passages are not acceptable for a historical record of libraries. Nonetheless, once the persistent reliance upon the HA for genuine library history is tempered, a clearer perspective emerges concerning the decline of many Roman public libraries. Recently, scholars have minimized the impact that public libraries in Rome had upon intellectual life because they were not research oriented, they served a limited reading public, and their collections remained small and were occasionally ravaged by fires.[75] In truth the appellation "public" is not particularly correct in the modern sense because a large reading segment of the population did not exist; reading was mostly the pastime of the educated upper and middle classes of society. No doubt the author of the HA was well aware that he was writing for a small audience whose educational training had been largely rhetorical and uncritical in nature. Perhaps he believed he could write an entertaining history complete with bogus authors and sources to conceal his true identity. This knowledge tells us something about the spirit of the HA and the apparent lack of adequate library resources when it was composed. Arguments about the author and his purposes will continue, but it is unlikely library historians can depend on the HA for authentic evidence for the history of Roman libraries. After all, if the author was satisfied to rely upon the unavailability of sources in libraries to disguise his imposture, what is there to be said for the influence of libraries in Rome while he was writing, shortly before 400?

It follows that the decline of libraries can be inferred from the HA's statements. Normally, the establishment and the promotion of libraries definitely relied upon imperial patronage. A significant change is revealed between the HA's early chapters on Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, where the Tiberian palace library is at the very heart of literate culture, and the later chapters on Aurelian, where Vopiscus resorts to nonexistent letters or vague references to Aurelian's remarkable military exploits, which did not attract Latin historians. One cannot imagine a similar lack of interest in the early empire; indeed the contrast between the vibrant Tiberian palace library of the second century and the shadowy existence of the fourth-century Ulpian Library is unmistakable after critical examination. By the time of Aurelian, Rome's position at the center of the Graeco-Roman culture—that is, the established heritage of the dominant upper classes and ruling elites in the empire—had deteriorated perceptibly. The emperors no longer took up residence in the capital for long periods; instead they were needed along the frontiers to repel barbarian attacks. Although Rome remained the educational and cultural center of the western empire after Constantine's foundation of Constantinople on 11 May 330, the establishment of libraries in the new capital assumed greater importance from this time.[76]

It is evident in the HA that usage of libraries also changed. Pollio's unnamed critics gathered in the Forum Pacis for their discussion of current cultural topics, but they are not of the calibre of men like Maecianus who surrounded Marcus Aurelius. Doubtless there were fewer opportunities for expression of ideas and tastes in an era of warfare and decline; even the book trade lacked its former vigor in metropolitan centers such as Antioch.[77] Limited access to library collections after 375 further restricted the growth and interaction of thought and the transmission of books. Thus the promotion, usage, and accessibility of libraries, which had depended on factors associated with the more prosperous early empire—a period eulogized by Aelius Aristides (died ca. 181) as a time of peace, happiness, economic prosperity, and enlightened rule[78]—had changed drastically by the time the HA's author was composing his biographies. His lack of precision and reliance upon bogus sources in the second half of the HA reflect part of this cultural erosion. A comparison with references to libraries in *De Caesaribus* is instructive: in the second century Suetonius was able to refer to works by title[79] and to books censored by the early Julian emperors;[80] his sources were more reliable and more plentiful.[81] The HA's author depended upon fewer sources that

were less scrupulously researched, upon his own imagination. He is unable to discuss imperial munificence in library building even though there was a continuation of the policy to establish public libraries in Rome after the reign of Hadrian.[82] The issue of censorship in libraries is nowhere found in the HA. Nor is the assistance of librarians in creating a corpus of literature for public use ever mentioned. There is a great gulf separating the society that first received *De Caesaribus* and the HA.

The third and fourth centuries were a time of far-reaching cultural and social transformation. Traditional Graeco-Roman civilization was in decline, and with it the Roman library. Greek rationalism was being supplanted by Christian faith. The city of Rome was losing its ascendancy to Constantinople. The ruling aristocracy was ousted from political and military commands by a bureaucracy loyal to the soldier emperors. New aesthetic tastes replaced the classic values of Hellenism in art, and in science supra-rational practices such as alchemy and astrology replaced serious rational inquiry.[83] The extension of citizenship to all free residents of the empire in 212 blurred older Roman distinctions. Inflation of the coinage seriously eroded economic stability. Roman libraries were also transformed in this process, not only by external forces, but by the fundamental role of serving a limited portion of Roman society that had lost its place at the center. This transition deserves further study to understand the evolving institutional role and declining influence of the Roman public library. The HA has provided one source for this work, yet in the final analysis it alone does not provide an adequate framework for general theories because only a modest vantage point is established: from the perspective of the late fourth century the HA presents indirect information on three library careers, and on the libraries in the Tiberian palace, Forum Pacis, Baths of Diocletian, and Trajan's Forum. This evidence is contributed by an author who is cognizant of the limitations of Roman city libraries and uses his knowledge to conceal his identity and purpose. This statement may be a fitting epitaph for the importance of libraries at Rome in the late fourth century, but we know it was not always true.

Notes

1. The best edition with commentary is by Ernst H. Hohl, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 2 vols. revised with corrigenda (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1965), David Magie (trans.), *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1921–1932), gives an English translation

with useful commentary although he does not subscribe to current theories on the HA.

2. Carlo Castellani, *Le biblioteche nell'antichità dai tempi più remoti alla fine dell'impero Romano d'Occidente* (Bologna: Monti, 1884), pp. 27–57.

3. Filippo Garbelli, *Le biblioteche in Italia all'epoca Romana con un'appendice sulle antiche Biblioteche di Nineve ed Alessandria* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1894).

4. André Langie, *Les Bibliothèques publiques dans l'ancienne Rome et dans l'empire Romain* (Fribourg: Fragnière Frères, 1908).

5. Clarence E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916).

6. Max Ihm, "Die Bibliotheken im alten Rom," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 10, no. 12 (1893): 513–532.

7. For example, James W. Thompson, *Ancient Libraries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940), pp. 27–50; Evelyn H. Clift, *Latin "Pseudepigrapha": A Study in Literary Attributions* (Baltimore: J. H. Furst, 1945), pp. 1–39; Fritz Milkau and Georg Leyh (eds.), *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenshaft,* 3 vols. in 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1950–1960), vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 111–128; Herman Jean de Vleeschauwer, "The Roman Library," *Mousaion* 72 (1964): 103–139; Jeppe Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2 Århundrede e. Chr.* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Biblioteksskole, 1976); and Lawrence S. Thompson, "Roman and Greek Libraries," in Allan Kent, Harold Lancour, Jay E. Daily (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* (New York: Marcel Dekker, 1968–), vol. 26, pp. 19–28 (hereafter cited as *ELIS*).

8. Andreas Alföldi and Johannes Straub (eds.), *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1963–).

9. Two works by Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) and *Emperors and Biography: Studies in the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), provide excellent studies of the HA.

10. Syme, *Ammianus,* p. 218.

11. Ibid., p. 183.

12. For example, the closing statement in *Carus, Carinus et Numerianus* 11, 2.

13. See *Aurelianus* 1, 4, which is discussed later in this article.

14. *Gordiani tres* 2, 1. Three Gordians held imperial power, not two as reported by the Latin epitomators. For the HA's borrowings, see Timothy D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels: Collection Latomus, 1978).

15. *Hadrianus* 11, 2.

16. See Samuel Ball Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* revised by Thomas Ashby (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 191–194; and Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* 2 vols., revised edition (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 365–374.

17. Marcus Cornelius Fronto, *Epistulae* 4.5.

18. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 13.20.1.

19. Syme, *Emperors,* p. 40, refers to *Antoninus Pius* 10, 4, as an "anecdote" but the force of the other three passages leaves no doubt of the Tiberian palace library's importance. Langie, *Bibliothèques,* p. 63, uses these references as support for the Tiberian library's existence. Men of the stature of

Fronto and Herodes Atticus were active in literary circles at Rome and could frequently consult this library while tutoring Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius.

20. For Marcus's education, see Anthony Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1966), pp. 75–112.

21. *Hadrianus* 15, 3.

22. Otto Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), p. 303.

23. For Eudaemon's career, see Hans-Georg Pflaum, *Les Carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le haut-empire romain*, 3 vols. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1960–1961), vol. 1, pp. 264–271, especially 267–268. His identification is not clearly outlined in library histories: see Langie, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 139–140; Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 42; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, p. 124; and Ihm, "Bibliotheken," p. 523.

24. For his administrative career, see Pflaum, *Les Carrières*, vol. 1, pp. 219–224. The Algerian inscription is discussed by Gavin B. Townend, "The Hippo Inscription and the Career of Suetonius," *Historia* 10 (1961): 97–109.

25. See Heinz Gomoll, "Suetons bibliotheksgeschichtliche Nachrichten," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 52 (1935): 381–388.

26. His career is outlined in Pflaum, *Les Carrières*, vol. 1, pp. 333–337.

27. Castellani, *Biblioteche*, p. 34; Garbelli, *Biblioteche*, p. 105; Ihm, "Bibliotheken," p. 530; Langie, *Bibliothèques*, p. 121; Vleeschauwer, "Roman Library," p. 119; Lawrence Thompson, "Private Libraries," *ELIS*, vol. 24 (1978), p. 128; and Raymond Irwin, "Seneca: Studies in the History of Libraries—X," *Library Association Record* 58 (1956): 418.

28. See Thompson, *Ancient Libraries*, pp. 34 and 37; and Clift, *Latin "Pseudepigrapha"*, pp. 32–33. Garbelli, *Biblioteche*, p. 157, rejects this argument for the Capitoline library.

29. Syme, *Emperors*, p. 279.

30. Milkau and Leyh, *Handbuch*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 117.

31. See Platner, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 237–245; Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 439–445; and August Pauly, Georg Wissowa, Wilhelm Kroll, and Karl Mittelhaus (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1893–), "Pacis Forum," vol. 18, pt. 2 (1942), cols. 2107–2122, especially 2109. Hereafter cited as *Real-Encyclopädie*.

32. Ihm, "Bibliotheken," p. 521; Langie, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 69–70; Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 60; Clift, *Latin "Pseudepigrapha"*, p. 28; Milkau and Leyh, *Handbuch*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 122; Vleeschauwer, "Roman Library," p. 115; and Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, pp. 44–45.

33. "Hilaria," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 8, pt. 2 (1913), cols. 1597–1598.

34. For his career, see André Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au bas-empire* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions latins, 1962), pp. 17–20. His son, Junius Tiberianus, was also prefect in 302–303; see Chastagnol, *Les Fastes*, pp. 40–41.

35. See Platner, *Topographical Dictionary*, pp. 491–493.

36. See Robert M. Ogilvie, "Livy, Licinius Macer and the *Libri Lintei*," *Journal of Roman Studies* 48 (1958): 40–48.

37. Courtenay E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 30–35, discusses this panegyric in detail.

38. Syme, *Ammianus*, p. 192, dismisses these phrases but also gives a bibliography of dissenting opinions.

39. For example, Chastagnol, *Les Fastes*, pp. 19–20.

40. Magie, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, vol. 3, p. 194; and Vleeschauwer, "Roman Library," p. 115.

41. Castellani, *Biblioteche*, pp. 54–55; Garbelli, *Biblioteche*, p. 158; Ihm, "Bibliotheken," p. 521; Langie, *Bibliothèques*, p. 116; Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 38–39 and 56.

42. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, T. Morris (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971–1980), "C. Iunius Tiberianus," vol. 1, p. 912 (hereafter cited as *PLRE*).

43. Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 306; Langie, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 138–139, summarizes the argument but is noncommittal. The argument is favored by Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, p. 125; Thompson, "Roman and Greek Libraries," in *ELIS*, vol. 26, p. 32; and Vleeschauwer, "Roman Library," p. 118.

44. William G. Sinnigen, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1957), pp. 111–114, sums up the evidence.

45. Magie, *Scriptores*, vol. 3, p. 206, and "Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 13 (1926), cols. 355–358.

46. See Magie, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, vol. 3, p. 211.

47. "Nummius Ceionius Albinus," in *PLRE*, vol. 1, p. 35.

48. Mireille Corbier, *L'"Aerarium Saturni" et L'"Aerarium Militaire": Administration et prosopographie sénatoriale* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1974), p. 346, rejects this statement in *Aurelianus* 9, 2–7.

49. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 39.

50. See Eduard von Wölfflin, *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologische und historische Classe der Königlich-bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München (Munich: C. H. Beck'schen, 1891), p. 497. Wölfflin was attempting to show that Vopiscus was the general editor of the HA by studying the language of the *vitae*. Langie, *Bibliothèques*, p. 64, rejects his arguments. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 35, is noncommittal.

51. See B. A. van Groningen, "Apollonius de Tyane," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* 30 (1951–1952): 107–116.

52. "Lucius Domitius Aurelianus," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 5, pt. 1 (1903), col. 1383.

53. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 55, accepts this passage. For Philostratus, see Glenn W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 4–16.

54. Ernst H. Hohl, "Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus," *Klio* 11 (1911): 294–295, cites Tacitus 8.1 and 10.3 as passages not deserving credence.

55. "Senatus Consultum," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, suppl. 6 (1935), cols. 804–805. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 56–57, and Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, pp. 49–50, accept the senate decree.

56. See Carl Wendel, "Der antike Bucherschrank," and "Armarium Legum," in *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekwesen* (Cologne: Greven, 1974), pp. 64–107.

57. B. Kuebler, "Bibliotheca," in Ettore de Ruggiero (ed.), *Dizionario*

epigrafico di antichità romane (Rome: L. Pasqualucci, 1886-), vol. 1, col. 1003.

58. For example, Castellani, *Biblioteche*, pp. 56–57; Garbelli, *Biblioteche*, p. 159; Ihm, "Bibliotheken," p. 521; Clift, *Latin "Pseudepigrapha"*, p. 30; Milkau and Leyh, *Handbuch*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 123; Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, pp. 50 and 59–60; Thompson, "Roman and Greek Libraries," *ELIS*, vol. 26, p. 23; Bernt Götze, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 52 (1937): 240; and Christian Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3 (1944): 164.

59. Salvatore Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, 7th ed. (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1974), pp. 3–12, gives an outline history.

60. Langie, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 72–73.

61. Boyd, *Public Libraries*, p. 46.

62. Ibid., p. 38.

63. Platner, *Topographical Dictionary*, p. 239.

64. Ronald Syme, *Tacitus*, 2 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 1958), vol. 1, p. 59. However, Vopiscus's statement is accepted by Langie, *Bibliothèques*, p. 120; Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 40 and 68; and Vleeschauwer, "Roman Library," p. 117, note 120. Raymond Irwin, "The Economics of Reading and Writing; Studies in the History of Libraries–IV," *Library Association Record* 56 (1954): 284, accepts the statement on copying but rejects the emperor's lineage.

65. "M. Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus," in *PLRE*, vol. 1, p. 622; and André Chastagnol, "Trois études sur la Vita Carii; II Nemesianus et Calpurnius," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1972–1974*, pp. 81–84.

66. *Gordiani tres* 3, 2–4.

67. "Marcus Aurelius Numerianus," in *Real-Encyclopädie*, suppl. 11 (1968), col. 1018. Nevertheless, the statement had received wide acceptance by Ihm, "Bibliotheken," p. 516; Langie, *Bibliothèques*, p. 115; Garbelli, *Biblioteche*, p. 109; and Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 55–56.

68. Alfred von Domaszewski, *Die Topographie Roms bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Klasse, vol. 7, transaction 7 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1916); and *Die Personennamen bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Sitz. der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse, vol. 9, transaction 13 (Heidelberg, 1918).

69. Domaszewski, *Die Personennamen*, pp. 49–52.

70. Domaszewski, *Die Topographie Roms*, p. 9; and *Die Personennamen*, pp. 46 and 49–52.

71. For the library at Nîmes, see Rudolf Naumann, *Der Quellbezirk von Nîmes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1937), pp. 2–29; and Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, pp. 70–73.

72. Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri* 14.6.18. For his stay at Rome, see Alan Cameron, "The Roman Friends of Ammianus," *Journal of Roman Studies* 54 (1964): 15–28.

73. See Noel Quinton King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), pp. 77–82, for this edict.

74. Donald G. Davis, Jr., "Christianity and Pagan Libraries in the Later Roman Empire," *Library History* 2 (1970): 1–10, reviews this process.

75. Raymond Irwin, "Ancient Libraries," in *ELIS*, vol. 1 (1968): pp. 405–406; and Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker*, pp. 130–131. However, Langie, *Bibliothèques*, pp. 154–155, Boyd, *Public Libraries*, pp. 66–69, and Clift, *Latin "Pseudepigrapha"*, pp. 38–39, emphasize the useful role of libraries in the transmission of literature in Roman society. This question deserves greater study. The negative aspects of the HA led Wölfflin, *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, p. 479, to question the importance of the Ulpian Library, but use of the HA alone is not a suitable measure.

76. Carl Wendel, "Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinople," in *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekwesen*, pp. 46–63.

77. Compare Felix Reichmann, "The Book Trade at the Time of the Roman Empire," *Library Quarterly* 8 (1938): 40–77, with A. F. Norman, "The Book Trade in Fourth-Century Antioch," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 80 (1960): 122–126.

78. See James H. Oliver (ed.), *The Ruling Power* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1953), pp. 895–907, for Aristides' address "To Rome."

79. For example, Suetonius, *Claudius* 41.2–3, refers to this emperor's autobiography, his history of the civil wars, and "Defense of Cicero against the Writings of Asinius Gallus," works that are lost to us now.

80. Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1 and *Caligula* 16.2.

81. Gavin B. Townend, "The Date and Composition of Suetonius's *Caesares*," *Classical Quarterly* 9 (1959): 285–293, concludes his history was written between 119 and 132.

82. For example, the library in the Pantheon: see Frank Granger, "Julius Africanus and the Library in the Pantheon," *Journal of Theological Studies* 39 (1933): 151–161.

83. This is not to say that rational inquiry and research was at an end. Pliny the Elder lamented the lack of research and critical spirit in his own time (i.e., ca. 23/24–79) in his *Naturalis Historia* 2.45.117–118. As late as the reign of Valentinian and Valens (364–375) an anonymous writer of *De rebus bellicis* outlined imaginative reforms and serious proposals for the imperial administration, army, and law. But significantly his audience ignored his advice and he was forgotten, while Pliny's works were well known during the second and third centuries.



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Source: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Neue Folge, 107. Bd., 2. H. (1964), pp. 158-175
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Richtige sein, vgl. S. 167,14 καὶ δεδήλωκεν αὐτὴν δι' ἐλαχίστων Οὐαλεντῖνος. — S. 167,8 ἃ δὲ P, nach Miller, Gö., We. : (τ)ὰ δὲ richtig P[29]). — Z. 17 ⟨αἱ⟩θέρος Gö., We. : fort. θέρους Miller : αἴθρης Bunsen : Θέρος richtig P (wie dies schon Wilamowitz, Hermes 34,218, gesehen hatte; von We. unbeachtet). Dieses Θέρος gehört nicht zum Vers: es ist wahrscheinlich ein Titel (so auch Wilam.); die Vermutung von Festugière, Vigil. Christ. 3,207, es sei ein Lemma („une indication sur l'air selon lequel on doit chanter le psaume, κατὰ τὸ »θέρος«"), scheint mir weniger wahrscheinlich[30]).

(Fortsetzung folgt)

Cambridge (England) M. Marcovich

THE LIBRARY OF LIBANIUS*)

In a recent work Festugière glanced briefly at the problem of the texts available to Libanius [1]). Despite his careful emphasis upon the provisional nature of this survey, such a statistical presentation of literary borrowings and sources may tempt the unwary into unwarranted conclusions. Care must be taken, as he rightly indicates, not to regard his list as complete in itself, nor yet as consistently representative of Libanius' treatment of his material, still less as representative of other sophists. The incidence of classical citations in such authors depends upon criteria both subjective and objective. A Himerius, with his exaggeratedly florid style, will differ, both in aim and in inspiration, from the more argumentative exposition and more subtle appeal to psychology presented by Libanius. Thus, besides using the corpus of literature which was basic to the Greek educational system — epic, drama, history and oratory,

29) Zu S. 167,7 u. 8 dreimal „Spatium von 2 Lettern P" We.: belanglos, da der Schreiber wegen des Loches in der Bombycina auf diesem Raum überhaupt nicht schreiben konnte (dasselbe auf f. 77v).

30) So auch R. M. Grant, Vig. Christ. 11 (1957) 151.

*) Textual references are to Libanius ed. Förster, Menander ed. Körte, to fragments of tragedy, Nauck, *T. G. F.* [2], and lyric, Bergk [4].

1) *Antioche Paienne et Chrétienne*, 216 and 509.

Himerius characteristically displays a degree of proficiency with material from lyric which is most unusual in 4th century writers. In the Libanian corpus itself, different genres require differences of matter and treatment which are to be observed not merely in a comparison of orations, declamations and letters, but in any assessment of the orations themselves [2]).

The broad outline of Libanius' course is essentially that recommended long before by Dio Chrysostom and Quintilian, and even then of tried utility and venerable antiquity [3]). 'Homer, Hesiod and other poets, Demosthenes, Lysias and other orators, Herodotus, Thucydides and other historians' is his own account of his basic course [4]). If philosophy as such is absent from his curriculum, unlike that offered by Dio to his more mature student, the reason is to be found in that dichotomy between rhetoric and philosophy in the Hellenic tradition, whereby philosophy had been elevated into a post-graduate study of high prestige and specialist appeal. In any case, Xenophon, traditionally regarded as a philosopher, and Plato figure in his course, but rather from the point of view of form and diction than of content [5]). In fact, the literary influence of Plato is observable throughout his works, second only to Demosthenes, with vocabulary taken not merely from the more obviously sophistic works but from comparatively recondite works such as the *Laws*. It may also seem odd to find no explicit mention of the dramatists, but they, along with Pindar and others, seem to be included under the blanket designation of 'the other poets'. Familiarity with drama is well attested by citation and reference throughout his works [6]), as is only to be expected, and, in the case of Old Comedy in particular, it is confirmed by the admiring comments of Eunapius [7]). The general picture is that of a wide literary expertise, where deep knowledge and sincere admiration of classical models enable him to adapt language and circumstance into a style peculiarly his own. Eunapius may commend him for his handling of Old Comedy, but later his

2) Cf. Petit, *Recherches sur la publication et la diffusion des discours de Libanius*. Historia 5, 479 ff.

3) Dio, *Or.* 18, 8 ff. Quintilian 10, 1, 68 ff.

4) *Ep.* 1036.

5) E. g. *Or.* 2, 24.

6) E. g. *Or.* 1, 9; 2, 48.

7) *VS* 16, 2, 3 (p. 496): ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ κορυφὴν παιδείας τοῦτο ἐπετήδευσεν, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ὅλος εἰς τὸ ἀπαγγέλλειν εἰλκυσμένος ...

Byzantine admirers praise him no less for his adaptations of his model orator by referring to him simply as 'Demosthenes the Second' [8]).

Investigation of the texts at his disposal is undoubtedly complicated by the scholastic fashions of his day. If at times the sophist airs his own erudition with precise reference to his models, at others he will tickle his audience's vanity by allowing them the opportunity of appreciating his artful adaptation for themselves. The result is more allusiveness and less direct citation. The earlier habit of quoting *in extenso,* such as that of Dio or Plutarch, had given place to a skilful integration of the citation into the form and fabric of the imitation, so producing a more impressionist effect. Quotations are no more than snippets and vocabulary from diverse sources is interwoven to produce a stock sentiment in quite novel form. For example, the prooemium of the *Autobiography* introduces the theme of the oration in terms reminiscent of the stock rhetorical thesis 'Should one practise rhetoric?' [9]). It proceeds immediately by deliberate anacoluthon and emotive vocabulary (ὀδυνῶν καὶ πόνων) to a manifestation of literary piety secured by intrusive hints of Homer [10]), and manages to produce an effect of harking back to the attitude assumed by Isocrates in a similar situation [11]). The topic of place of origin and family, which by tradition must next be treated, is introduced by a lyric quotation culled from the same place in the Plutarchian *Life* of *Demosthenes* [12]). Thus, in the shortest space, while keeping rigidly to the rules of composition, he has suggested to his audience a succession of sources of inspiration, without overt mention of any.

A further problem is to decide whether his quotations and references are taken direct from his primary sources or whether they come through intermediaries. His was the culture of the commentator and the excerptor, and his stock in trade was largely that of paraphrase and anecdote. It is clear at the outset that Libanius had, besides basic texts, a large store of such sophistic material, one obvious item being the collection

8) Cf. Förster, *Vol.* 1, p. 74.
9) Cf. Hermogenes, *Progymnasmata* (ed. Rabe) p. 25: εἰ ῥητορευτέον.
10) *Il.* 24, 527 for τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐκέρασαν *Od.* 9, 495: μὴ βάλοι βέλος.
11) *Antidosis* 1–7.
12) Plut. *Dem.* 1 f. = Eurip. *fr.* 4 (Bergk).

of literary and popular proverbs with which his works abound. Similarly, he had access to a collection of myth and fable of both national and local interest, as is clear from the *Antiochicus*, not to mention the technical works necessary for the study and teaching of rhetoric. The learning that pervades his work is based as firmly on the encyclopaedia as on personal knowledge of texts.

Thus the basis for any examination of his texts can be only relatively complete — the assumption that the absence of any traceable reference to any author implies that Libanius had no access to him, but it cannot be assumed in consequence that references to any work automatically imply direct access to it.

As is to be expected, the Iliad and the Odyssey he knows by heart. He also has the widest acquaintance with the works of Hesiod, including the *Certamen* [13]). This poetry is fundamental to his system. Other poets include Aesop [14]) and Theognis, not unexpectedly in the case of poetry of such gnomic tone [15]). Thereafter, the count becomes strangely small. With post-Homeric Hymns and epic, for all the evidence of acquaintance with the basic legends, there is little in the way of recognizable citation. References to the *Nostoi* or the *Iliou Persis* appear, but only in the most general terms [16]). Alexandrian poetry also is conspicuous by its absence, even though some of its themes had become part of the sophistic stock in trade. Only Aratus appears in direct citation, but even here in words and sentiment such as had long provided material for rhetoric [17]). Of Callimachus there is no evidence of any actual acquaintance, even though a few coincidences exist in the legends of Artemis as related by poet and sophist [18]). As for Apollonius, the story of Medea when used by Libanius owes less to him than to the drama of Euripides [19]), and there is no trace of inspiration from the text of the poem. In such cases as these it appears to come rather from the commentator, and inevitably one looks for some evidence of the influence of an Apollodorus. Here, the coin-

13) Cf. *Decl.* 1, 65.

14) Cf. *Or.* 62, 44.

15) *Or.* 52, 28 (et al.) = Th. 35. *Decl.* 1, 78 : 88 : 89 = Th. 25; 173 ff.: 847. *Vitup.* 6, 12 = Th. 177.

16) E. g. *Refut.* 2, 1. *Confirm.* 1.

17) *Or.* 12, 14 = Arat. *Phaen.* 2 ff.

18) *Or.* 5, 27 : *ib.* 39. Callimachus *fr.* 96 ed. Pfeiffer.

19) E. g. Decl. 4, 20 ff.

cidences provided by Libanius' wide employment of myth, insufficient in themselves, receive some confirmation from an apparent verbal adaptation of Apollodorus in an exaggeratedly horrific narration of an episode of his own life [20]).

With lyric and similar poetry he shows his capacity and limitations most clearly. Like most of his kind, he makes a parade of learning by introducing into his own composition references to famous writers of lyric, almost as a matter of course, but upon closer examination many of these allusions are found to be a mere façade of maxims and anecdotes derived from lexicons or paroemiographers, with no independent value soever. Thus, the mention of Anacreon, Archilochus, Praxilla, Simonides and Stesichorus disguises the fact that allusion is made only to an anecdote or proverb, not to the text [21]). Of references to Alcaeus, Sappho or Tyrtaeus [22]), the only one that is basic is Sappho *fr.* 130, and, even so, it is so anecdotal in tone as to belie direct knowledge. Of Phocylides, citations are proverbial and can be traced through intermediaries [23]). Bacchylides remains unmentioned and almost certainly unused. It is with Pindar that he makes most consistent play, and in so doing most clearly reveals his limitations. If one excludes his merely lexicographical use of Pindar where the lyric vocabulary is employed as stock embellishment in his rhetoric, Libanius can provide no textual reference whatever to the *Nemeans* and *Isthmians*. Even with the *Pythians* acquaintance is doubtful, the passages claimed by Förster being dismissed by Snell. His knowledge of Pindar, and of lyric, begins and virtually ends with the *Olympians*. His understanding of the poems is profound and his handling of them frequent and expert, applied in every branch of his work, Orations, Declamations and Letters, and amounting to more than half of the citations that have been claimed to be Pindaric. In addition he uses Pindaric fragments almost a score of times, and these might

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20) *Or.* 1, 146: οἷς ἦν ἡδὺ καὶ ταύρου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκδήσαντας ἀφεῖναι διὰ πετρῶν φέρεσθαι. Apoll. 3, 5, 5: τὴν δὲ Δίρκην δήσαντες ἐκ ταύρου θανοῦσαν ῥίπτουσιν εἰς κρήνην.

21) E. g. *Or.* 64, 87. *Or.* 39, 24 : 1, 74 : *Decl.* 1, 180. *Ep.* 797. *Or.* 5, 53. *Ep.* 923.

22) *Or.* 13, 5. *Or.* 12, 18: *ib.* 99. *Or.* 11, 161: Ep. 950. = Alc. *fr.* 33. Sappho *fr.* 3: *fr.* 130. Tyrt. *fr.* 15: *fr.* 2.

23) Phocyl. *fr.* 10 = Plato *Rep.* 3, 407 a = *Ep.* 1512. Ps.—Phoc. *fr.* 16 = Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 240 = *Ep.* 1473. Phoc. *fr.* 5 = Dio Chr. *Or.* 36, 13 (II, 80 R) = *Or.* 19, 51.

be regarded as evidence of a wider knowledge. Upon examination, however, the majority of these are found to come to him through some known intermediary. Of these the best examples are *Decl.* 1, 87: ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ βιάζεται τὸ δίκαιον = Plato *Gorg.* 484 b, 488 b = Pindar, *fr.* 169, and *Decl.* 17, 26: ἔρεισμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος = Isocr. *Antid.* 166 and Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 299 = Pindar *fr.* 76. Others, which form an integral part of his style, are derived from the lexicon — such as *Or.* 1, 273 (et al.) κρηπῖδα βαλόμενος = Pindar *fr.* 77, citations such as these being standard among the Second Sophistic, appearing in Aristeides, for instance, and Libanius' use of them is typical. For three fragments only does he provide independent evidence, and these are the briefest of snippets and frankly proverbial in tone [24]). The conclusion must be that all of Pindar that Libanius had was the *Olympians* and some selected citations, some derived from classical authors and others from a reference encyclopaedia. As compared with Himerius, his scope is more confined, and clearly, in Antioch before A.D. 336, the teaching of lyric which he had himself received had been reduced to Byzantine proportions, and thereafter he personally had neither interest nor occasion to expand his acquaintance with it during his career in Athens, Constantinople, Nicomedeia or Antioch. This must have been a policy of deliberate restriction on his part, for although it is possible that this was all that was available in Antioch, it is highly unlikely that it was so in Athens, since Himerius had more at his disposal at a time when Libanius was active in the same circle.

With drama there is a similar tendency towards selectivity. His knowledge of most of drama is profound, and his employment of it is clever. Aeschylus, apart from the *Oresteia*, is the least popular of his tragedians, and it must be admitted that it would need a sophistic *tour de force* to integrate the majestic diction and monumental simplicity of action of Aeschylus with the recondite subtleties of rhetoric in any fully consistent manner. Sophocles, especially in the Theban plays, provides him with much material, but it is Euripides at his most rhetorical who is his favourite, the *Orestes*, *Medea*, *Phoenissae*, *Hecuba* and *Alcestis*, for instance, leaving him a rich claim to work. Here again, in his own preference of plays, it would appear that Libanius is already well on the way to the selectivity charac-

24) *Or.* 14, 21 = *fr.* 279. *Ep.* 36 = *fr.* 288. *Ep.* 1218 = *fr.* 230.

teristic of the Byzantines. References to some parts of extant drama, such as the *P.V.*, *Septem*, *Supplices*, *Trachiniae*, *Philoctetes*, *Heracleidae*, *Ion*, are relatively fewer, but his acquaintance with them cannot thereby be disproved. What is certain is that he had no wider acquaintance of drama beyond the received corpus. Dramatic fragments cited by him may be classed, almost entirely, into two categories: (i) quotations found in authors basic to his course or in commentaries upon them. Thus, *Ep.* 516: ὅστις γὰρ ὁμιλῶν ἥδεται Θεμιστίῳ, οὐ πώποτ' ἠρώτησα, γινώσκων ὅτι.. = Eurip. *Phoenix*, *fr.* 812, comes to him through quotation in Aesch. *c. Timarch.*, 152—3 and Dem. *F. L.* 245. Similarly, the comparison of the condemnation of Socrates and the death of the nightingale does not draw its inspiration from Euripides' *Palamedes* direct but through the story current in later rhetoric [25]), while another reference to the same play comes by way of the text and scholia of Aristophanes [26]), as does that to Sophocles' *Tereus* [27]). (ii) Quotations of the second class come from the normal collections of saws and maxims. All of these have a gnomic quality, but some enjoyed more notoriety in antiquity because of disputed attribution [28]). Others, like *Or.* 59.106: πολλῶν χειρῶν ἰσχυρότερον βούλευμα σοφίας μετέχον = Eurip. *Antiope fr.* 200, which was a favourite tag for the sophists of the 4th century, may have attracted attention from its use in the Plutarchian Life of Homer (*Mor.* 790 a) [29]). The limitations of these additional sources to Libanius' knowledge of drama are indicated by the fact that for three fragments only does he stand as the basic authority [30]), and of these the first two are in fact spurious as fragments of tragedy, as Förster showed [31]). Other quite general references to dramas dealing

25) *Decl.* 1, 175 = Eur. *Pal. fr.* 588 = D. L. 2, 44. Schol. Isocr. *Busiris.*

26) *Decl.* 2, 28 = Eur. *Pal. fr.* 578 = Ar. *Thesm.* 770–6 and Schol.

27) *Decl.* 13, 56: καλῶς ἄρα οἱ τραγῳδοὶ ταῦτα ἐδίδασκον, τὸν Τηρέα, τὴν Πρόκνην = Nauck p. 257 = Ar. *Av.* 100 and Schol.

28) *Or.* 1, 164. *Ep.* 35, 3 = Soph. *Aj. Locr.* fr. 13: σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῇ σοφῶν συνουσίᾳ = Zenob. *Par.* 4, 98. (But Plato *Theag.* 125 b = Eurip.)

29) Similarly, *Ep.* 557 = Eurip. *fr.* 963 = Plut. *Mor.* 102 f.

30) *(a) Ep.* 175 (et al.) = Aesch. *fr.* 340: ἐκ τῶν πόνων τίκτεσθαι τὰς ἀρετὰς βροτοῖς.

(b) Ep. 571 = Eurip. *fr.* 934: νοῦν ἔχοντος . . . φίλον πρίασθαι χρημάτων πολλῶν σαφῆ.

(c) Or. 64, 47 = Soph. *fr.* 739: ὅ τι γὰρ φύσις ἀνέρι δῷ, τόδ' οὔποτ' ἂν ἐξέλοις.

31) *Vol.* x, p. 163: p. 537. *(a)* = Ps.-Phoc. 163: *(b)* = Eur. *Or.* 1155.

with Minos and Pasiphae or to *the Miletou Halosis* imply nothing more than the use of a book of reference [32]).

Similarly with comedy: what he knows, he knows very well indeed, and he handles it with that expert touch which elicited the admiration of Eunapius. However, even if this commendation of him is couched in terms of Eupolidean imagery [33]), there is little doubt that Libanius' acquaintance with Old Comedy is confined to Aristophanes alone, and to no more of Aristophanes than is now extant. Except for a collection of proverbial characters and sayings (e. g., Dios Corinthos, Eurybatus, the golden Colophon), the only indication of wider knowledge is a mention of the *Aeolosicon* (*Ep.* 506), in itself as proverbial as that of the arrogance of Alcibiades that accompanies it. We do know, however, that the *Acharnians* was one of the text books which he studied as a boy under the *grammatistes* [34]), and every extant comedy provides some reference or quotation for him. In addition he had, as is evident from consideration of the *Tereus* and *Palamedes* above, a store of commentary on Aristophanes — certainly on the *Clouds*, *Birds* and *Thesmophoriazusae*, and probably on the rest.

As with Old Comedy, so with the New, his characteristic activity was lexicographical and grammatical — the choice of comic vocabulary, refurbishing it and placing it in a new sophistic setting [35]). He clearly employed a collection of comic characters and situations [36]), but this was as traditional in the schools of rhetoric as his choice of themes. His own primness, his dislike of the contemporary stage and the sophist's consciousness of his social duty seem to have removed, to a large extent, the comically immoral and erotic from his declamations, and there is none of the naughtiness of Lucian (cf. *Or.* 64, 73). So, if he imports into the *Autobiography* a recognition scene, or makes of Fortune a speaking character "as in plays", this is done in most general terms and from the

32) *Or.* 64, 73. *Decl.* 1, 177. *Decl.* 19, 26.

33) Eunap. *l. c.* τὰ γοῦν Εὐπόλιδος δένδρα Λαισποδίαν καὶ Δαμασίαν οὐκ ἂν παρῆκεν, εἰ τὰ ὀνόματα ἔγνω τῶν δένδρων, οἷς νῦν αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. οὕτω λέξιν εὑρών τινα περιττὴν καὶ ὑπ' ἀρχαιότητος διαλανθάνουσαν, ὡς ἀνάθημά τι παλαιὸν καθαιρῶν, εἰς μέσον τε ἦγεν καὶ διακαθήρας ἐκαλλώπιζεν.

34) Or. 1, 9. Not, as Petit *(Vie Municipale,* 124 n.) maintains, an actual performance on the stage.

35) E. g. *Decl.* 32, 30: cf. Eunap. *l. c.*

36) E. g. *Or.* 64, 83. *Decl.* 32, 37–8.

respectable motive of rounding off the peroration of his original story with the romantic account of true scholastic success [37]). His material from New Comedy is more often the sententious or the psychological, and it may be seriously doubted whether he had any complete text directly available. He may construct an oration on servitude from a tag of Philemon, but this is merely stock stuff, characteristic of a collection of moral aphorisms [38]). He garnishes his narrative with satirical snippets or proverbial snatches from Ephippus or Menander, but they are snippets indeed [39]). It is to be noted that these diverse borrowings from comedy, whether of vocabulary or of situation, tend to occur in pairs or groups, with the references at no great distance from each other, and thereby indicate their source of origin as the encyclopaedia [40]). Other more extended passages are as clearly derivative [41]), and if, in his abuse of Constantinople, he draws upon Menander for his picture of a hard-drinking society, the passage is culled not from Menander himself but from an existing collection of such information, in this case Aelian [42]). Even with the *Dyscolus*, where the connection is undeniable [43]), it must still remain an open question whether it was ever primary. In view of Libanius' general practice, it is much more likely that his inspiration came from the collections current in antiquity — abstracts of Menander's plays like that of Sellius (cf. Suidas *s. v.*) or *P. Oxy.* 10, 81 ff., or summaries, like that of the *Dyscolus*, which rested on the authority of Aristophanes of Byzantium. More significant still is the way the play and the character had been put repeatedly through the sophistic mincing machine before Libanius' time, as the parallels adduced by Martin clearly indicate [44]). Here, it is obvious that Aelian has the closest connection with the original, with Lucian and Libanius further removed: the detail

37) *Or.* 1, 150. *Or.* 1, 155: 190: cf. Menander *Vol.* 1, 138–9.

38) *Or.* 25, 7: *ib.* 68. = Philem. *Theb.* (M. iv. 11) = Stob. *Fl.* 62, 8.

39) *Or.* 1, 32: κριοῦ τροφεῖα: Men. *fr.* 804. *Or.* 1, 35: σεμνὸς σεμνῶς: Ephipp. *Pelt.* (Athen. 8, 346 f). *Decl.* 26, 34: Ἀράβιος αὐλητής: Δωδωνατον χαλκεῖον: Men. *fr.* 30: *fr.* 60.

40) Cf. also notes 35 and 36.

41) *Or.* 2, 66: εἷς ἐστι δοῦλος οἰκίας ὁ δεσπότης = Arist. II, 204 D = Men. *fr.* 716.

42) *Or.* 1, 75—6 = Men. *fr.* 61 = Aelian *V. H.* 3, 14 (Athen. 10, 442 d).

43) Cf. Schmid: *Menanders Dyskolos und die Timonlegende*, Rh. Mus. 102 (1959), 157 ff.

44) Cf. Menander *Dyscolus*, ed. Martin (1958).

in Aelian's adaptation of *Dysc.* 120 f. is in strong contrast with the bald statement of Libanius, and is in keeping with the very full treatment he gives of lines 10 ff., 153 f. and 162 ff. The parallels provided by Libanius usually show more vagueness of vocabulary and incident, and, upon examination, are capable of sub-division: —

(a) *Dysc.* 91 : Liban. *Decl.* 27,18. No parallel at all.

(b) *Dysc.* 84 : Liban. *Decl.* 26,1. *Dysc.* 388 : *Decl.* 27,13. Verbal echoes of generalized characterization only.

(c) *Dysc.* 115 : *Decl.* 27,5 (τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδόν) : Dem. 55,16.
Dysc. 376 : *Decl.* 27,21 (τὴν αἱμασιὰν οἰκοδομήσας) : Dem. 55,11.
Descriptions of ordinary rustic activities. Although Libanius here provides the only sophistic echo of the play, it is no less an echo of Demosthenes.

(d) *Dysc.* 169 f. : *Decl.* 26,4 (ἐλθὼν ἂν εἰς ἐρημίαν ... ἀπηγχόμην).
Dysc. 605 f. : *Decl.* 27,18 (γεωργῶ ... ὄχθον τραχύν, θύμον γεωργοῦντα καὶ σφάκον).
Dysc. 627 : *Decl.* 27,1 (ὁ δύσκολος ὤλισθεν).
Again Libanius gives the only parallel. They appear to be items in a collection of comic situations. The first is notoriously so [45]), the second, although a verbal echo of Menander, is a generalization on peasant life, while the last and most exact parallel of circumstance is not followed up in the declamation. If he had the text of the play in front of him, it is remarkable that he did not make fuller use of it, especially of the scene from line 620 on.

It follows that the argument that Libanius did not use the text of Menander can be maintained with consistency and plausibility. All of these parallels are capable of explanation as items derived from collections of characters and situations, and when his general practice is considered, it appears extremely probable that this was in fact their source of origin. If this is so, the schools of Antioch were working on a strangely restricted literary curriculum. Even Sidonius in Gaul a century later could do better than this. Moreover, he appears not to have had access to a really wide selection of supplementary extracts like that of Athenaeus. The coincidences between them are comparatively few, and one would expect, considering Libanius' known interest

45) Cf. Schmid, *o. c.*

in comedy, to find much more common ground in the citations. An *argumentum ex silentio* in this field is supported by another in the field of local history, for nowhere in the *Antiochicus* does Libanius use the long extract from Polybius which Athenaeus quotes for the description of Antiochus Epiphanes' games at Daphne, a passage which would appear most apposite for his theme.

Of prose writers, his favourite historians are Herodotus and Thucydides, Xenophon being a good third, with use made both of the historical and Socratic works. The actual text of Thucydides was used by his scholars, and he possessed several copies (*Or.* I, 148 ff.). All the rest are mere shadows. Acquaintance with Arrian, as claimed by Förster, is rightly rejected by Roos [46]). The coincidence of *Or.* 5,39 with Diodorus 4, 22 is no more cogent than that with Callimachus in the same oration. His handling of subsidiary historical sources, in fact, appears very similar to that of his subsidiaries to drama, as is shown by his alleged indebtedness to Theopompus [47]). Here, Libanius certainly reproduces the words of Aristophon, as recorded by Theopompus (*fr.* 159), and he gives the historian's list of Amphictyons in order (*fr.* 77), but the ultimate source of the first is a quotation by Didymus in his *Commentaries on Demosthenes*, and the second is a lexicographical list finally reproduced by Harpocration. The nature of these references, and their survival in the kind of work that Libanius is known to have used, strongly suggests that what he was using was not the text of Theopompus but merely citations at second hand. The same is probably the case with his debt to the Atthidographers. On the other hand, there is no doubt at all about his constant use of the suggested *lexicon mythologicum* for his stories of Greece in general and Antioch in particular [48]). As for other historians, Libanius simply was not interested in Polybius or the period of which he wrote. Of Plutarch, both from the *Morals* and the *Lives*, he seems to have some works available. These have little relation to the Roman period, but the vast amount of common ground provided by the history of classical Greece is supplemented by verbal similarities, notably the deliberate adaptation to his own career of the quotation used

46) *Or.* 61, 16 = Arr. *Bithyn. fr.* 32. But cf. Roos, *Arrian* ii, p. xxviii.
47) Hell. Oxy. *fr.* 159: *fr.* 77. Cf. Förster, *Vol.* vi, p. 186.
48) Cf. Förster, *Vol.* v, p. 412.

by Plutarch to introduce his life of Demosthenes, mentioned above. Förster is surely overcautious in questioning his acquaintance with the *Lives* [49]), for texts were available and Julian in A. D. 363 possessed something which is most plausibly identified with the Life of Crassus [50]). However, Libanius' complete neglect of the Roman period in the selection of his material, which is so notable a feature of the *Antiochicus*, denies him the use of almost all later historians. For him history ended with Demosthenes and did not begin again until Diocletian, and this attitude had a constricting effect upon his literary sources. Access to Diogenes Laertius seems virtually certain [51]), but the only other known source is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, cited twice by name [52]).

An intimate and encyclopaedic knowledge of the text of the Attic orators is immediately obvious, his prime interest, of course, being with Demosthenes, whose orations he studied scientifically and whose style was so successfully adapted as to become an integral part of his own. Lysias, we know, was part of his teaching course, but he also makes full use of Isocrates and Aeschines, and speaks as one with authority on the work of Isaeus, Hypereides, Deinarchus, Lycurgus and Antiphon [53]). The *Hypotheses of Demosthenes* — his earliest known work, dedicated to Montius, proconsul of Constantinople in A. D. 352 — are interesting in that they retain the ancient order of the texts of the orations [54]), and present the divergent views of the scholars who had preceded him. Libanius clearly had other commentaries besides that of Dionysius, and Didymus, as has been seen, was most probably one of these. The coincidences of fact with Diodorus Siculus which appear in his Life of Demosthenes should be interpreted as emanating, in all probability, from such a commentary. These earlier scholars, when not mentioned by name, receive various group designations — οἱ πολλοί *(Hyp.* 31,2 : 58,4), οἱ πρεσβύτεροι or τινες *(Hyp.* 7,5). In the latter case, although he mentions the attribution of the speech to

49) Cf. Förster, *Vol.* vi, p. 370.

50) *Or.* 18, 233.

51) Cf. note 25. Also *Decl.* 1, 154–6 = D. L. 2, 13: *ib.* 165 = D. L. 2, 25.

52) *Hyp. Dem. Prooem.* 20. *Hyp. Dem. Or.* xxiii, 11.

53) *Hyp. Or.* xxi, 2. *Hyp. Or.* 17. *Hyp. Or.* lvii, 4. *Hyp. Or.* xxvi, 6 ff. Liban. *Or.* 64, 21.

54) Cf. Förster, *Vol.* viii, p. 575–6.

Hegesippus, he clearly has no personal knowledge of his style. Of other pieces of classical oratory, he consistently accepts the *Ad Demonicum* as Isocratean [55]), and he can utilize Polycrates' oration for his *Apologia Socratis* [56]).

In philosophy, despite Julian's complimentary remark (*Or.* 1,131), Libanius never claimed to be expert. For all that, he knew his Plato thoroughly. With others the situation is more uncertain. His complete lack of interest in physics and metaphysics cut him off from much of philosophical theory, so that Aristotle is rarely mentioned, Theophrastus never, and while Stoics and Epicureans are also absent, Diogenes and the Cynics appear, but only for their anecdotal value, not for the quality or content of their thinking [57]). He certainly did not employ Aristotle in his course: only perhaps to the *Ethics* did he pay any attention [58]). This is not surprising: the lecture-note style in which so much of Aristotle's work is presented would have offended his canons of taste and seemed repugnant to his refined ear. To him, as to many of his time, philosophy consisted of Pythagoras, Plato and Socrates, and if other pre-Socratics appear from time to time, it is mainly in the form of truisms and epigrams [59]). The remaining philosophic literature consists merely of Xenophon and the Socratic letters [60]). However, it does not follow that he, a rhetor with little need of philosophy in his teaching course, had no serious acquaintance with it. It has been remarked by Festugière that he is in line with the scholastic tradition in his views upon the nature of the soul [61]), and ethics and psychology shared a common ground with the practice of rhetoric. He was not unacquainted with Neo-Platonists and their taboos [62]). He knew of Porphyry's work against the Christians, recorded it as being in Julian's possession [63]), and probably read it for himself. Although Plotinus is unmentioned and probably unknown to him, Iamblichus, Sopater and Maximus

55) *Ep.* 21, 14. *Ep.* 504. *Or.* 57, 43.

56) Cf. Förster, *Vol.* v. p. 1 ff. Markowski, *De Libanio Socratis Defensore*, pp. 20–66.

57) E. g. *Or.* 17, 16. *Chria*, 2.

58) E. g. *Or.* 1, 123. Ar. *E. N.* 5, 8.

59) E. g. *Or.* 12, 32 (Anaxagoras).

60) *Decl.* 1, 166 = Socr. *Ep.* 1. *Decl.* 1, 174 = *Ep.* 17.

61) Cf. Festugière, *Rev. d'Herm. Trism.* iii, p. 14 n.

62) *Decl.* 13, 19 f.

63) *Or.* 18, 173.

were all warmly commended as philosophers, so that it is perhaps hard to deny him all knowledge of their works. Even so, he did not allow himself to deviate into the abstruse mysteries of later Neo-Platonism. His kind of Platonism remained literary and severely classical.

Instead, it was the Second Sophistic that attracted him. Aristeides, who became a model for style and neurosis, heads the list, with imitations and references not merely in *Or.* 61 and 64 but throughout all branches of composition. Libanius certainly had more than one text of his works, and the influence of Aristeides' purely rhetorical work is clearly to be seen. The *Hieroi Logoi* of Aristeides were not without their effect on the tone and composition of the Autobiography, as Pack and others have already indicated [64]). Another source of inspiration is to be found in Philostratus, the *Imagines, Life of Apollonius* and the *Lives of the Sophists* all providing passages or ideas for adaptation or imitation [65]). Indeed, the information provided by the *Lives,* coupled with his own reading of Aristeides, seems to have influenced his sophistic attitudes and behaviour considerably. An interest in the declamations of Polemo, whose poses and comments he imitates, seems to have originated from the same source [66]). His eagerness to acquire texts of these sophistic writers is shown by his requests for copies of the *Odaenathus* of Longinus, and the works of Favorinus and of Hadrian of Tyre, whose *Epitaphius on Paris* he mentions elsewhere [67]). Acquaintance with Lucian, although nowhere explicitly mentioned, is more than probable. Of the Lucianic corpus, he employs the pseudo-Lucianic περὶ ὀρχήσεως for the composition of *Or.* 64, and he apparently possesses the *Ocypus,* since this seems identical with the *Podagra* of his friend Acacius [68]). The common ground, most notable in the selection of vocabulary and in the treatment of certain themes like the story of Timon especially, would indicate acquaintance with other Lucianic pieces, although the spirit of the two sophists is often very different. Aelian, also unmentioned by name, provides him with material, from the

64) *Ep.* 631: 1534. *Proth. Decl.* 46. → Pack, *Two sophists and two Emperors, C. P.* 42 (1947), 17-20.

65) *Or.* 1, 12. *Or.* 4, 4. *Or.* 16, 56. Cf. Pack, *l. c.* Norman, in *C. P.* 48, p. 20 ff.

66) *Or.* 5, 40. *Decl.* 11, 35.

67) *Ep.* 1078: 1178: 631. *Or.* 64, 41.

68) *Ep.* 1301.

Letters for the Timon story, and from the general collection of the *Varia Historia* for certain details in the *Autobiography* [69]). The Letters of Alciphron, though a dull lot, still succeeded in engaging his attention and provide a few conceits. It would be very odd indeed for him to have no acquaintance with Dio Chrysostom. He remains nameless in Libanius, although he was a favourite with Julian, Themistius and Synesius. Upon examination, several of Libanius' moralizing themes are to be found in Dio [70]), and there are significant parallels between the orations to Julian and the collection of orations ascribed to Dio [71]). This concentrated interest in Dio may possibly be regarded as a piece of special research intended for the edification of Dio's admirer, Julian. Another sophistic element to be observed throughout his works but especially in the *Autobiography* and the declamations is the influence of romance. The novelettish themes of declamations were as often as not inherited, but the treatment and vocabulary are those of the romantic novel proper. There is a notable identity of expression with Heliodorus and the rest [72]), and the romantic element in the original *Autobiography* is undeniable [73]).

Of his contemporaries, although Libanius tended to be a carping critic, Julian received his unreserved admiration — not without some self-satisfaction, since it was generally accepted that he had had some influence on Julian's literary style [74]). Thus in the Julianic orations, citations and references are frequent, the *Misopogon* being fundamental for *Or.* 15 and the *Ep. ad S. P. Q. Ath.* for the *Epitaphius.* Acquaintance with the oratory of Himerius, which for all their differences is likely enough *per se* (cf. *Ep.* 469), is hinted at by an echo in *Or.* 1,285 (ἱερεὺς θεῶν cf. Him. *Or.* 8,7 : παῖδα τὸν ἱερόν). As for Themistius, he acknowledges with fulsome flattery the receipt of orations which came to him by way of presentation, and he has no compunction in including into his own narrative an incident

69) Cf. note 42. Also *Or.* 1, 255; εἰς σάρκας ἐπιδούς = Ael. *V. H.* 9, 13.

70) E. g. The absence of stasis in heaven: Dio, 38, 11. Lib. *Or.* 21, 19.

71) [Dio] 37, 11 and 17-19 = Lib. *Or.* 14, 28. [Dio] 37, 32 = Lib. *Or.* 15, 28–9. Here note the order of references, Socrates, Pythagoras and Plato, and the accompanying mention of the gods.

72) Cf. Rohde *Gr. Rom.*, pp. 434–6: 477 n. 493 n.

73) E. g. *Or.* 1, 75–77: 146–7.

74) *Or.* 15, 6 ff. 18, 14.

upon which Themistius had dilated at length [75]). Presentation remained the normal way of acquiring texts, and so he obtains his copies of Demetrius' *Seasons* or Acacius' *Asclepius* and *Marathonomachae at the Baths*, not to mention the works of other minor sophists [76]). His own works received a wider audience by this same method of presentation followed by recitation. Contemporary poetry he damns with faint praise: only an epic on an Homeric theme receives his commendation, and not unnaturally since its author was the praetorian prefect Tatianus. This had found its way into the school curriculum by A. D. 390 [77]). However, the oddest item in his library is without doubt the Eusebian *Vita Constantini*. Within a dozen years of Constantine's death Libanius used this as the basic source for his panegyric on his sons [78]). The close parallel between the Christian source and the pagan adaptation is some confirmation of an acquaintance with Christian literature that has been claimed and denied with equal exaggeration. The attempt to substitute the pagan Praxagoras as the ultimate source, simply on the strength of the notice in Photius, must fail for lack of evidence [79]).

The text books used in grammar, as distinct from literature, can only be guessed. An impressive list of parallels with the rhetor Anaximenes has been adduced [80]). Menander Rhetor also seems a likely source, for his rules are followed in precise detail in *Or.* 59 and in deliberate inversion in the invective of *Or.* 33 [81]). Hermogenes may also be assumed, and the influence of Aristotle's rhetoric is observable at first hand in *Or.* 1,37 [82]). It is likely however that such items as these form but part of his apparatus, for throughout his work there is evidence for his

75) *Ep.* 368: 434: 818, 3: 1430: 1495. (Cf. Bouchery, *Themistius in Libanius Brieven*, pp. 55: 270.) Them. *Or.* 19, 278 ff. = Liban. *Or.* 1, 239 ff.

76) *Ep.* 128: 695: 1342: 735. Cf. *Ep.* 895: 934:1009: 1066.

77) For Tatianus cf. *Ep.* 990. But for disparagement of poets, admittedly for reasons other than poetry, cf. *Or.* 1, 180: 28, 2.

78) Cf. Petit, *Libanius et la Vita Constantini*, Historia 1 (1950), 562 ff.

79) Cf. Moreau, *Zum Problem der Vita Constantini*, Historia 5, (1955), 234 ff. Photius, Cod. 62 p. 20 (B) = F. H. G. iv, 2 (Praxagoras).

80) Cf. Markowski, *o. c.*, 150 ff.

81) Cf. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanios*, 130. Also Menander, *Rhet. Graec.* iii, 379.

82) Cf. Ar. *Rhet.* 3, 1418 b 23 ff.: ἐπειδὴ ἔνια περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγει, ἕτερον χρὴ λέγοντα ποιεῖν, ὅπερ Ἰσοκράτης ποιεῖ ἐν τῇ ἀντιδόσει. Isocr. *Antid.* 141–9.

consistent reliance upon works of reference. Miscellaneous items for his private eye seem to have included a dream book of some kind and some medical work, since he speaks authoritatively on both matters.

This literary catalogue discloses a fundamental lack of balance. Tradition had long excluded gymnastic from the field of the rhetorical education, and teachers such as Libanius had a well-merited dislike of the games and spectator sports then current [83]). But inside the field of literature itself, although various subjects were studied at greater depth and with more intensity, the scope had been narrowed drastically. This was not so much due to the undoubted difficulties attendant upon the production of texts as to the deliberate restrictions practised by the teaching profession itself with regard to the material to be taught. Rhetoric had long been the only form of mass education. Libanius, like Isocrates, found the criterion of his civilization to be language rather than race (*Or.* 11,184), and its instrument to be rhetoric. But in his hands rhetoric was divorced from the living language, and simultaneously large areas of the literature on which his culture depended had been abandoned, and the rest was being nibbled away by the excerptor and cataloguer, of which his own work on Demosthenes is an example. The only substitute for such losses was a continuous infusion of the cleverly superficial and second-hand learning of the Second Sophistic. So intent were the teachers upon their individual practice of declamation, upon which fame and fortune increasingly depended, that the business of teaching took second place and the use of and access to original literature, except for a traditionally received canon, became increasingly difficult. The teachers were thus cutting the ground away from under them. In Antioch Libanius and his clientèle had either no opportunity or no inclination to resort to more, and if the cultural standard of his school and the town be measured by the extent of its awareness of Hellenic literature, it seems to have been surprisingly low. It was, indeed, far lower than that of contemporary Egypt. There is nothing in Antioch to compare with the Alexandrian revival of philosophy, and Libanius provides little evidence of the interest in drama which papyri reveal in certain sections of 4th century Egyptian society. In addition, account must be taken of his complete lack of interest in the Hellenistic

83) E. g. *Or.* 1, 5: 5, 44.

and Roman background, for in this he was as provincial as his Syriac speaking fellows. The decline of Latin in 4th century Antioch is well attested [84]), but the veneer of Hellenism is also revealed as unexpectedly thin, and this at a time when it faced a combination of pressures. With this contraction in the scope of the traditional Greek educational system and the decline of the curial class for which it had so long catered, its claim to universality, as exemplified in the person of the Oriental Libanius himself, was becoming more difficult to substantiate.

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ZUR ATTICUS-VITA DES CORNELIUS NEPOS

Die Biographie, die Cornelius Nepos von Titus Pomponius Atticus gegeben hat, verdient mit Recht als ein einzigartiges Dokument Beachtung. Es ist nicht nur die Persönlichkeit des Atticus, die unser Interesse findet, sondern auch die Art, in der diese Skizze angelegt ist, denn sie gibt darüber Aufschluß, wie der Schriftsteller selbst zu seiner Aufgabe stand. Die Beurteilung würde sich verschieben, wenn Bedenken, die Rahn [1]) gegen das

84) E. g. *Or.* 1, 3: 1, 156: 49, 29. Cf. Haddad, *Aspects of social life in Antioch*, 108 ff.

1) Hermes 85, 1957, 205 ff. Die Bemerkungen gegen Leo verkennen, daß Leos legitime Fragestellung hier zu Ergebnissen geführt hat, die in dem oder jenem Punkt modifizierbar sind, aber auf fester Grundlage ruhen. An einer Ergänzung der Atticusvita nach dem Tod des Atticus ist ja nicht zu zweifeln, denn Nepos bezeugt sie ja selbst; edita sunt ist nicht gleich scripta sunt, die Möglichkeit, daß Atticus verschieden wäre, als Nepos noch an der Biographie schrieb, entfällt. Haec a nobis edita sunt besagt eindeutig, daß es sich um die publicatio und divulgatio handelt (Thes. L. L. VI 82, 49; die Skepsis gegenüber Wölfflin beruht auf der damaligen Unkenntnis der Überlieferung und ist durch die später erschienene Ausgabe von H. Malcovati (Corn. Nepotis quae exstant iteratis curis rec. H. M., Torino 1945, Corp. Parav.), die Rahn nach seiner Anmerkung S. 208 nicht eingesehen haben kann, beseitigt. Übrigens spricht die den Zusatz einleitende Bemerkung gegen gravierende Eingriffe in den voraufgehenden Text; 4, 5 ut opinor bezeugt weder die zweite Auflage noch eine „stilistische Bearbeitung des Materials nach dem Tode des Atticus in einem Zuge", die Rahn verficht. Die Wendung ist nichts als ein geläufiges Stilmittel, das gerade dann gern gebraucht wird,



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TOWARD A SOCIOLOGY OF READING IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

WILLIAM A. JOHNSON



IN THE LAST CENTURY, scholarly debate on ancient reading has largely revolved around the question "Did the ancient Greeks and Romans read aloud or silently?" Given the recent work of Gavrilov and Burnyeat, which has set the debate on new, seemingly firmer, footing, the question is at first glance easily answered.[1] Without hesitation we can now assert that there was no cognitive difficulty when fully literate ancient readers wished to read silently to themselves, and that the cognitive act of silent reading was neither extraordinary nor noticeably unusual in antiquity. This conclusion has been known to careful readers since at least 1968, when Bernard Knox demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that the silent reading of ancient documentary texts, including letters, is accepted by ancient witnesses as an ordinary event.[2] Gavrilov and Burnyeat have improved the evidential base, by refining interpretation (especially Gavrilov on Augustine), by focusing on neglected but important evidence (Burnyeat on Ptolemy), and by adding observations from cognitive psychology.[3] The resulting clarity is salutary.

Yet I suspect many will be dissatisfied with the terms in which the debate has been couched. I know that I am. Can we be content with a discussion framed in such a narrow—if not blinkered—fashion? In the fury of battle, the terms of the dispute have crystallized in an unfortunate way. That is, the polemics are such that we are now presumed fools if we suppose that the ancients were not *able* to read silently. But is it

[1] Gavrilov 1997; Burnyeat 1997.

[2] Knox 1968; "at least" since Knox's conclusions are (as he acknowledges) in part anticipated by the more cautious reading of the evidence in Hendrickson 1929, by Clark 1931, who argues briefly but vigorously against the notion that silent reading was extraordinary in antiquity, and by Turner 1952 (14 n. 4), who adduced evidence for silent reading in classical Athens.

[3] Gavrilov 1997, 61–66 (on Augustine), 58–61 (on cognitive psychology); Burnyeat 1997.

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ignorant or foolish to insist that in certain contexts reading aloud was central? In any case, and much more important, are these in fact the right questions to be asking? The moment has arrived, I think, when we need to reconsider whether the scholarly discourse is furthering what, I take it, is the goal: namely, understanding ancient reading. As a preliminary, and so that we can call to mind clearly the curious juncture to which we have now arrived, it will be useful first to review briefly how we have come to such a pass—in which sociological consideration of ancient reading is typically conceived within the terms of a debate over silent reading.

DID THE ANCIENTS READ SILENTLY OR ALOUD? THE STRANGE HISTORY OF A CONTROVERSY

The roots of the debate are set in Eduard Norden's *Die antike Kunstprosa,* an influential work whose first edition in 1898 brought to scholarly attention a famous passage in Augustine (6.3.3)—wherein, it appears, Augustine finds it "unbegreiflich" that his bishop and teacher Ambrose reads silently to himself.[4] At issue for Norden is not the idea that the ancients were unable to read silently, but rather that reading aloud of literary texts was the norm throughout antiquity.[5]

[4]Norden 1898, 6. The passage runs: "When Ambrose read, his eyes ran over the columns of writing and his heart searched out the meaning, but his voice and his tongue were at rest. Often when I was present—for he did not close his door to anyone and it was customary to come in unannounced—I have seen him reading silently, never in fact otherwise. I would sit for a long time in silence, not daring to disturb someone so deep in thought, and then go on my way. I asked myself why he read in this way. Was it that he did not wish to be interrupted in those rare moments he found to refresh his mind and rest from the tumult of others' affairs? Or perhaps he was worried that he would have to explain obscurities in the text to some eager listener, or discuss other difficult problems? For he would thereby lose time and be prevented from reading as much as he had planned. But the preservation of his voice, which easily became hoarse, may well have been the true cause of his silent reading."

[5]Observations on the Augustine passage form the conclusion to a lengthy paragraph whose theme sentence begins, "Wir haben aus dem Altertum selbst einige Zeugnisse für die Sensibilität der Menschen jener Zeit gegenüber der Musik des gesprochenen Wortes": Norden 1923, 5–6. Starting with the second edition, Norden collects passages exemplifying "die Gewohnheit lauten Lesens" in an appendix; see Norden 1923, 451–53. Before Norden, the importance of reading ancient literary texts aloud is already frequently propounded: e.g., Balogh 1927, 85, on F. Nietzsche; Hendrickson 1929, 192–93, on C. M. Wieland; Norden 1923, 6, on E. Rohde; cf. Gavrilov 1997, 57.

The controversy fully engages in 1927,[6] when Josef Balogh ("*Voces Paginarum*") makes now a much broader case: that for all texts (not simply literary texts) silent reading was rare, that silent reading when it did happen occasioned surprise, and that silent reading was possible only under extraordinary circumstances and by extraordinary people (such as Julius Caesar or Saint Ambrose). To support his conclusion, Balogh marshals a large array of evidence: a dozen or so passages to support his claim that silent reading was viewed by the ancients as an aberration (84–95); another dozen passages claimed as direct evidence for the reading aloud of texts (97–109); passages where reading is equated with hearing, or where the acoustic effect of a text is assumed (95–97, 202–14); and others. Anyone who has read Balogh's article with attention will readily discern the tendentious way in which he often presents highly ambiguous evidence; as well as his heavy reliance on late sources. But the very weight of the material—sixty-four pages!—wins the day. With the striking Augustine passage as prime witness (86), Balogh succeeds in convincing a couple of generations of scholars. Along the way Balogh introduces, almost as an aside, a point that will become central. For he links the phenomenon of reading aloud with *scriptio continua,* that peculiar ancient habit of writing literary texts without spaces between the words (227). A *technological* explanation now clarifies why the ancients read aloud. The ancient reader reads aloud *by necessity*: faced with an undifferentiated sequence of letters, the ancient reader finds it difficult, if not impossible, to see the word shapes, and thus for all but extraordinary readers sounding the letters aloud is the only way to make sense of the text.

As the decades pass, with only the gradual accretion of the odd piece of evidence or counterevidence,[7] acceptance grows that Balogh has successfully identified a hitherto unknown "fact" about antiquity: the ancients always read their texts aloud, and silent reading of these

[6]The original version of Balogh's article was published in Hungarian in 1921 (Knox 1968, 421). Independently (see 182 n. 1) in 1929, G. L. Hendrickson ("Ancient Reading") published a similar analysis of ancient reading, which is however much briefer, more cautious in its conclusions, and far less influential.

[7]Lesser contributions to the accumulation and analysis of evidence, not included in the survey here: Wohleb 1929; Clark 1931 (an early dissenter against the view that silent reading was extraordinary); McCartney 1948; Turner 1952, 14; Di Capua 1953; Stanford 1967, 2; Allan 1980; Starr 1990–91; Schenkeveld 1991, 1992; Burnyeat 1991 (in anticipation of Burnyeat 1997); Slusser 1992; Horsfall 1993; Gilliard 1993 (reacting to Achtemeier 1990); Johnson 1994; Gilliard 1997.

texts was both difficult and extraordinary. By 1968 Bernard Knox ("Silent Reading in Antiquity") seems to feel it necessary to hold no punches in his effort to dislodge what is now the *communis opinio.* In a spirited and systematic attack, Knox offers point-by-point refutation of Balogh's main points and adds evidence of his own to demonstrate that—however the case may stand with literary texts—ancient letters and documentary texts certainly *were* able to be read silently. Once the dust settles, very little is left of Balogh's edifice. Augustine's wonderment at Ambrose's silent reading still stands tall as "Exhibit A"[8] for the notion that silent reading occasioned surprise in antiquity. The Acontius and Cydippe story (Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 67 Pf. with Dig.; Ovid *Heroid.* 20, cf. *Heroid.* 21.1ff.) continues to be cited, despite Knox's rough treatment.[9] But so much doubt has been cast on the other chief classical passages (such as Horace *Satires* 1.3.64–65, 1.6.122–23, 2.7.1–2; Lucian *Adv. Indoct.* 2) that these are now largely abandoned. On the other side, the evidence for silent reading of letters seems suddenly secure. Two of Knox's examples seem particularly unassailable. At Aristophanes' *Knights* 115ff., the comedy of the scene depends on the image of a man (Demosthenes) totally absorbed in the silent reading of a letter. As for the other example—evidence as unambiguous as one can hope for—a riddle from Antiphanes' comedy *Sappho* (Athenaeus, X 73, 450e–451b) runs, "What is it that is female in nature and has children under the folds of her garments, and these children, though voiceless, set up a ringing shout . . . to those mortals they wish to, but others, even when present, are not permitted to hear?" The answer is a letter (ἡ ἐπιστολή), a feminine noun whose children are the letters of the alphabet. "Though voiceless, they speak to those far away, those they wish to, but if anyone happens to be standing near the man who is reading he will not hear him" (trans. after Knox, 432–33). Knox has made it

[8]Knox's words, 422. Knox's argument against the passage (that as a poor African provincial Augustine may not have known about silent reading, 422) has not proven convincing.

[9]Discussion at Knox 1968, 430–31; L. Koenen contra Knox, in Johnson 1994, 67 n. 5; Gavrilov 1997, 72. That Acontius' inscription is written on an apple (whose rotation prevents reading ahead in the sentence) is perhaps worth remark. But physical causation and verisimilitude are largely beside the point. Readers in the twenty-first century do not stop and ask why Cydippe reads the apple aloud, and I suppose readers in antiquity were accepting of the fairy-tale conditions of the story in much the same way. In any case, jumping from a folktale motif to generalizations about reading habits seems perilous at best.

clear then that in the case of letters, at least, silent reading is possible, and probably usual. The notion that silent reading was difficult or extraordinary in classical antiquity now depends more or less solely on the single passage in Augustine.

The reaction in the scholarly community to Knox's argument is curious. A great many, even while now accepting that silent reading occurred when people read letters and documents, continue to regard the ancient book as an alien artifact for these "early" readers, one which because of its strange physical properties *must* be read aloud. Witness, for instance, G. Cavallo and F. Hild in a recent (1997) volume of *Der neue Pauly*: "In antiquity the most usual way to read a book was out loud. . . . A good reading was almost like the interpretation of a musical score. Excepting very experienced or professional readers, the lection of a book was a difficult process: the text presented itself in *scriptio continua,* and was only seldom and irregularly articulated by marks of punctuation, so that the eyes only with difficulty could distinguish word boundaries or the sense of the whole sentence."[10] Less careful scholars ignore Knox more or less outright, and the notion that the ancients could only read aloud continues with a mysterious vigor.[11]

In this context I jump to the recent (and rather strange) climax of the controversy, in 1997. In that year, a medievalist, Paul Saenger, publishes a book (*Spaces between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*)[12] in which he begins with an analysis of the "physiology of reading" in ancient and medieval times (1–17). Assuming that reading aloud was the

[10] *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 2.815, s.v. *Buch* (the common simile of the musical score originates in Hendrickson 1929, 184). Similarly, E. J. Kenney in the *Cambridge History of Latin Literature,* 12: "In general it may be taken for granted that throughout antiquity books were written to be read aloud. . . . It might be said without undue exaggeration that a book of poetry or artistic prose was not simply a text in the modern sense but something like a score for public or private performance." Kenney's remarks are quoted by Gavrilov (1997, 56), in the introduction to his article—somewhat tendentiously since the quotation is supposed to buttress Gavrilov's assertion of widespread acceptance among classicists that the Greeks and Romans "did not read to themselves silently, save in rare and special cases." Kenney however carefully restricts his comments to the reading aloud of *literary* texts.

[11] A startling example is the naive summary of the debate, which serves then as the basis for a study of New Testament texts, in Achtemeier 1990 (who seems unaware of Knox's arguments, inter alia; corrected in part by Gilliard 1993). This example points up how conclusions on ancient reading can be vitally important to work in related disciplines.

[12] The book expands upon ideas first presented in Saenger 1982.

ancient habit in all or most contexts, Saenger constructs a detailed cognitive model to account for why, given the fact of *scriptio continua,* the Greeks and Romans *could not have read in any way other than aloud* (e.g., 6–9). Saenger describes in detail the trials of the ancient reader who, without either word boundaries or fixed word order, found the task of decoding the text very difficult, a challenge which grew even greater in the case of literary texts, since they tend to combine less obvious meaning with greater freedom in word order. Under these circumstances, he explains, reading orally was necessary to help in the sorting out of the ambiguities. Saenger's goal in this analysis is to chart the "evolution" of word separation, so as to demonstrate that: (1) spaces between words, first widely used in the tenth and eleventh centuries, allowed for the first time a shift from reading aloud to reading silently; and (2) this change to silent reading led to the increasingly complex thought that characterizes the scholastic and subsequent periods. To make his case, Saenger must suppose for ancient reading an "orality and tunnel vision," imposed by *scriptio continua,* that "obstructed the rapid appreciation of the word within its syntactical context, making the comprehension of propositions *neurophysiologically* more difficult" (122, italics mine).

Meanwhile, in a paper published the same year in *Classical Quarterly,* A. K. Gavrilov ("Reading Techniques in Classical Antiquity")[13] uses some of the same evidence from the field of cognitive psychology to demonstrate that in *neurophysiological* terms the Greeks and Romans *must have been able to read silently.* In addition to pointing out the disposition toward silent reading among mature readers in a variety of cultures, Gavrilov details how the concept of the "eye–voice span" proves the necessary ability of any lector to be able to read silently: "the person reading aloud needs to be able to glance ahead and read inwardly selected portions of the following text; the more experienced the reader, the more easily and reliably they do this. That is why for virtuoso reading aloud one requires not merely the ability to read to oneself, but skill at it" (59). Like Saenger, Gavrilov is able to use "science" to "prove" the conclusion he brings to the investigation.

[13]Gavrilov's conclusions were already known to many specialists from reports of a similar article that appeared in a Russian journal in 1989 (reference at Gavrilov 1997, 69 n. 52).

In the same article, Gavrilov usefully raises doubts about the traditional interpretation of the passage from Augustine, in which he sees not Augustine's surprise at Ambrose's silent reading per se, but Augustine's puzzlement and irritation that Ambrose reads silently "in the presence of his parishioners" (63). I prefer to emphasize more the relationship of teacher to student, but in any case it does seem clear—once it is pointed out—that the "surprise" is occasioned by the specifics of the social scene in which this silent reading is set.[14] That is, Ambrose, as *magister,* is expected to share with his students both his texts, that is, his readings aloud (in a world where books were relatively rare), and his thoughts on these texts—exactly as Ambrose implicitly does elsewhere, as at *Confessions* 6.4.[15] When, despite allowing the students to come visit, Ambrose does not read the texts for all to hear and does not comment on the texts, the students naturally wonder why. Seen in this way, the scene may then be good evidence that, in this particular social context (of the *magister* with his disciples), reading aloud was the expected behavior. But the passage does not speak to general habits of silent reading one way or the other—and thus the once grand construction of Balogh collapses altogether. As a final kick to the ruins, M. Burnyeat appends to Gavrilov's article remarks on two passages (Ptolemy, περὶ κριτηρίου καὶ ἡγεμονικοῦ 5.1–2 Lammert; Plotinus *Enneads* 1.4.10), in which reading silently and concentrating hard are equated; thus proving that at least some ancient thinkers were not unaccustomed to the notion of silent reading.[16] Gavrilov's conclusion, to which Burnyeat appears to subscribe, is that "*the phenomenon of reading itself is fundamentally the same in modern and in ancient culture.* Cultural diversity does not exclude an underlying unity" (69, italics mine).

[14]I here renounce my use of this passage as central evidence for the reading aloud of literary texts in Johnson 1994; though (for reasons that will become clear below) not the conclusion itself.

[15]The scene at 6.4 is helpfully clarified and placed into the broader context at Stock 1996, 63–64.

[16]Burnyeat 1997. Again, this evidence was already known to cognoscenti, from a letter Burnyeat wrote to the *Times Literary Supplement* (Burnyeat 1991). Balogh 1927 was also aware of the Ptolemy passage (first brought to notice by A. Brinkmann), but he glosses over it: 105 n. 27; cf. Burnyeat 1997, 75. The Plotinus passage was first cited as a central piece of evidence in Stock 1996, 286 n. 53. To Burnyeat's two passages, add the list of "passages where silent reading is more or less certainly implied" at Gavrilov 1997, 70–71, though most of this evidence is more ambiguous than he allows.

But is this a proper conclusion? If we accept that the ancients did read silently, yet know also (what no one disputes) that they commonly read aloud, does it follow that ancient reading was really so like our own? Has this century of debate in fact brought us to no better understanding than that the ancient readers' experience was, essentially, ours? My interest lies not, finally, in entering the controversy over whether the ancients always read aloud. Given the terms of the debate—wrongful terms first set into motion by Balogh—I think that Knox and Gavrilov and Burnyeat have made sufficient response. I wish, rather, to redirect scholarly attention to what is, I think, a much more interesting set of problems: how exactly the ancients went about reading, and how the ancient *reading culture* (as I will call it)[17] does in fact differ from the reading–from–a–printed–book model familiar to us today.

READING CULTURE: WHAT DO WE MEAN BY "READING"?

When Gavrilov speaks of "the phenomenon of reading itself" he seems to mean the cognitive act of reading. It is this, he states, that "is fundamentally the same in modern and in ancient culture."

But is reading solely, or even mostly, a neurophysiologically based act of cognition? Anthropologists, ethnographers, and sociolinguists have increasingly come to recognize in reading a complex sociocultural construction that is tied, *essentially,* to particular contexts. In a now classic study of literacy in more privileged ("Maintown") and less privileged ("Roadville" and "Trackton") communities in the Piedmont region of the Carolinas,[18] Shirley Heath describes in detail the ways in which many aspects of reading are informed by the reader's subculture. Maintown children (51–56), for instance, learn from an early age to use children's fiction as a frame of reference for constructing real–world knowledge. While reading with parents and other adults, they learn school–oriented ways of using a text, such as interactive "initiation–

[17]I use the term "reading culture" to bring to constant and immediate attention the cultural dimensions of "reading"; further in the next section.

[18]Heath 1982, cf. Heath 1983; conveniently summarized, with illustrative examples from other cultures along the same lines (as, e.g., Clanchy 1979), in Street 1984: see the chapter "The 'Ideological' Model," esp. 121–25.

reply–evaluation" sequences, which model the sort of give–and–take used later in formal education. But they also learn to value fiction for its own sake and to replicate it by telling stories that are not true. Moreover, they learn that writing may represent not only real events but also decontextualized logical propositions to be used in taking meaning from their environment. Children from Roadville (57–64), on the other hand, while they also learn certain sorts of school–like habits of interaction with texts (e.g., "what–explanations"), regard the text itself from a markedly different stance. In this working–class, Christian community, reading to children past the toddler age is not interactive but performative, and behind the performance is the assumption that the stories told are "true"—real events that tell a message. The fundamental relationship between book learning and "reality" differs: in Roadville, events in the real world are seldom compared to events in books; explicitly fictionalized accounts are thought to be "lies"; and the children are poor at decontextualizing their knowledge and applying it to different frames of reference. For our purposes, what is crucial is that the differing reader responses are engendered not by the particular text, nor by the education of the reader, but by the sociocultural context in which the reading takes place. The meanings that readers construct differ, that is, largely in dependence on the (sub)culture in which the reading occurs.

Recent anthropological and ethnographical studies, in an effort to avoid the sort of vague generalities that so often devolve from discussion of "literacy," now frequently attempt more specific terminology, which seeks to refocus our view of the use of texts by the choice of a sometimes startlingly wide–angle lens. The resulting view could not be more different from that which dominates discussion of "reading" in ancient studies. Three prominent examples: Shirley Heath speaks of a "literacy event" as "occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies"; Brian Street proposes, more broadly and abstractly, "literacy practices," referring thereby to "both behaviour and conceptualisations related to the use of reading and/or writing"; and R. D. Grillo extends this yet further to "communicative practices," in which he includes "the social activities through which language or communication is produced," "the way in which these activities are embedded in institutions, settings or domains which in turn are implicated in other, wider, social, economic, political and cultural processes," and "the ideologies, which may be linguistic or other, which guide processes of com-

municative production."[19] Note how such terminology privileges study of sociocultural practices over the emphasis on a specific "technology" or "medium."

Quite so wide a refocusing may, to be sure, make more sense for modern ethnographers than for historians of ancient culture. We do not have the opportunity to take field notes from living informants, and the level of specificity advocated (which may in any case be overwrought) is simply not possible. But contemporary studies have, nonetheless, much to teach us about the deep dependency between a particular "culture," narrowly defined, and the "reading" of texts, broadly defined. As will already be clear, reading is not, in my view, exclusively or even mostly a neurophysiological, cognitive act—not in fact an individual phenomenon, but a sociocultural system in which the individual participates.

For clarity's sake, and to help us begin to think this through, I list here some simple—if not simplistic—propositions:[20]

(1) The reading of different types of texts makes for different types of reading events. Reading a tax document and reading love poetry are essentially different events, even for the same person in the same time and place.

(2) The reading of a given text in different contexts results in different reading events. Reading love poetry in a scholastic context differs essentially from reading love poetry over wine with a lover. Reading alone differs essentially from reading with a group.

(3) A reading event is in part informed by the conceived reading community. Whether based on an actual group (such as a class), or an imaginary group (intellectuals, lovers of poetry), the reader's conception of "who s/he is," that is, to what reading community s/he thinks to belong, is an important, and determinative, part of the reading event. Reading love poetry in a given context (say, alone in one's living room) differs depending on whether the reader thinks of the reading as preparation for class, or as participatory in elitist enthusiasms for high poetry.

[19]Summarized and quoted in Street 1993, 12–13. The quotations are from Heath 1982, 50; Street 1988, 61; and Grillo 1989, 15.

[20]Partly in order to avoid the political and other baggage that follow the term "literacy," I will prefer the following terms: "reading" (by which I mean the experience of reading, broadly conceived), "reading events" (by which I mean to emphasize the contextualization of a particular "reading"), and "reading culture" (by which I mean to signal the cultural construct that underpins group and individual behaviors in a reading event).

(4) The reading community normally has not only a strictly social component (the conception of the group), but also a cultural component, in that the rules of engagement are in part directed by inherited traditions. A reader's stance toward class material is informed by scholastic traditions, some peculiar to the institution; more hazily, a reader's stance toward the sort of material favored by enthusiasts for high poetry is informed by a set of inherited, that is, trained dispositions (such as attention to intertextual references, or appreciation for certain aesthetic characteristics).

(5) Reading which is perceived to have a cultural dimension (most obviously, "literature" of any sort) is intimately linked to the self–identity of the reader. Thus a person who identifies with the cultural elite will feel disgusted, or even polluted, by the reading of a "trash" romance novel; uplifted, and self–validated, by the reading of difficult, but "excellent" literature.

All of these propositions have many ramifications, and the details could be argued at nearly infinite length—so complex is "reading"—but even this simple analysis should begin to make clear why I prefer to look at reading as not an act, nor even a process, but as a highly complex sociocultural system that involves a great many considerations beyond the decoding by the reader of the words of a text. Critical is the observation that reading is not simply the cognitive process by the individual of the "technology" of writing, but rather *the negotiated construction of meaning within a particular sociocultural context.*

An illustrative example from closer to hand may at this point prove helpful. When teaching ancient epic in translation (*Gilgamesh, Iliad, Odyssey, Aeneid*), I have been deeply impressed at the high and general level of enthusiasm, indeed excitement, that the students bring to the reading of these texts. At least some of these texts are rather forbidding, after all, and not obviously to everyone's tastes. Moreover, not many of these same people, as forty–something stockbrokers or business executives, would on their own find these texts very engaging. Why is it that students commonly find difficult texts like Homer's *Iliad* or Virgil's *Aeneid* (or Dante or Milton or Joyce) so deeply exciting *within the context of a class*? As I see it, this has far less to do with cognition than with the construction of a particular reading community, one which validates itself through texts deemed important to a shared sense of culture and cultural attainment. In a successful humanities class, we are not so much teaching texts, as creating a reading community in

which the members find self-validation (as smart, cultured, etc.) in the negotiated construction of meaning from these texts.

But let us think through this simple example further, to see if we can gain a more vivid idea of what is intended by a "reading culture." How, in this scholastic context, does such a culture materialize? In part, the reading culture devolves from traditions maintained by the institution. Institutionally, universities work toward creating the disposition that knowledge of, and directed engagement with, particular humanities texts is socioculturally important: it is elemental (or so says the cultural tradition) to being "educated," a necessary item in the cultural baggage of those who aspire to the elite of the society. In part, though, the reading culture is contrived by the teacher. Individually, teachers work toward creating the disposition that a particular text (the one we are studying in class) is meaningful and relevant: it is a necessary tool if the student is to apprehend the knowledge, and experience that sense of meaningfulness, that bonds the group together as a productive, self-validating unit. Yet the "group" itself is also complex: not only the class, but also that more vague conception of people who are "educated" or "intellectual" or even "sincere." Part of the reader's conception is bound, then, by broad cultural influences well beyond institutional or pedagogic manipulation. In any case, the group dynamics—the construction of the attitude that Homer is *important,* that Homer *should* be interesting—are fundamental to this particular type of reading experience. Which is to say: the reading experience depends on a dynamic, continually negotiated construction of meaning within the context of the conceived group. Reading is, to be sure, the individual's construction of meaning, but it is never wholly interior; rather, sociocultural influences always inform the meaning that the reader seeks to construct.

In attempting an analysis of ancient reading culture, I therefore wish emphatically to promote two principles. First, we must proceed from a clear and deep perception that what we seek to analyze is an immensely complex, interlocking system. Even for particular questions ("Did the ancients read silently or aloud?") it will not do to focus narrowly, as in the recent debate, on a single mode of inquiry such as cognitive analysis. Similarly, the analyses (not reviewed here) of scholars like Goody, Havelock, Ong, and their followers—who find in writing, and in its reflex, reading, a "technology" with (various) determinative consequences for the society—will, from this point of view, be seen as

too simplistic, even reductionist, and too inattentive to the particulars of the specific cultures under study.[21]

Which leads to the second principle: that we must seek to analyze ancient reading within the terms of its own sociocultural context. Let us return for a moment to Bernard Knox's important 1968 article (summarized in the first section of this essay). Toward the opening of that article, Knox writes (421–22):

> Balogh's insistence that silent reading was not just unusual but almost unheard of seems to go too far; common sense rebels against the idea that scholarly readers, for example, did not develop a technique of silent, faster reading. Are we really to imagine that Aristarchus read aloud all the manuscripts of Homer he used for his edition? That Callimachus read aloud all the works from which he compiled his 120 volumes of Pinakes? That Didymus wrote his more than 3,000 volumes and read the countless books on which he based them, pronouncing every syllable out loud?

"Common sense" rebels, however, because our modern cultural construction of scholarly efficiency is predicated on silent reading (a point central also to the arguments of both Saenger and Gavrilov). As it happens, though, we have a detailed account of the work habits of one of antiquity's more prolific scholars, the Elder Pliny. In a well–known letter (3.5), the Younger Pliny describes the solution to his uncle's (evidently unusual) desire for reading efficiency: he had a lector read to him over meals and scolded a friend who made the lector slow down to repeat a mispronounced word (11–12); when taking a bath he had a book read to him or dictated notes (14); he traveled with a secretary, who performed the same duties in any spare moments (15); to allow similar accommodation during the journey itself, he always used a litter in preference to walking (16). None of this precludes the Elder Pliny writing for himself (it is probable that he does: 3.5.10, 15), nor does it preclude Pliny reading to himself (though whenever the Younger Pliny is specific, he mentions a lector). But clearly, when Pliny looks for increased efficiency in his studies, silent reading is not, as for us, the "natural" solution. Rather, Pliny "naturally" turns to a scheme for insinuat-

[21]The problems of this sort of technologically determinative analysis are by now well rehearsed. For summary and criticism, see Thomas 1992, 15–28; Finnegan 1988, 1–14; Street 1984, esp. 44–65; Olson 1994, 1–20, 36–44.

ing more time into his day for servants to read aloud and take dictation. There is, in short, no "common sense" about it.

TOWARD A MODEL FOR ANCIENT READING

We begin to perceive how large a task is at hand. Even the seemingly straightforward question with which we started—"Did the ancient Greeks and Romans read aloud or silently?"—is, strictly speaking, unanswerable: not only is the contextual grounding of the question unspecific, but the casual use of "read" begs the very point under dispute. The more proper goal, as I have argued, is to understand the particular reading cultures that obtained in antiquity, rather than to try to answer decontextualized questions that assume in "reading" a clarity and simplicity it manifestly does not have.

Approaches to understanding a dynamic cultural system are, however, by nature asymptotic. The very complexity of the system defeats final analysis, and all the more so when, as for classical antiquity, the details of the system are so dimly apprehended. This circumstance does not remove the possibility of better understanding, but we need to be clear from the outset that progress is by necessity limited—since this affects not only conclusions but also methodologies. In what follows, I will sketch lightly some ways of trying to analyze a particular ancient reading culture. The point of this exercise (and in this limited space it can be no more) is to suggest a strategy of attack, a mode of inquiry. Along the way, deviation from the ideal path will be forced at every turn, for the simple reason that the uneven nature of the evidence demands it.

As subject of the exercise, I choose the reading of Greek literary prose texts by the educated elite during the early empire (first and second centuries A.D.). The choice at once exposes the extreme limitations under which we must operate. First, the contextualization is far less detailed than we might desire, very far in any case from the sort of particularity of context available to contemporary researchers. As it is, circumstances will force us not only to be content with a much more hazy focus, but also to consider evidence as diverse as bookrolls from Greco–Roman Egypt and cultural behavior in Rome. Second, the "reading culture" chosen may seem oddly delimited. We understand by now that any slicing of a particular section of "reading" within a culture is necessarily not a clean cut, and that this is but an analytic tool for describing one part of an interlocking complex of habits, attitudes, and in-

teractions. But why carve off prose from poetry in this way? The answer, again, has much to do with the evidence to hand (as we shall see): a pragmatic solution to analysis, rather than one with strictly theoretical justification. Similar pragmatics lie behind the choice of the three modes of inquiry—cognitive, aesthetic, and sociological—I have selected, which are simply those that seem, on present evidence, most profitable to our goal of understanding how the *system* behaves.

First, though, a point of order. An awkward fact is that many of our most important primary witnesses to ancient reading culture are *written* documents: much of the core of the investigation here will center around the Greek literary papyri, that is, the fragments of ancient books that survive from antiquity. The focus on written materials raises, however, questions about the relationship between reading and writing. That relationship is a complex topic, but for the purposes here I will make a simple assumption: that a writing system largely reflects the system of reading with which it interrelates. A brief discussion of writing systems, though necessarily superficial, may clarify why I think this assumption justified.

Reading System and Writing System

All scripts are inadequate in conveying prosodic and paralinguistic features like tone of voice, facial expression, eye contact, body language, and other elements that make spoken utterances quite different from written scripts. Writing not only records incompletely the locutionary act (what is said) but is poor as a conveyance of the illocutionary force (how the speaker intends what is said to be taken). Indeed the difference between "written style" and "spoken style" can be largely ascribed to the lexical elements that writing adds or subtracts, so as to try to get around the fact that it is not speech. But writing (whatever its advantages) is always to some extent handicapped by lack of the subtle contextual clues that personal speaking affords. In David Olson's interesting formulation, "reading" becomes, then, in large part the reader's attempt to project illocutionary force into the bare locutionary signals of the written script.[22] (And we now understand that the nature of this projection will itself be, by necessity, socioculturally informed.)

[22] Olson 1994, 91–114, esp. 92–93. The terms "locutionary" and "illocutionary" derive from speech act theory, first expostulated in Austin 1962.

An illustrative, if slightly silly, example of how a writing system interacts with its use by a particular reading culture is that curious feature of contemporary electronic mail, the "smiley face." Since e-mail adopts as its working metaphor a chatty, that is, a "speaking" mode, tone becomes more essential, and (since e-mail is not in fact speech) the mistaking of tone becomes more likely. A particularly common problem is the conveyance of ironic tone, so characteristic of "chat" (and normally conveyed by tone of voice, a slight smile, a brightness of eye). Within the e-mail reading culture, the somewhat desperate solution has proven the smiley face, now the conventional way of making a light or ironic statement clear to correspondents. In functional terms, this new element in the writing system joins punctuation, formatting, and other writing conventions that help guide the reader's projection of illocutionary force onto written statements. The smiley face is, then, a side effect of the way in which e-mail hovers between a written and oral statement, or, better, the way in which a written statement strains to be an oral statement in the virtual "conversations" allowed by the internet. This strain is felt in the breakdown of a part of the reading system (as readers feel perplexed by matters of tone, and project illocutionary force inappropriately), which leads in turn to an adjustment in the writing system.

Now, to return to antiquity at a leap, I think it fair to ask the following: why, if it took our culture only a few years to adopt the smiley face, were the Greeks unable for so many centuries to adopt obviously useful aids like word spaces, punctuation, paragraphing, and the like in the writing of their literary texts? Surprising as it may seem, the conclusion is hard to avoid that there was something about the reading culture that felt no need for these things, that in terms of the total system of reading, habits like *scriptio continua* and lack of punctuation worked. For we cannot suppose the Greeks too naive or primitive or stupid to think of word spaces or punctuation or structural markers. In ancient school exercises, word division and punctuation are often found.[23] Documentary papyrus and inscriptional texts often have elaborate visual structural markers, as needed. In early Roman literary texts, word separation is the norm, in fact universal so far as we know,[24] and it is a telling fact that in the period under review here the Romans chose to

[23]Cribiore 1996, 81–88.
[24]See Wingo 1972.

discard word spaces in the writing of their literary manuscripts—a choice they would hardly have made if it interfered fundamentally with the Roman reading system. Such a development today—the discarding of spaces between words—is simply inconceivable. Which tells us that the ancient reading system is in some way essentially different from our own. Thus intimately do the characteristics of the reading and writing systems interrelate.

Before proceeding further, we need however to bring clearly to mind what a Greek literary prose text looked like.[25] In the early empire, a Greek literary prose book was, of course, not typically a codex but a handwritten papyrus roll, held horizontally, and written in columns which were regular, left– and right–justified, and remarkably narrow in appearance: 4.5 to 7.0 centimeters (2 to 3 inches) in width, that is, only about fifteen to twenty–five letters per line; 15 to 25 centimeters (6 to 10 inches) in height; with a space in between the columns (the intercolumn) of 1.5 to 2.5 centimeters (less than an inch). The letters of the text were clearly, often calligraphically, written, but otherwise undifferentiated—that is, there were no spaces between the words. Main sentence breaks were marked by a horizontal stroke at the left edge of the column, but there was otherwise little or no punctuation. And nothing to mark larger structures: no paragraph breaks, no running headers, no page or column markers. The impression of uninterrupted succession, of a coherent whole, seems paramount: on occasion a reader might mark an important passage with a *diplē* (>) in the margin, or with a bit of red wax, but nothing in the book's design either facilitated reference to, or promoted browsing in, some part of the text. The lines were divided rationally, at the end of a word or syllable, but otherwise the column was organized as a tight phalanx of clear, distinct letters, each marching one after the other to form an impression of continuous flow, the letters forming a solid, narrow rectangle of written text, alternating with narrower bands of white space. The visual effect was not unlike a strip of 35 millimeter film. The product seems, to the modern eye, something almost more akin to an art object than a book; and, with its lack of word spaces and punctuation, the ancient bookroll is, to the modern perception, spectacularly, even bewilderingly, impractical and inefficient as a reading tool. But that the ancient reading and writing

[25]See Turner and Parsons 1987 (for an authoritative introduction to the ancient book); Johnson 1992 (for full details on Roman era bookrolls).

systems interacted without strain is indisputable: so stable was this idea of the literary book, that with only small variations it prevailed for at least seven hundred years in the Greek tradition. The economical hypothesis is that the reading culture was likewise stable, and that readers were so thoroughly comfortable with the peculiarities of the writing system that adjustments (like our smiley face) proved unnecessary over a great deal of time.

With these final preliminaries behind us, let us now see whether we can make a modest start at comprehending the ancient reading culture.

A Cognitive Model for Ancient Reading

First, some observations based on cognitive theories of reading, and focusing on a central feature of this type of book, namely the narrow columns of continuous text, one letter after the other without space between words. Saenger has, interestingly, raised the problem of the difficulty that an ancient reader would have had keeping himself oriented in this sort of text: this is the "tunnel vision" we heard about earlier. In modern analyses of the physiology of reading, the reader's progress seems to go something like this:[26] the eye moves across the line of text not at an even rate, but in a series of fixations and jumps called "saccades." At each ocular fixation, the parafoveal vision, about six degrees to either side of the point of acute focus, or roughly fifteen to twenty letters in most printed texts, is able to keep track of what comes before and after, and begins (or finishes) processing this data prior to the next saccadic movement. A similar span of fifteen–plus letters marks the amount of text that the eye keeps ahead of the voice when reading aloud (this is the "eye–voice span"). In modern reading, the ocular fixations occur at the beginnings of words, and the preliminary analysis of the script in the parafoveal vision is much aided by our ability to recognize a great many common words as a unit, as a "Bouma shape" (that is, the unique and easily recognized shape of a common word): no experienced reader ever, even unconsciously, analyzes words like "the" or "of" or "and," since we learn to see these as a single form, a single Bouma shape. Now since ancient texts have no word separation, the Bouma shape is not immediately apparent, thus the preliminary pro-

[26]A more detailed summary of cognitive aspects of reading, with bibliography, is conveniently located in Saenger 1997, 1–17, 32–40.

cessing of the letters in the parafoveal vision is much impeded; and worse, since there are no word spaces, there is no "natural" point at which to fixate. Or so says Saenger. At best, he argues, this will slow down the ancient reader; at worst, it will lead to "ocular regressions," as the poor reader moves back in the text from the point of fixation so as to find the start of a syllable or word and determine the meaning. In Saenger's account, this process leads to a propensity toward reading aloud, and to very slow reading, which, by his analysis, inhibits certain types of complex thinking. But what arrests my attention in this account is the interesting coincidence between the parafoveal vision and the eye–voice span, both roughly fifteen to twenty characters, and the width of the column in an ancient literary roll, which is roughly fifteen to twenty–five characters.

What is interesting about this coincidence is not, of course, that the ancients used narrow columns *because* the fifteen–to–twenty–five–character width approximates the eye–voice span. Rather, what is interesting, or at least what interests me, is that the cognitive evidence may help us to make sense of the *system,* and to see why this system, so different from our own, was so evidently satisfactory in an ancient context: we can understand better, perhaps, the cognitive process as the ancient literary roll is being used. I suggest, then, a reconstruction along the following lines. The fact that words at line end were divided according to strict syllabic rules meant that every line of the narrow column began at a rational point, either at word beginning or at the start of a syllable (often, in ancient Greek, a morphemic boundary). The width of the column was such that the whole line could be taken in by the parafoveal vision, and approximated the amount of text typically read by the eye ahead of the voice. The result was that the line beginnings themselves provided natural points for the ocular fixation, and the "decoding" of the letters could proceed regularly on a line–by–line basis. Despite Saenger's contention, it would seem that there were in fact good points of reference to keep the reader oriented; and the number of letters to decode in each line was small enough that we can begin to think more understandable the evident ancient indifference to the matter of spaces between words. To help with this were other factors: such as the extreme clarity of the letters, and the habit of signaling sentence end by a horizontal line in the margin, which helps keep the reader oriented as he makes his rather rapid progress down the narrow column.[27]

[27]Johnson 1994.

In general, reading cultures dependent on writing by hand seem to work as closed systems where the script has just the combination of characteristics to suffice for the purpose and context of the reading. For a modern physician writing a prescription, it is necessary only to communicate with a pharmacist: thus prescriptions are clear only in the points, such as the number of pills, that are necessary for comprehension by the other specialist. Similarly, ancient papyrus documents can be extremely difficult to read, since they are typically written by professionals for professionals and are highly formulaic in content: the cursive script often deems adequate a clear initial letter or two followed by squiggles incomprehensible in themselves, but obvious once one has sufficiently reconstructed the formulaic context. In ancient Semitic texts (Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac), unlike Greek texts, word division is usual since the absence of vowels otherwise would make the word division ambiguous. But for ancient Greek literary texts, what was evidently essential was not the marking of word breaks but the very high legibility of the individual letters, combined with a format comfortable for the eye–voice span, since Greek prose literary texts were, as it happens, typically read aloud. (On which more in a moment.)

The Aesthetics of Reading

Cognitive functionalism is, however, but one part of the whole. The clarity of letters and the width of the column are, arguably, primarily functional, but the beauty of the letter shapes, and the elegant precision of placement for the columns cannot be. The elaborate care taken by scribes in the production of a literary prose text is exemplified by the remarkable fact that the variation in column width from one end of a roll to the other almost never exceeds 2 millimeters—only two to three times the width of the pen's nib![28] The uninterrupted blocks of black text alternating with the white intercolumn in a continuous, precisely aligned band, has an elegant harmony that speaks loudly to aesthetic sensibilities. Such was the craftsman's art.

That the physical literary roll not only contained high culture, but was itself an expression of high culture, does not need to be argued at length. The product itself makes it fairly obvious. The craftsman's care has already been mentioned. Ancient scribes were paid by the quality

[28]Johnson 1992, 135–38.

of the writing, and almost all literary books qualify for the best or nearly best categories, thus are the most expensive possible use of a scribe.[29] The format squanders papyrus, itself an import item for most of the Mediterranean, with upper and lower margins much larger than function demands; in deluxe literary rolls, the upper and lower margins could take more space than the text itself.[30] The bookroll was, in short, an expensive, hence an elitist product; and with strict attention to detail in the layout and written in calligraphic or near–calligraphic scripts, the roll was also by design an aesthetically pleasing item to hold in one's hand and look at.

Unlike a utilitarian, documentary text, the bookroll was often used in a display setting: the reading accomplished by a lector, and in a social context such as after–dinner entertainment (on which more below). As a cultural signifier, the bookroll is analogous in many respects to statuary in a garden, or to the luxurious plate on which dinner is served in an elite household. The literary roll exemplifies high culture not just in the demonstration that the owner is "literate" and educated, but by means of the aesthetics the bookroll also points up the refinement of the owner. Moreover, the use of the bookroll, much like walking in a cultured garden or dining from a beautiful plate, demonstrates the owner's ability to integrate a sense of aesthetic refinement into every aspect of daily life and society—an important goal in hellene and philhellene elite behaviors during the Roman era.

In this context, Lucian's diatribe on the *Ignorant Book Collector* (*Adv. Indoct.*, ca. 170 A.D.) is of particular interest. There Lucian takes great delight in ridiculing a provincial from Syria who is wealthy, but not too wealthy (19, cf. 25), and who aspires to join the highly cultured elite. His aspiration takes the form of collecting antiquarian and deluxe bookrolls. But, as Lucian makes clear, this provincial is not part of the right group: "your haunts in youth were not ours" (3), which in the context means in particular that his level of education was insufficient for the high culture to which he aspires—that is, he was not raised as one of the elite. Throughout the diatribe, Lucian takes the position of a cultured intellectual, casting aspersions on the man who is merely wealthy but without culture. To the provincial he repeatedly opposes οἱ πε-

[29]Cf. *Edictum Diocletiani de Pretiis Rerum Venalium*, col. 7 39–41. The inscription is discussed in light of the palaeography of surviving papyri at Turner and Parsons 1987, 1–4, 23.

[30]Johnson 1992, 230–33.

παιδευμένοι (7, 22, 24, 28; cf. 1, 3, 29), those who are "educated" but also "cultured" (cf. LSJ s.v., and cognates like παίδευσις, παιδεία). The provincial can read his books fluently, but is unable to bring the proper meaning to the lection (2); he reads all the time, but doesn't understand what he reads (4); he uses reading to entertain his toadies after dinner, but does not study the books enough otherwise to learn from the contents (7, 18–19); the bookrolls themselves are outstandingly beautiful, with purple vellum slipcovers and gilt rollers, but the reading itself is full of barbarisms (7, cf. 4). The provincial, that is, mistakenly concentrates on the beauty of the book as an object (4, 7, 16) and as a display of wealth and superficial education within his social group (19), rather than on the beauty and instruction of the text it contains (17). His behavior is, therefore, gross—his dinner parties descend rapidly into drunken disgrace (23, 25)—and his supposed refinement is a sham. For our purposes, what is interesting is not so much Lucian's chastisement of a mental inferior—Lucian was, after all, one of the leading intellectuals of his day—but the vivid picture of a wealthy man who perceives the book as an aesthetic object central to his entry to high culture.

For Lucian's wealthy Syrian, the elegance of the bookroll itself, and that refined feeling that comes from reading high literature in a social context, is enough. The operative analogy, again, seems to be that of an art object, such as statuary in a garden, where a pleasure in the overall aesthetics, and at the cultural refinement of the implied activity (i.e., walking among such aesthetic splendor), often overwhelms in importance subtle artistic understanding. Whatever the Syrian's comprehension of the contents of the texts he reads—by Lucian's account minimal (but this is a diatribe!)—he clearly delights both in the objective aesthetics of the bookrolls themselves, and in the aesthetics of the reading, conceived broadly as a social activity which, to his deep satisfaction, carefully mimics the high culture to which he aspires. From Lucian's depiction, we may be able better to understand how it is that the difficult prose of a Thucydides, or of a contemporary like the Sophist Aristides, may have been of interest to a second-century audience beyond the intelligentsia. "Reading," in Lucian's portrayal, is an activity which to nonintellectuals is largely driven by aesthetic and social impulses. Lucian depicts this sort of "reading" (that is, listening to someone read after dinner) as a performance activity where the lector is charged with drawing out both the beauty and the meaning of the flow of words; the listener's charge, by inference, is then both to appreciate the music of the lection and to comprehend. Importantly, enjoyment of

the lection depends as much on the beauty of the cadences as in the understanding of the words; and, as I have argued, on the aesthetic pleasure (and cultural self-validation) in the refinement of the book-as-object, the setting, and the activity.

Aesthetic and social responses to the reading event are, then, deeply intertwined, and for many ancients may have formed at least as fundamental a motivation to reading as intellectual apprehension. This aspect of the ancient reading culture is worth emphasizing, since in our own information age society analogous reading events are difficult to summon. By my way of thinking, Lucian's account seems to have more points of contact with contemporary opera goers than with contemporary readers. When Lucian complains that the provincial does not (as an intellectual would) read these texts apart from a social, performance setting, I am reminded of opera buffs who complain of those who come to the opera only as a high social activity (and by implication do not listen to opera otherwise). In both cases, the critics are not only too severe, but downright wrong-headed. The aesthetic pleasure, if not so deeply rooted in understanding as critics might prefer, remains (for most) a substantial part of the experience, and is undoubtedly enhanced by a setting which—aesthetically pleasurable in itself—focuses attention on the high cultural merits of the performance. Like contemporary opera, the use of literary texts in antiquity is deeply rooted in that sense of refined aesthetic enjoyment so formative in the interior construction of a cultural elite. Also like contemporary opera, the challenge of the performance, in many respects beyond much of the audience, is part of the allure, both insofar as it stretches aesthetic sensibilities, and because the very difficulty serves to validate the activity as one exclusive to the educated and cultured.

The Sociology of Reading

To modern readers, the repeated emphasis on elitism may seem odd, even disagreeable. But in ancient society, that reading was largely an elitist phenomenon was accepted as a matter of course.[31] This is doubly true for literary texts, as the contents of these texts (often presupposing

[31] Ancient accounts betray not the slightest interest in diffusion of literacy among all social strata. See Harris (1989) (who emphasizes the lack of motivation, given the way that ancient society was constructed), esp. his opening two chapters.

a high level of education) make clear. Reading of literary texts was seldom associated with practical goals for individuals, such as the accumulation of knowledge for professional purposes. The bookroll's lack of structural devices that might assist in reference consultation mirrors the ancient reader's apparent indifference to the use of books for random retrieval of information. That does not mean that reading was not done for personal profit (such as to increase one's knowledge, to gain information), but rather that the reader's attitude toward what the text represents is subtly different. I will argue that bookrolls were not, in gross terms, conceptualized as static repositories of information (or of pleasure), but rather as vehicles for performative reading in high social contexts. Central to the performative reading were questions of status. Though the performance need not be actual, often it was, and in this section I propose to concentrate on the sociology of the actual performance of prose literary texts (which so far as we know almost always occurred in elite settings), and on the ways in which the habit of social reading–as–performance may have affected the reader's conceptualization of "reading."

A preliminary example. Earlier, we encountered an ancient writer, the Elder Pliny, whose attitude toward "scholarly" reading seems at first glance close to our own, even if his methods differ. Pliny, we recall, used lectors and note takers to help in his goal of compiling information (as, e.g., for his monumental *Natural History*). A singular detail of this account of Pliny's work habits (*Ep.* 3.5.11–12) betrays, however, an important difference. For the sake of efficiency, Pliny, we are told, customarily had a book read to him during dinner and dictated notes. But, to our surprise, we learn that Pliny is not alone with his servants: "one of his friends" asks the lector to repeat a mispronounced word—to which Pliny objects, inasmuch as this slowed down the reading. Now we do not know exactly what was being read.[32] But the (to us) bizarre combination of the scholar's task of digesting information and the "entertainment" of a performative reading to a group of friends over dinner deserves reflection. Though in some respects an extreme circumstance, the

[32]Pliny's remark that his friend's interference has lost more than *decem versus* does not imply poetry: *versus,* like Greek *stichoi,* was often used as a measure for prose text (see *OLD* s.v. 4). Given the nature of Pliny's writings (the nephew's letter begins with a full bibliography of the uncle's work: 3.5.3–6), the broader context seems to imply a text with technical or historical content.

scene helps to clarify the variety of ways in which reading may have constituted "entertainment" among the cultural elite. In this context, we recall the many ancient literary texts that are marvels of technical abstruseness but also composed with an elegance that seems to suppose an audience beyond "scholars" and "professionals": poetic works such as Virgil's *Georgics,* or the oddly popular *Phaenomena* of Aratus with its many adaptations and translations; but also a host of prose texts, such as medical or agricultural or scientific treatises, whose contents bespeak a technical handbook, but whose style often manifests a higher rhetoric. (The preface to the Elder Pliny's own *Natural History* makes an instructive study in this regard.) In any case, for friends to get together as an "entertainment" to listen to difficult texts, including technical treatises, reflects a sociological aspect of reading unfamiliar to us, and yet apparently common among the ancient Greeks and Romans.[33]

Let us examine another example from the early empire. Plutarch, in his *Moralia* (1107F, *adv. Colotem* sec. 2) describes the reading of a volume by Colotes ("On the Point That Conformity to the Doctrines of Other Philosophers Actually Makes It Impossible to Live"): "While the book was being read not long ago, one of our company (ἑταίρων), Aristodemus of Aegium (you know the man: no mere thyrsus–bearer of Academic doctrine, but a most fervent devotee of Plato), with unusual patience somehow managed to hold his peace and listen properly to the end. When the reading was over, he said: 'Very well; whom do we appoint our champion to defend the philosophers against this man?' "[34] The scene will be at once recognized as a common type, with obvious echoes of the dialogues of Plato. One thinks of the opening to *Parmenides* (126A–127D), for example, where in very similar fashion a reading by Zeno from one of his youthful works is the springboard to intellectual discussion by certain members of the group. Or consider the opening to *Theaetetus* (142A–143C). Euclides runs into Terpsion, and as they talk about the recently wounded Theaetetus, Euclides reminds him that he has written out a dialogue he heard long ago between Socrates and Theaetetus. Terpsion, who has had a long walk into the city, asks,

[33]This shift in attitude toward technical texts seems to be fairly recent, as I am reminded from a perusal of the papers of Ben Franklin. When sending his friends scientific works on electricity and the like, Franklin commonly chooses the word "entertainment" to describe the nature of his offering.

[34]Trans. Benedict Einarson and Phillip H. de Lacy (Loeb ed.).

"What hinders us from going through it now? Certainly I need to take a rest, since I've just come in from the country." Euclides agrees, takes him home, and once they are "resting" he picks up the bookroll, shows it to Terpsion, and then hands it over to a servant, saying "Well, boy, take the book and read." Remarkably, Terpsion and Euclides take for granted both that "reading" is a common, shared activity, and that, for the weary traveler, attending (and presumably discussing) a difficult philosophical dialogue is a relaxing and refreshing way to pass the time. Permutations of the scene where a prose (often a philosophical) work is read aloud, and the reading is preceded, interrupted, or followed by commentary and discussion, are familiar from Plato onward.[35] Scenes like the one in Plutarch represent, then, a literary ideal. But such ideals can nonetheless have wide influence on the actual habits of a society, and individual examples like Lucian's Syrian leave little doubt that people, even not very intellectual people, tried to mimic this behavior. The scene in Plutarch is important, then, as witness to a mode of reading behavior, but also as the sort of model that directs cultural attitudes as to how educated persons ought to interact with books. Some notable characteristics: (1) the reading is a shared, group activity, where one person (here unnamed, thus probably a servant) brings out the meaning of the text for the rest; (2) the reading is of a difficult text; (3) the reading is, at least for some listeners, not a passive activity—the possibility of interruption is real (though in this particular group not quite proper [κόσμιον]); (4) implicitly, the goal of the reading is not simply to learn what Colotes had to say on the subject, but to promote a wider discussion, an extension of the dynamic interactions of the social group; (5) the reading becomes thereby both focus and springboard to a mutually understood set of group behaviors that serve to build the sense of an intellectual community.

Despite the tenor of some recent comments in the controversy over reading silently in antiquity, I doubt anyone would dispute that the reading of a Greek prose literary text in the early empire frequently involved what is not so familiar today, a reader reading aloud to a group. This is not to deny that at times the ancients read silently and in solitude: that intellectuals sometimes did so is assured by passages such as those in Ptolemy, Plotinus, and Augustine considered earlier, and iconographic representations of the solitary reader may (though need not)

[35]Some examples and discussion in Allan 1980, 247–51, esp. 248–49.

imply a broader base for this sort of reading. But that the ancients commonly listened to a reader, and commonly "read" in groups, is too familiar to warrant documentation. Perfectly run-of-the-mill are passages, such as those reviewed here, in which we encounter a group listening to a reader, whether a trained servant (cf. Plato, Plutarch, Pliny) or a gentleman amateur (cf. Lucian); and the common use in elite Roman households of a specially trained *lector* (ἀναγνώστης) has been adequately demonstrated by Raymond Starr.[36] To be sure, there are some practical reasons for employing a reader. Starr suggests (343) that use of the lector got around the physical awkwardness of needing two hands to manage the roll, and that the lector helped masters with failing eyesight;[37] to which should probably be added the advantage of memory retention.[38] But whatever the practical merits, the primary motivation for using an out-loud reader was surely the force of tradition within the reading culture. The custom of out-loud recitation within a private, elite, social context has roots in the Greek tradition as far back as we can see. In earlier times, private recitation was mostly of melic poetry (as in symposiastic contexts), but the close association of a whole set of habits—recitation, group involvement, artistic or intellectual entertainment, aristocratic socializing, often over dinner—developed into a broad-based and long-lived cultural tradition, and thus influenced generally the ways in which literary texts, including prose texts, were regarded by the ancient reader. At the very heart of the use of literary texts was the association of the activity of reading with the elite community itself, and with the shared "entertainments" that helped to bind and validate the group.

[36]Starr 1990–91; other passages collected by H. Beikircher in *TLL* s.v. *lector* IB. Starr's survey, however, restricts itself mostly to servants who are designated as *lectores* and thus encompasses only one part of the activity of reading texts aloud. In any case, as Starr points out (342), the use of a lector is so assumed that only happenstance preserves direct mention of the reader in the ancient source. See the helpful discussion of other terms for performative reading in Allen 1972; further useful comments and bibliography → Horsfall 1995.

[37]Mor(→ Horsfall 1995.

[38]In contemporary studies of schoolchildren, the children are helped in recall by the oral reading of texts, up until the age (twelve to thirteen) when the widespread use of oral dissemination of information is replaced by silent reading. This suggests that oral reading helps recall in reading cultures where reading aloud predominates. See Horowitz 1991, esp. 141–42. Memory retention is particularly important in a culture where books are not normally used for reference.

The odd format of the bookroll itself intersects with the fact that literary texts were commonly "read" in the sense of a small group listening to a "performance" by a reader. The strict—one wants to say obsessive—attention to continuous flow in the design of the ancient book interlocks with the idea that it was the *reader's* job to bring the text alive, to insert the prosodic features and illocutionary force lacking in the writing system. The continuous roll was "played" by the reader much in the way that we play a videotape or witness a stage performance, and though excerpts could be "replayed" (cf., e.g., *Phaedrus* 228AB), in general one was expected to remember (or take notes)—nothing in the ancient bookroll was designed to facilitate retrieval in any other way. The reader played the role of performer, in effect, and the sort of direction for pause and tone given by the author's paralinguistic markup in our texts (commas, quotes, italics, indentation, etc.) was left to the reader's interpretation of the lines. Punctuation, if it existed, had no authorial force, and could be—was—changed at will.[39] A surprising amount of the burden to interpret the text was shifted from author to reader. Moreover, the idea of the "reader" is complex: not simply the reader–listener, but a reader–performer who acts as an intermediary, much like an actor rendering a play. The fact that sometimes, for the solitary reader, the intermediary did not exist, was no more important in the conceptualization of the text than the fact that today people sometimes read plays silently to themselves. Just as we, when we read a play, are conditioned to imagine the possibilities of the actor's intervention, so ancient readers (and indeed ancient authors) were, I suppose, conditioned to regard the text not as a voiceless and straightforward representation of the author's intent, but as a script to be represented in performance (whether actualized or not).

The conceptualization of the bookroll as a performance script parallels closely its traditional use as entertainment in elite society. "Entertainment" is without hesitation the proper word: several ancient sources enumerate *lectores* among the possibilities for after-dinner diversion, alongside dramatic players, storytellers, musicians, and the like (Pliny, *Ep.* 1.15.2, 9.17.3, cf. 9.36.4; Suet. *Aug.* 78.2; Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 26.4). As already discussed, the entertainment is sometimes of a surpris-

[39]Turner 1980, 92; cf. Turner and Parsons 1987, 10; Johnson 1992, 110–11; Johnson 1994. Even though in the Roman era scribes often copied punctuation if it existed in the exemplar, the many casual additions and changes to punctuation in Roman-era bookrolls witness how fully the ultimate decision remained the reader's.

ingly challenging nature. To be sure, the sort of high intellectual behavior dramatized in works from Plato to Macrobius will have proven more exemplary than representative—for many, the reality was no doubt closer to the half-baked efforts of Lucian's Ignorant Book Collector. But what seems certain, regardless of the actual merits of the activity, is that this sort of entertainment was integral to the self-identity and self-validation of the group, which was explicitly "cultured" in a sense that embraced the ideals of high intellectual attainment and aesthetic sensibility.

That reading is closely linked in conception with entertainment, and is thought of not as a solitary pastime, but as a shared activity deeply involved in the building of elite community, does not however fully contextualize the activity of reading. How did this idea of reading fit in with the broader contours of daily life? As prolegomenon (it can be no more) to an answer, I will focus, finally, on a couple of reports in the letters of the Younger Pliny which provide unusually detailed (however idealized) depictions of how reading and writing were integrated into the lives of cultured, philhellene Romans in the time of Trajan.

The portrait of Vestricius Spurinna's daily regimen given in *Epistle* 3.1 is particularly interesting because it explicitly (1, 12) sets forth Spurinna's behavior as the model for an elderly man of high status. The high status itself is remarked on (Spurinna, like Pliny, "held magistracies and ruled provinces," 12) in a way that suggests, as so often, a public rather than a private audience for the letters (Pliny's correspondent would hardly need this reminder). Spurinna's activities are marked both by strict regularity (2)—itself a sign of the man who "knows himself," who understands the moderation and self-control appropriate to the man of substance and culture—and by the elegant, indeed artful, integration of aristocratic behaviors. Among these are diverse types of moderate exercise: a long walk in the morning (4), a carriage ride and short walk toward midday (5), more vigorous exertion with a ball immediately before the midafternoon bath (8). The exercise, explicitly (4), is designed to invigorate the animus as well as the body. Alternating with the physical exertions are activities meant to divert and exercise the mind more directly. After the morning's walk, Spurinna converses with friends, but the conversations are *honestissimi sermones* (4), that is, ones with serious purpose and a refined quality. In addition to or in lieu of conversation, a book may be read, even if friends are present, so long as they do not find the reading burdensome (*si . . . illi non gravantur,* 4). The word *gravantur* suggests that the morning's reading typically

Spurinna's Regimen

	Physical Arts	Literary Arts	Social Arts
morning	long walk		
	rest	reading of a challenging text	serious conversation with group
midday	carriage ride, short walk		serious conversation tête-à-tête
	rest	poetic composition	solitude
afternoon	vigorous exercise, bath		
	rest	group reading of a lighter text	(lighter conversation, presumably)
evening	relaxation over dinner	performance of dramatic text	dinner conversation, *divertissement*

regards a more challenging text, in explicit contrast and comparison with the reading that follows the afternoon bath, which is of something *remissius . . . et dulcius* (8). The light physical exercise of the morning is coupled with more difficult mental exercise, which is balanced in artful chiasmus by the vigorous exercise (*vehementer et diu,* 8) and lighter mental fare of the afternoon. In between, Spurinna insinuates yet other diverse modes of physical and intellectual activity, for his carriage ride is accompanied by a different mode of conversation (tête-à-tête with a chosen companion, 5–6), and followed by time spent alone, in which he composes lyric verses in Greek and Latin (7). In most of these activities, the integration of his *amici* is seamless, for they are invited to participate or not, as they prefer (8). The day is capped by a dinner, served of course on dinner plate that is elegant but not immoderate, and the dinner itself is punctuated by literary entertainment between courses (Spurinna favors performance of comedy), "so that the pleasures of dining may be spiced by enthusiasm for letters" (*ut voluptates quoque studiis condiantur,* 9).

The fascinating structure of Spurinna's regimen, with its combination of a balanced rotation of physical, intellectual, and social exercises, and a contrived *varietas* (three different modes of exercise, three of conversation, four of literary activity), is worthy of a poetry book, a refined garden, or in fact any "art" that counterpoises a unifying structure

with elaborate variation. The artfulness of Spurinna's life is not, I submit, happenstance. The artfulness bespeaks, in fact, the very nature of the ideal, in which the social arts, the literary arts, and the physical arts are tightly knit into "a more complex and organic *paideia.*"[40] Not simple skill in, but the elegant integration of, all these arts is the mark of the truly cultured man. Moreover, like the doing of philosophy so central to Plato's conception of the life worth living, the doing of culture is critical to Pliny's conception of the ideal in this Greco–Roman society. Spurinna plies actively the arts of the body, the art of intellectual discourse, the writing of poetry, the social graces, and all with emphatic moderation and balance (as dictated by a wide stream of hellenic philosophical thought). Quintessential is the symbiotic combination of high social status with high culture: a man who was a provincial governor, but who spends his morning in reading of difficult texts and in serious conversation, who at midday writes lyric verse in both Greek and Latin, who punctuates his day with leisure forms of physical exercise, and who at day's end gracefully manages a lengthy social dinner that seems long to no one, *tanta comitate convivium trahitur.*

"Reading" in this society is tightly bound up in the construction of the community. Group reading and serious conversation devolving from reading are twin axes around which much of the elite man's community turns. The reading here described—of literary prose—is sharply distinct from pragmatic reading of documents and the like. Reading of literary prose, often difficult and inaccessible to the less educated, is part of that which fences off the elite group from the rest of society. Habits like use of servants to help with the lection, or group reading and discussion, are particular to the social group, and mesh together with other, related customs (such as routinely inviting friends to dinners with performance entertainment). Reading functions as group entertainment, intellectual fodder, and aesthetic delight, but sociologically plays a role beyond the sum of its functional components. As we have seen, reading is subordinated to a broader conception of culture, one which integrates a variety of behaviors, prominently including leisure, exercise, and social arts.

That literary activities nonetheless occupy a special place in the construction of elite culture is perhaps self–evident, but a final example

[40]So Petrucci 1995, 141, in describing similar behaviors among the medieval aristocracy in Italy. He describes, for example, an aristocratic lady who "had two couches of rich silk installed in the great garden and had brought there whoever played music, read, or engaged in fencing" (141; further examples at 143).

from Pliny may help make this more vivid. In *Epistle* 9.36, Pliny replies to a friend who has asked how he spends his days in the rustic environs of his Tuscan estate. Pliny's sketch includes the now familiar elements of a daily regimen varied by controlled rotation among literary, physical, and social activities: he spends the morning writing, followed by a drive and a walk (1–3); then practices oratorical reading (in Greek or Latin), followed by more physical exercise and a bath (3); next comes a dinner which, if only with his wife and a few friends, includes a book read to the group, followed by comedy or music (4); after which follows another walk with members of his household, some of whom are (he defensively assures his friend) educated and well-bred (*eruditi*), and thus able to offer varied conversation (4). The similarity to Spurinna's regimen needs no comment, but in this description, unlike that of Spurinna, Pliny goes on to mention one of the less artful occupations of his day. On some days, he says, he gives time to his tenants, "whose boorish complaints (*agrestes querelae*) freshen my enthusiasm for literary pursuits (*litteras nostras*) and the civilized works of life (*haec urbana opera*)." Note here that the disagreeable behavior of these griping rustics is explicitly opposed to the literary pursuits that, by implication, are an essential basis for what distinguishes the life and manners of the elite—the good life—from those of their inferiors.

Concluding Remarks

In this series of sketches, I have tried to make better sense of the *system* of reading in antiquity, focusing eclectically not only on the strategies but also on the pieces of evidence that seem most helpful: What may be implied by physical features of the ancient bookroll like extremely narrow columns, or exceptionally fine craftsmanship? In what sense, and in what contexts, was ancient reading performative? What was the broader, sociological contextualization of a reading event? At each turn, I have restricted remarks to a specific component of the reading system, to a specific "reading culture," limited by type of text (literary prose), audience (the elite), and time (early empire). None of this is as specific as I would prefer, though perhaps as specific as the evidence allows. In any case, it is important not to extrapolate lightly from the tentative depiction here to other aspects of the system. That the ancient elite had by the period under consideration strong traditions and other motivations to make use of performative reading of certain types of

texts may tell us little or nothing about how others handled these texts, or how the elite handled other types of texts. The reading of documentary texts, for example, invokes a wholly distinct set of sociological, aesthetic, and indeed cognitive behaviors. Certain aspects of ancient reading probably do have definable traditions that go beyond particular times or texts or classes of people. But in general terms it seems unhelpful to speak of "literacy" and "reading" in antiquity as though these were one thing for all groups of people and all types of texts over the course of a millennium. If we are to understand better how ancient reading differed from our own, we urgently need, rather, to frame our discussions of reading, whether ancient or modern, within highly specific sociocultural contexts.[41]

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[41] An early instantiation of some parts of this essay was read in September 1998 at a festival in honor of that best of teachers, Nathan A. Greenberg of Oberlin College. I here record my thanks to his continuing inspiration, as well as my gratitude to Kathryn Gutzwiller, Holt Parker, and the editor of this journal for help with the final revision to the essay.

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A History of Early Christian Libraries from Jesus to Jerome

Thomas M. Tanner

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to provide a chronological history of early Christian libraries during the first five centuries of the present era. The specific area of concentration will be the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, since those are the periods for which sources are least lacking. However, just as Rome was not built in a day or destroyed overnight, so too in the matter of Christian libraries, due attention needs to be given to precursory events of the first and second centuries, as well as to later developments up through the year 600. This is not to imply that the history of Christian libraries drew to a quiet close after the sixth century—quite the opposite; but I concur with J. W. Thompson that "the year 600 may be said to mark a turning-point in the history of medieval culture. 'Fortunatus died at Poictiers in 609; Gregory the Great in 604; Isidore of Seville, leaving the Encyclopedia Britannica of the Middle Ages behind him as his monument, in 636; and for a while it seemed that they had taken Latin letters to their graves with them. It was low tide on the continent of Europe.'"[1] In reality the biggest chapters on Christian libraries could be written about the period after the year 600, for it is then that the great monastic and

The author is indebted to Professor R. E. Stevens of the University of Illinois for his direction and encouragement during the course of the preparation of this article for his class "Books and Libraries in the Ancient and Medieval World" and in particular to two articles which served as guideposts in the wilderness: Henri Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," in Fernand Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, *15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953), vol. 2, 1, cols. 842–904, and H. J. de Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library,"* Mousaion *73 (1963): 140–185.*

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cathedral libraries of the Christian church came into their own. But for reasons of space and also to avoid walking in a well-worn path, this article will be limited to the preceding period.[2]

Within this broad time span of five hundred years it is only natural to expect a multiplicity of library developments, and this holds for the history of Christian libraries. The sources speak not just of one, but of three different types of libraries within the church: (1) liturgical or church libraries, (2) private study libraries, and (3) academic or school libraries.[3] Each of these will be discussed twice—once for the period *before* the reign of Constantine and then again for the period *after*. Just as the year 600 may be said to mark a turning point in the history of books and literature in general, so, too, the year 313 marks a great watershed in the history of the Christian church. For in February of that year, not even a decade removed from the great persecution of Diocletian,[4] Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East jointly issued the famous Edict of Milan, granting an almost miraculous respite to the hard-pressed church and proclaiming a policy of religious toleration for all faiths.[5] From that time forward the status of the church began to change from that of revolutionary to that of establishment, and the complexion of its history evidences a corresponding change as well. Therefore, this discussion will try to maintain a proper perspective chronologically and treat these three library types as they are reflected in the sources both before and after the coming of Constantine. Overlap is inevitable in the historical complexities of people and movements, but generally speaking the article will reflect this two-part division.

One other point pertinent to an article in library history concerns the technical organization and in-house policies of these several types of early Christian libraries. One could perhaps argue that a better treatment of the subject could be given by structuring this discussion in terms of technical organization—that is, matters of content (holdings, catalogs, etc.), design and layout, and administration—rather than in terms of the three types mentioned above. However, the evidence really does not allow such a division. One frustration faced again and again in treating this subject is the scantiness of the sources in these very areas.[6]

For instance, in terms of the contents of these early Christian libraries, the actual number of volumes is given for only one collection, and that by an author removed some three hundred years in time from his subject.[7] Under this rubric also comes the question of format and material—that is, the parchment codex versus the papyrus roll, as well as the related topic of the various types of

writing implements employed. But for these much-discussed and somewhat peripheral matters the reader is more profitably referred elsewhere since neither the sources nor space allow proper treatment here.[8] As to the discussion of early Christian catalogs, historians are on no firmer ground. The Muratorian Canon notwithstanding,[9] the earliest extant "catalog" known is the Pseudo-Gelasian Decretal compiled in Italy sometime at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. This list of authors and titles, which includes a section of nearly sixty items explicitly repudiated by the church (the authors and their followers to be "damned forever") is obviously not a catalog in any modern sense of the word.[10] The first true catalog—the catalog of the monastery of Fontanelle in Normandy—does not appear before the end of the eighth century, but this is outside both subject and time limitations.[11] Other scanty evidence that is available simply does not allow for any full treatment in this area of librarianship, at least as a separate topic.[12]

Likewise, in terms of the design and layout of early Christian libraries historians must again plead ignorance, though at least in this area archeology has painted a fuller picture than the literature alone previously provided. Following the practice of pagan libraries, which were usually situated near the temple, early Christian libraries were sometimes housed in the church's atrium[13] and sometimes in the lateral apse.[14] But even here the reference is, of course, to only one type of library—namely the liturgical or church library. The meager evidence available here is better treated chronologically in considering that particular type of early Christian library.

Finally, as for administrative personnel and policy, one can talk with confidence only regarding the great academic library at Caesarea. The other Christian libraries simply were not large enough to support anything even remotely resembling a modern library staff, and even at Caesarea such a discussion is in the main conjectural, no matter how probable. With regard to administrative policies, only two are discussed in the sources: lending policy and acquisitions policy. As to the former, two manuscripts copied at Caesarea indicate that every borrower had to leave a lending form when renewing a book, but this seems to have been more for the purpose of borrowing books for copying rather than for personal use.[15] Across the board, the ancient Christian libraries served more as reference and research libraries than public lending libraries. With respect to any kind of coherent acquisitions policy, early libraries generally increased their holdings in one or more of three ways: donations,[16] purchases,[17] and copying. The last means by far predominated in the ancient world. The scriptoria of the great

libraries of Pamphilus and Jerome were as well known and well used in their day as *NUC* is in our day.[18] The art of the scribe was as widely practiced as that of the scholar in the first five centuries of the Christian church.

With these factors in view the discussion now turns to ancient Christian libraries, with a preface on the early beginnings. One final word of encouragement: let not the reader think that the scant evidence reflects only desert. Amidst the dryness there are oases to be found, and it is toward these that we set our course.

Early Beginnings

"My son, be warned: the writing of many books is endless, and excessive devotion to books is wearying to the body." Though the quotation is from the Old Testament (Ecclesiastes 12:12), the sentiment is a New Testament one as well. This is not to imply that either the Jews or the Christians were anti-literature or anti-learning; rather it simply serves to indicate that the history of the Christian faith is not primarily a history of books, but a history of one book. Like the Muslims after them and the Jews before them, the early Christians were first and foremost a people of the Book, one book, the Bible. "You search the Scriptures," Jesus says (John 5:39), "because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is these that bear witness of Me." Though spoken to Jews in Jerusalem, this thought was not confined to one people or one place. It manifested itself all across the world of the New Testament. In his history of the early church (Acts 17:11), Luke re-echoes this sentiment with these words of praise for the Christians at Berea: "Now these were more noble-minded than those in Thessalonica, for they received the word with great eagerness, examining the Scriptures daily to see whether these things were so."

The Christian's predominant preference for the Bible, however, did not reach all the way to censorship. The apostle Paul, reared in the university town of Tarsus and trained at the feet of Gamaliel, reflects both sides of the coin. His letters show evidence of a wide range of pagan learning and literature,[19] yet the library historian shudders at the loss inspired by his missionary activity in Ephesus where "many of those who practiced magic brought their books together and began burning them in the sight of all; and they counted up the price of them and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver" (Acts 19:19). But Paul was by no means a book-burning radical. With respect to his love for literature we have these passages from the New Testament: in I Timothy 4:13 he admonishes his protégé Timothy to "give attention to the public reading of Scripture"; in

Colossians 4:16 and I Thessalonians 5:27 he encourages his own correspondence to be read aloud in the churches; and in a rare personal glimpse in II Timothy 4:13 he informs Timothy that when he comes he should "bring the cloak which I left at Troas with Carpus, and the books, especially the parchments."[20] Just what these books and parchments contained is not known,[21] but the point still remains that however narrow or broad the great apostle's literary interests were, he was not per se anti-literature.[22]

One must concede, however, that at this early date there is nothing in the sources even remotely resembling a Christian "library," either private or public, or anything of an official church policy regarding non-biblical literature. Not until the time of Constantine do prohibitive edicts begin to limit the scope of Christian libraries.[23] The reading habits of some earlier Christians, however, are reflected in this interesting piece of evidence from the *Didaskalia Apostolorum*, preserved in Syriac and dating from the first half of the third century:

> Keep far from thyself all the books of the heathen. For what wouldst thou with alien words or with the laws and false prophecies which lead away the youthful even from the Faith? What then dost thou find wanting in the Word of God that thou rushest to these heathen stories? If thou wouldst read history, thou hast the book of the Kings; if works of wise men and philosophers, thou hast the Prophets, with whom thou findest more wisdom and understanding than with the wise and the philosophers; for they are the words of the One and only wise God. If thou desirest poetry, thou hast the psalms of David; if thou cravest information concerning the beginnings of the world, thou hast Genesis written by that great man Moses; if laws and ordinances, thou hast the Law, the glorious book of God the Lord. Keep thyself wholly from all those alien works, which are contrary (to Scripture).[24]

While this attitude may reflect the extreme,[25] it does serve to point out how devoted the early Christians were to "their" Book. The point is not that these Christians were bibliolaters, but that the Scriptures were "these that bear witness of Me." Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35–c. 107), in remonstrating with the Jewish Christians for refusing to read anything except those books kept in the synagogue's archives, goes so far as to say that "my archives are Jesus Christ; my untouched archives are His cross, His death, His resur-

rection, and faith in Him."[26] In the study of early Christian literature and libraries one must keep in mind that the Bible was not an end in itself, but a means to an end. In drawing his gospel to a close, the apostle John summarized it thus: "Many other signs therefore Jesus also performed in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book; but these have been written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His name" (John 20:30–31). Not only all other literature, but even the Bible itself was secondary to this higher purpose.

Yet the study of the New Testament is not such foreign ground for the student of library history. Its geography to a great extent is the geography of the great libraries of the classical world. From East to West the New Testament takes us through the great metropolises of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, Philippi, Athens, Corinth, and finally to Rome itself—all prominent places in the pages of the New Testament, all prominent places in the history of ancient libraries. The beginnings were there; it would just take time for them to develop.

The Period before Constantine

For purposes of convenience and orderliness, subsequent discussion of the development of early Christian libraries will fall into the three main types outlined in the introduction: (1) liturgical or church libraries, (2) private study libraries, and (3) academic or school libraries. The lines of demarcation are not quite that clearly drawn in the writings of the period and some overlapping of categories is to be expected, yet overall such a tripartite division is warranted by the literature. Liturgical or church libraries will be reviewed first, not so much for chronological purposes as because a discussion of private study libraries flows more naturally into the treatment of the last topic, academic or school libraries.

Liturgical Libraries

In an analysis of liturgical or church libraries in the pre-Constantinian period, one important consideration must be kept in mind: the earliest Christian gatherings were located in private dwellings, not in public meeting houses. Church buildings themselves were a somewhat later development. Despite extensive archeological activities in the Mediterranean world, the earliest known remains of a Christian church building date only from about 232 from the

Syrian town of Dura Europas on the right bank of the Euphrates.[27] Even in the mother city of Rome evidence indicates that the first basilica was not erected until about 220 on the far side of the Tiber in the Jewish and Jewish-Christian quarter.[28] So in this early period the term "church" libraries actually refers to "house" libraries used as repositories for liturgical and ecclesiastical materials necessary for the public worship and life of the Christian community.

The liturgical library, according to H. J. de Vleeschauwer, "was composed of writings which would normally be part of a small library together with a part which should rather be regarded as a church archive." [29] This dual nature of the early church libraries broke down along the following lines: (1) the library proper usually contained the various books of the canon, apocryphal works, *florilegia,* and sundry liturgical and sacramental handbooks or manuals; [30] and (2) the archive generally consisted of administrative documents of all kinds—episcopal registers, martyrologies, calendars, correspondence, and so on.[31] Beyond this brief outline of general holdings it is difficult to speculate about the nature of these early church libraries. Since archeology has yielded no trace of any authentic congregational library inside or outside the church building during this early period, one must rely solely on the scant literary allusions and here there is positive evidence only for the church in North Africa during the persecution of Diocletian.

It is one of the ironies of history that our greatest knowledge of early church libraries is due to the man and movement most responsible for their annihilation. Were it not for the numerous *Gesta* (especially those from North Africa) written during the persecution of Diocletian even less would be known about pre-Constantinian liturgical libraries. Though it is due to this edict of 23 February 303 (enjoining the demolition of Christian churches and the burning of Christian books) that so few Christian documents of the first three centuries have survived, the written accounts describing its implementation provide rare glimpses of the working details of early church libraries. With respect to the major thrust of this persecution Augustine goes so far as to term it a "persecutio codicum tradendorum." [32] It is even possible that an actual edict ran: "ut libros deificos peterent de manu episcoporum et presbyterorum." [33] At any rate Christian books and libraries did suffer, though not nearly as greatly as could have been the case.[34]

The best evidence concerning the emperor's efforts to wipe

out church libraries is from the records describing the Christian resistance at Cirta in North Africa. In the printed transcript of the trial of a certain Silvanus, Donatist bishop of Cirta, conducted later in 320, the following incident is cited regarding the search for and destruction of Christian literature:

> When they [the authorities] came to the house in which the Christians were accustomed to assemble, Felix the flamen and guardian of the state said to Paul the bishop: "Bring out the Scriptures of the Law, and anything else that you may have here, as has been commanded, that you may obey the order." Paul the bishop said: "The lectors have the Scriptures. But we surrender what we have here. . . . " Catullinus brought forth one very large codex. . . . "Why have you given us only one codex? Bring forth the Scriptures which you have." Catullinus and Marcuclius said, "We have no more, for we are subdeacons, but the lectors have the codices." Felix . . . said to Marcuclius and Catullinus: "Show us the lectors." Marcuclius and Catullinus said: "We do not know where they live. . . . We are not traitors, behold we are here. Order us to be killed."[35]

This indicates that the sacred writings were normally housed in the church building, that the lectors were in charge of such collections, and that, as much as possible, every means was taken to prevent their destruction. The rest of the transcript, however, relates that a total of thirty-seven volumes was given up at Cirta,[36] but does not list their contents. [37]

Ingenious methods were employed by the Christians to safeguard their libraries during this persecution. *Armaria* were sometimes hastily filled with heretical or worthless writings; church archival records were sometimes surrendered rather than the books; and some Christian leaders even relied on the illiteracy of the authorities and surrendered medical books instead of their own literature. [38] All in all the evidence from these documents certainly does indicate that the libraries were normally housed in the church buildings at Cirta and that they contained *armaria* or bookcases in which to store the books. [39] The writings of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage in 311, indicate a similar policy for the church there.[40] Outside of these two places not much more is known about the status of liturgical libraries before the reign of Constantine. Fortunately, the picture is a little brighter for private libraries, especially for those which developed into academic school libraries.

Private Libraries

Although "there is not a single biographical text which expressly certifies the existence of a private library" among the great personages of the early church before Constantine,[41] even a cursory reading of the church fathers leaves no doubt as to the reality of such collections. Tertullian's complaint notwithstanding ("the uneducated are always in a majority with us"), it is obvious that men such as Tertullian, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Alexander of Jerusalem, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen were highly educated, extremely knowledgeable, well-read Christian writers and scholars.

Of the lot, Tertullian is certainly one of the most ambiguous and perplexing for the student of library history. A native of Carthage, he received a solid pagan education and practiced law at Rome before converting to Christianity in his adult years. He was the first Christian theologian to write in Latin. He was articulate, lucid, wide-ranging, and, to judge from his voluminous writings, must have had a considerable personal library. Yet at the same time he denigrated pagan literature and learning. Despite his rhetoric ("What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What harmony can there be between the Academy and the Church?"),[42] his writings tell a different tale and suggest that he had a rather considerable collection in his possession, as do those of Irenaeus of Lyons and Hippolytus of Rome.

The collections of the last three scholars mentioned above (Alexander, Clement, Origen) begin to move into the area of academic or school libraries. All three were from the East, all three lived or spent considerable time at Alexandria in the shadow of the great Museum, and all three were instrumental in the development of the Christian academic library—first at Alexandria under Clement, then at Jerusalem under Alexander, and finally at Caesarea under Origen and his successor Pamphilus. Their private libraries can be considered the academic library in embryo.

Academic Libraries

As Alexandria was the supreme embodiment of Hellenistic learning and culture, so, too, was it the seedbed of the best of Christian scholarship; for what the Museum was to Hellenism, the Catechetical School of Alexandria was to Christianity. Its first known teacher was Pantaenus, but it reached its apex under

Clement and his successor Origen. Both Christian and profane literature were studied at the school and its broad curriculum attracted students from all over the Mediterranean world. Clement himself was an Athenian by birth, but was drawn to the school at Alexandria, where he eventually succeeded Pantaenus as its head in 190. A student of both Christianity and philosophy, Clement viewed ignorance and error as a more fundamental evil than even sin itself and in his three major works outlined a broad scheme of education designed to eradicate this problem in the church. The fact that he cites from some 348 different authors in his writings,[43] many of whom were pagan, is ample testimony to the existence of a considerable library at his disposal.[44] But it is his student and protégé Origen who brought the school its greatest fame and who provides one of the most interesting chapters in library history. Before examining his life and library, however, we should take a brief jump in geography to maintain a proper perspective chronologically. For while Clement and Origen were laying the foundation of the academic library at Alexandria, the very first Christian library of record was being assembled at Jerusalem by Bishop Alexander.

Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem stands as a transition point between Clement before him and Origen after. According to Eusebius, Alexander was a student both of Clement in Alexandria (the latter even dedicated one of his minor works to him) and of Origen in Caesarea, as well as being one of the Palestinian bishops who later ordained Origen.[45] It was during this time of his bishopric in Jerusalem that Alexander began to assemble the library that bears the distinction of being the first Christian library of record. Of its contents only this brief description from book 6 of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* remains: "Now there flourished at that time many learned churchmen, and the letters which they penned to one another are still extant and easily accessible. They have been preserved even to our day in the library at Aelia [Jerusalem], equipped by Alexander, then ruling the church there; from which also we have been able ourselves to gather together the material for our present work."[46]

According to Philip Carrington, Alexander was assisted in this endeavor by Julius Africanus, a cavalry officer under Emperor Severus in the Syrian wars and at this time chief magistrate of Nicopolis in Judaea.[47] This Africanus was no stranger to the library profession, having been previously requested by the emperor himself to arrange a library in the Pantheon.[48] It seems certain that Africanus used both the Roman and the Jerusalem

libraries for research on his *Kestoi,* a universal encyclopedia of twenty-four books preserved only in fragments, much as Eusebius used the latter some eighty years later when researching his monumental history. Alexander's library at Jerusalem was still known and used in the days of Jerome[49] and Hesychius[50] and it is likely that it remained in constant use until the Persian invasion of Palestine in 614. Judging from its patrons—Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, Hesychius—the library must have functioned primarily as a research library for scholars, patterned very much on the Alexandrian model.[51] Beyond that, however, nothing more is known about this influential library of the third century.[52] For a clearer picture of early Christian libraries in Palestine in the third and subsequent centuries we must travel sixty miles northwest to the coastal town of Caesarea and the world of Origen.

A native of Alexandria, Origen displayed his academic acumen early in life when at the age of eighteen he succeeded Clement as head of the Catechetical School. It was at this time that "he sold his secular library to purchase an exiguous annuity of about a shilling a day, which sufficed, so simple were his wants, to make him independent of fees."[53] The school grew rapidly under his direction, but in 215 his successful labors were interrupted by the massacre at Alexandria known as the "Fury of Caracalla." Origen subsequently withdrew to Caesarea and there, so great was his reputation, that though a layman, he was invited by the Palestinian bishops to expound the Scriptures. His own bishop, Demetrius, recalled him in 216 for this breach of ecclesiastical conduct. Back in Alexandria he set to work in earnest on his voluminous literary endeavors. In this he was aided by a wealthy patron named Ambrose, who set up for him an efficient book-producing organization with seven shorthand writers, seven copyists, and numerous expert calligraphers, who worked in shifts to accommodate his vast literary output, estimated at 6,000 volumes. Among the first titles of this "publishing house" were the *De Principiis* and the earlier part of the *Commentary on Saint John's Gospel.*[54] Alexandria was soon to lose its greatest scholar, however, for from about 230 until his death in 254 subsequent to the Decian persecution, Origen made Caesarea his home and headquarters. This shift in locale was necessitated by his banishment from Alexandria by Demetrius for his uncanonical ordination by the bishops of Caesarea and Jerusalem in the year 230 while he was on a visit to Greece.[55] From that date forward Caesarea, not Alexandria, became the center for Christian learning and literature.

The Caesarean library was given its start at this time with the

arrival of Origen's own personal library, which he had assembled anew by collecting materials from all over Palestine.[56] Origen's pupil, Gregory Thaumaturgus, left this general account of the contents of this library: "no subject was barred, nothing was kept from us. . . . We were allowed to make ourselves familiar with all kinds of doctrine, from Greek and Eastern sources, on spiritual or secular subjects, ranging freely over the whole field of learning."[57] No doubt the nucleus, a sizable one at that, of this collection was Origen's own writings, but what had only been begun by Origen was carried on in earnest by his successor Pamphilus.

Though Jerome refers to the library at Caesarea as the "bibliotheca Origenis et Pamphili,"[58] it is the latter who deserves the real credit for making the Caesarean library the greatest academic library of the ancient Christian world. A wealthy man of south Syrian origin and a one-time student in Alexandria, Pamphilus was ordained bishop of Caesarea subsequent to Origen's death and remained there until his martyrdom in 310. Though his academic relationship to Origen is not known for certain, there is no doubt that he was intensely devoted to the memory of the great master and that he spared no efforts in enlarging and revitalizing the library begun by him.[59] Under his direction the library grew to some 30,000 volumes [60] and boasted not only an extensive scriptorium, but also a detailed catalog of the collection compiled by Pamphilus himself.[61] Unfortunately, the latter is no longer extant, but concerning the scriptorium's busy activity under Pamphilus there survive these words from Jerome: "he readily provided Bibles not only to read but to keep, and not only for men but for any women whom he saw addicted to reading. Hence he would prepare a large number of volumes, so that, when any demand was made upon him, he might be in a position to gratify those who applied to him,"[62]—a rather liberal lending policy indeed! Further testimony to this scriptorium's fame comes from Eusebius's *Life of Constantine* (4:36–37), where the biographer tells us that it was from Caesarea that Constantine ordered the fifty bibles to be placed in the churches of Constantinople. "For centuries no higher praise could be given a biblical manuscript than to say that Pamphilus had collated and corrected it."[63] No finer epitaph could be written of this third-century librarian than that penned by Jerome: "a man who in zeal for the acquisition of a library wished to take rank with Demetrius Phalereus and Peisistratus."[64] Here in this library was housed the supposed Hebrew original of Matthew's Gospel,[65] the bulk of both Origen's and other early Christian writers' works,[66] the manuscripts underlying the great

Hexapla of Origen,[67] and a veritable gold mine of information used by both Eusebius and Jerome in compiling their respective works.

Not much more is heard of this library after the time of Pamphilus and Eusebius (who succeeded him as bishop of Caesarea in 313), except for Jerome's passing remarks. Of particular interest is the latter's reference to bishops Acacius (340–366) and Euzoius (369–376) of Caesarea. It appears that by this late date the library collection had suffered considerable damage and was facing the danger of extinction due to the fragility and constant use of the material involved, namely papyrus.[68] Consequently, first Acacius and then later Euzoius commissioned the library's scriptorium to transcribe the fragile documents onto more durable parchment codexes ("in membranis instauere").[69] Though obviously a major undertaking in a collection of that size, it is entirely consistent with the treatment of materials for Christian books elsewhere in the Christian empire.[70] After this mammoth undertaking the library, unfortunately, gradually fades from view. One can only assume that it probably suffered the same fate as the Jerusalem library likely did in the Persian invasion of 614.[71]

With the passing of the Caesarean and Jerusalem libraries from prominence, the focus of the history of early Christian libraries shifts to the West. To be sure the East still figured prominently in the pages of ecclesiastical history and even more so in the secular realm of the Byzantine empire, but still the spotlight was on the West. It was there that the first Christian emperor rose to power, ushering in a new era.

The Period after Constantine

As stated earlier, the Edict of Milan issued jointly in 313 by Constantine in the West and Licinius in the East marked a turning point in the history of the early Christian church. Equipped with the legal status of *collegia,* the church was now free to recoup its losses from the Diocletian persecution of the previous decade. Constantine's Christian bias gave added impetus to the growing Christian community, and it was not long before churches and libraries alike began cropping up all over the empire, though the latter to a lesser extent. The center of this growth in the East was Constantinople and in the West, Rome. The former boasted four major library collections: (1) the imperial library, founded by the emperor sometime after the move to Byzantium in 330 and containing by 337 some 7,000 books, including both Christian and secular materials;[72] (2) the library of the Academy organized by

Theodosius II in 425 for literary and philosophical studies; (3) the patriarchal library, which was of a decidedly theological orientation and was perhaps begun by Constantine's donation of fifty bibles elegantly inscribed on parchment;[73] and finally, (4) the public library established sometime in the middle of the fourth century.[74] However, a discussion of these institutions is primarily a discussion of Byzantine libraries of the Middle Ages, since it is from that period that the chief sources come.[75]

For the period after Constantine, consideration is given first to liturgical or church libraries and then to private study libraries. As for a discussion of academic libraries, the subsequent developments of the two great research libraries of Jerusalem and Caesarea have already been treated, and, unfortunately, there is nothing comparable to these two great Eastern research facilities in the West. It was to the great monastic and papal libraries that scholars began to direct their attention in this later period. While the former is outside the scope of this article, the latter is not and shall be considered within the framework of church libraries.

Liturgical Libraries

Before the period of Constantine most churches met in private rather than public buildings. Consequently, there is no archeological evidence and little literary documentation which proves conclusively the existence of church libraries in that period. Fortunately for the student of library history, the climate changes dramatically with the coming of Constantine. Though the first reference to a church building in Rome is not until 220, by the opening of the fourth century Optatus of Milan is able to make passing reference to over forty such basilicas in the Eternal City.[76] That libraries developed right alongside them can be seen from the fact that Jerome, writing in 393, encourages his friend Pammochius at Rome to "take advantage of the Church libraries"[77] as if they were ubiquitous. Elsewhere in the empire church libraries appear to have enjoyed a similar period of growth. Anianus in the early fifth century implies in the preface to his Latin translation of Chrysostom's *Homily on Matthew* that such libraries were widespread in the Greek East, referring to "omnes ecclesiasticae Graecorum bibliothecae" containing the works of Chrysostom.[78] The mainstream of the evidence, however, comes from Rome, especially with respect to the embryonic stages of the papal library.

The precursory developments of the great Vatican Library at

Rome are somewhat shrouded in the mists of time, but still there are enough literary and archeological clues to provide a general picture of the papal library in the fourth and fifth centuries. [79] The first reference to such a library is from the pontificate of Julius I (337–352). He makes mention of a "scrinium sanctum in Ecclesia." [80] During this period *scrinium* referred both to a repository of archives and books and also to the archives and books themselves.[81] Just exactly where this particular *scrinium* was located is not known since the location of the "Ecclesia" is open to conjecture. [82] Remains have been found of a "hall of books" in the Lateran Palace, but the exact date of this is not certain.[83] With the pontificate of Pope Damasus I (366–384) historians move onto more certain ground. It was this pope who rebuilt the basilica of Saint Laurence near the theater of Pompey for the express purpose of housing the papal archives.[84] De Rossi goes so far as to say that this was nothing but a library and archive without a basilica at all;[85] if so, it would have been the first such repository for what was later to become the nucleus of the great Vatican Library. [86] Whether or not it survived the Visigothic sack of 410 or the Vandals in 455 is not certain, but it seems likely that it did for about the year 500 this archive was transferred back to the Lateran Palace, where it was henceforth known as the "Bibliotheca sedis apostolicae." [87] Little is recorded of the library after this until the Lateran Council of 649, which borrowed from this collection a total of some thirty-three titles, consisting of twenty patristic and thirteen heretical writings. [88] There seems to have been no real growth in this library until the reign of Pope Zacharias (741–752), from whose time we begin to distinguish between the papal archives on the one hand ("Sacrum Lateranense scrinium") and the papal library proper on the other ("Bibliotheca sedis apostolicae"). [89]

The papal library, however, was not the only depository for books in Christian Rome. Besides the twenty-eight or twenty-nine private and public libraries known to have existed in Rome before the fourth century, several specifically Christian libraries arose during the fifth and sixth centuries. Pope Hilary (461–468) is said to have erected two such libraries in the vicinity of the Laurentian Church for the use of laypeople and pilgrims, placing in them approved copies of Scripture and other religious works.[90] Besides these two church libraries there is evidence of a modest academic library in Rome begun by Pope Agapetus (535–536) with the help of Cassiodorus. It was the latter's desire to establish a school at Rome comparable to those at Alexandria and Nisibis in the East,

and though the conditions of the period did not allow the realization of this dream, the pope nevertheless did establish a library for academic pursuits in his own ancestral mansion on the Caelian. The remains of this library have been unearthed, in particular a marble slab bearing the inscription: "Bibliotheca Agapeti I a DXXXV DXXXVI."[91] Beyond this brief confirmation of its existence not much is known about this school library for Christian studies. It perhaps suffered during the capture of Rome by Totila in 546, was enlarged somewhat during the pontificate of Pope Gregory the Great (590–604), but in the end passed from existence as the scribes and scholars of the Middle Ages moved to the monastic establishments of Cassiodorus, Saint Benedict, and the like.[92]

Outside of Rome the best evidence regarding church libraries is from the church at Nola in southern Italy, the site where the emperor Augustus died in the year 14. The bishop of Nola, elected in 410, was Paulinus, the son of a noble and wealthy family, patron of the poor, poet, and close friend of Martin of Tours, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome. One of his many philanthropic acts while bishop was the erection of a basilica at Nola in honor of Saint Felix. It was a building of the triple-apse type with the left apse reserved for the library. In one of his epistles Bishop Paulinus records the inscription he had placed over the library's entrance: "Here he whose thoughts are on the laws of God may sit and ponder over holy books."[93] This dual role of the church library as both a repository and reading room appears to have been a common one in the fifth and subsequent centuries. The same design is present at Naples and at Rome.[94]

Evidently the walls of these small side chapels contained either built-in shelves or more likely moveable *armaria* or bookcases. All the extant literary evidence points to the latter. Pictures of such *armaria* have been preserved, notably from the mosaic in the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna and from the frontispiece of the Codex Amiatinus.[95] As to the specific contents of these church libraries one can only surmise that they were mostly canonical and patristic writings. It does appear, however, that the Latin West was a little more lenient in this regard than the Greek East, having escaped the efforts in the fourth and fifth centuries among the Greek churches to "purge" their libraries of almost everything except the bible and the most approved works of the fathers.[96] Of those fathers the two that loomed the largest were Augustine and Jerome, who made contributions in the area of private study libraries.

Private Libraries

The twin pinnacles of patristic literature in the period after Constantine were Augustine and his slightly older contemporary Jerome. Both studied for a time at Rome, both were trained in the arts and rhetoric, both lived rather exuberant lives as young men, both were converted to Christianity later in life, both wrote voluminously, and both bequeathed literary masterpieces to grateful generations of subsequent students and scholars of the Christian faith. But beyond this these two giants of the faith were quite dissimilar. Augustine was the great thinker of the church, Jerome the great scholar; the one a Christian Plato, the other a textual critic in the line of the great Alexandrians. But it is their respective private libraries that draw them together in this context.

Possidius, biographer of the great bishop of Hippo, indicates that Augustine had a rather extensive personal library. It contained, in addition to the books of the canon, his own works and those of other Christian authors.[97] His own writings were in turn divided by Possidius into three areas: books (arranged according to contents), homilies, and epistles.[98] An obvious lacuna in this list is the absence of any mention of profane authors,[99] and it is likely that their absence here can be explained by the fact that Possidius's catalog pertains only to those works left by Augustine to the church at Hippo. With respect to this bequest of his books Possidius records that though he made no will, on his deathbed Augustine "left to the Church. . . . the library and books containing treatises of his own and of other holy men. . . . [In addition] he repeatedly ordered that the library of the Church and all the books should be carefully preserved for future generations."[100] Ironically, the town of Hippo was sacked by the Vandals the very next year (431), but it appears that the library survived unscathed. Nothing is known, unfortunately, of its fate thereafter.[101] Besides this personal library left to the church at Hippo, Augustine also equipped a nunnery that he had established with a library and scriptorium and composed for it a set of rules that among other things obliged the librarian to furnish codexes to patrons at stipulated hours and to refuse them outside those hours.[102] But this topic belongs to the world of the monastic library.

Despite his thorough immersion into sacred literature, the scholar Jerome never renounced his love of the classics and his private library boasted perhaps the most diversified collection among the early Christians. One only needs to read his epistles (especially Epistle 70) to be convinced of the truth of that state-



Example of armarium; *Ezra copying the Law. Frontispiece to* Codex Amiatinus. *From* Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie *(Paris: Librarie Letouzey et Ané, 1925), plate 1556.*



Example of armarium*; Mosaic in the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna. From* Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie *(Paris: Librarie Letouzey et Ané, 1925), plate 1557.*

ment. [103] Though there were periods during his lifetime when he refrained from reading any but the most sacred texts,[104] Jerome nearly always kept by his side the wide-ranging personal library which he had begun assembling while traveling in Gaul after his boyhood days in Rome. It accompanied him to the East in 373 when he decided to live in the Syrian desert of Colchis,[105] and probably also when he returned to Rome in 381 as the secretary of Pope Damasus I to aid in the reconstruction of Roman libraries.[106] Its final resting place was the same as his, in Bethlehem of Judea, where he settled for good in 385. There the wandering scholar became the superior of a monastery founded by Paula, a wealthy Roman widow of his acquaintance. Jerome continued his lively interests in book collecting within the confines of the monastery at Bethlehem, adding to his collection almost all the works of Origen, the Biblical manuscripts underlying the latter's *Hexapla,* the research materials necessary to complete his *opus magnum* the *Vulgate,* as well as whatever works he could borrow or copy from the great Caesarean library and the patriarchal collection at Rome.[107] Unfortunately, the library seems to have perished in 416 when the Pelagians set fire to the monastery where it was

housed. At any rate nothing more is written of it after Jerome's death in 420.[108]

With the death of these two men—Jerome in the East in 420 and Augustine in the West in 430—the biggest chapter in the history of the private libraries of early Christians draws to a close. To be sure, there are scattered references to the libraries of such men as Conna, bishop of Edessa;[109] Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clement;[110] George of Cappadocia;[111] and later Isidore of Seville.[112] But not much is really known of their collections and it is better to pass over them in silence rather than to spend time in speculation.

Conclusion

Thus ends this study of early Christian libraries, which viewed at length the great libraries of the Christian church—from the meager private collections to the great academic libraries, from Jerusalem in the East to Hippo in the West, from Jesus to Jerome. If the details of this historical overview seem sketchy, it is only because this article has tried to speak where the sources speak and remain silent where the sources are silent. The author does not, however, apologize for the preceding picture, but rather gives grateful acknowledgment to these great men of the faith who not only devoted their efforts but frequently gave up their lives for the sake of literature and learning. The Christian librarian need feel no shame at the history of early Christian libraries written by such men.

Notes

1. James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (New York: Hafner, 1957), p. 29, quoting from H. Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (New York: Holt, 1934), p. 27.

2. For a discussion of cathedral and monastic libraries in English, see the bibliography in Elmer D. Johnson and Michael H. Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World,* 3rd ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976), pp. 111-114. Nor will this paper delve into the more recently discovered and much discussed "libraries" at Qumran, Israel, and Nag Hammadi, Egypt. To those wishing to pursue these topics, we suggest Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958) and James M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977).

3. There is obviously a fourth type of Christian library during this period, the monastic. However, since this paper is limited to primarily the third to fifth centuries and since the monastic library did not burst into full bloom until the days of Cassiodorus in the sixth century and thereafter, this topic will be left to the many fine treatments already given to it; see above, note 2.

4. Diocletian's persecution began 23 February 303. It saw its heyday in the years 303–304, but it did not officially end until the Edict of Toleration in April 311 which was signed jointly by Galerius, Licinius, and Constantine.

5. Still it was another eighty-some years before Christianity actually became the state religion, when in 395 Theodosius I issued an edict prohibiting all religions except orthodox Christianity.

6. By "sources" is meant the primary literature of the period (i.e., the writings of the church fathers, ancient historians, etc.). The lack of documentation in this area is underscored by a perusal of the secondary sources. John Willis Clark, *The Care of Books,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), devotes only 3½ pages out of 352 to the topic of early Christian libraries and even then relies mostly on Leclercq (see below, note 13). Sidney L. Jackson, *Libraries and Librarianship in the West* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), has only 2½ pages on the topic; and Svend Dahl, *History of the Book,* 2nd ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1968), has only 1 page. The situation is not quite that bad; there are excellent secondary sources that discuss at some length the history of early Christian libraries, but rather than list them all here, due notice will be given at the appropriate places in the article.

7. Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiarum* 6:6.1) says that Pamphilus (c. 240–310) increased the library at Caesarea to 30,000 rolls ("triginta volumina milia").

8. For the question of parchment versus papyrus, see the excellent treatment by Herman J. de Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," *Mousaion* 73 (1963): 165–172. For a discussion of writing implements, see C.U. Faye, *The Writing Materials and Implements Used in Early Christian Libraries* (M.L.S. thesis, University of Illinois, 1930), especially pp. 65–68.

9. The Muratorian Canon is actually the oldest extant list of canonical New Testament writings. Discovered by L. A. Muratori in an eighth-century Ambrosiana manuscript, it is generally held to date from the second century, though A. C. Sundberg has proposed a fourth-century date → his "Canon Muratori," *Harvard Theological Review* 66 (1973): 1–41. The document comprises some eighty-five lines and mentions all the New Testament books except Hebrews, James, and the two epistles of Peter, with "caveats" for the Apocalypse of Peter and the Wisdom of Solomon. One would be hard pressed to call it a library "catalog" in any modern sense of the word.

10. The definitive discussion of this decretal is that of Ernst von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis in kritischem Text, Texte und Untersuchungen* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1912), vol. 38, part 4.

11. Cf. G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: M. Cohen, 1885), p. 1.

12. The earliest extant reference to a catalog of a Christian library is from Eusebius, commenting on Pamphilus; see note 61.

13. Henri Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," in Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* 15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953), vol. 2, 1, col. 857.

14. Cf. the discussion concerning the church at Nola, below, p. 422.

15. J. Chapman, "Ancient Books and Publishers," *Downside Review* 42 (1924): 136.

16. In the pre-Constantinian period such donations were obviously rare in the case of liturgical or church libraries and, therefore, it is not surprising that

our first existing example of a donation of books to the church is the Cornution Manuscript, dated 471; see C. Sayle, "The Vatican Library," *The Library* 6 (1894): 334. Donations involving private libraries were, of course, more common; cf. the discussion of Origen's and Augustine's libraries below.

17. Acquisitions by purchase were understandably infrequent before the fourth century, considering the economic and political status of the church. This is not to say that the craft of the bibliopole was not widespread, only that few Christians could or would avail themselves of it before the age of Constantine; cf. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhaltniss zur Literatur*, 14 vols. (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1882), pp. 109–110. As to the subsequent period and its attendant economic advantages to the Christian community, consider this complaint by Jerome: "Parchments are dyed purple, gold is melted into lettering, manuscripts are decked with jewels, while Christ lies at the door naked and dying." (*Epistle* 22.32; translated by P. Schaff and H. Wace, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd series [New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893], vol. 6, p. 36).

18. Indicative of the former's fame is the fact that it was from Caesarea that Constantine ordered his fifty bibles for Constantinople; see below, p. 420. Jerome's library at Bethlehem attracted scribes from as far away as Spain; see Jerome, *Epistle* 71 (to Lucinius).

19. Not only is his debt to Stoic literature and learning apparent in many of his epistles, but the Apostle Paul even quotes directly from pagan authors: Acts 17:28 (Aratus and Cleanthes), I Corinthians 15:33 (Menander), and Titus 1:12 (Epimenides). One may perhaps trace Paul's practice here to Gamaliel, his Jewish mentor, who was one of the few rabbis to encourage the study of Greek literature; cf. Frederick F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1977). By contrast most rabbis held that the study of the Torah left no time for the study of Greek; cf. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), vol. 2, p. 114.

20. Ernest Cushing Richardson, *Biblical Libraries: A Sketch of Library History from 3400 B.C. to A.D. 150* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1914), p. 214, conjectures that "the 'cloak' which Paul left behind at Troas was probably if not a wooden '*capsa*' at least some sort of bookcase or cover." However, the normal term for the protective capsa is γλωσσόκομον, not φελόης. His interpretation seems to rest on the fact that it is conjoined with "books" and probably also due to the influence of the Syriac version which so translates it, but Paul's subsequent reference to the approaching "winter" (verse 21) gives added support to the word's more usual meaning, that is "cloak."

21. Conjectures range from notebooks, to prooftexts, to portions of Hebrew Scriptures.

22. On the contrary, cf. Festus's veiled praise in Acts 26:24, "Paul you are out of your mind! Your great learning is driving you mad."

23. According to Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1:9, Constantine prohibited the writings of Porphyry and Arius; cf. also the *Theodosian Code* 16:5.34. However, most of these prohibitions were directed against the church's own heretical works, rather than against pagan authors.

24. Quoted from Adolf von Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, translated by J. R. Wilkinson, vol. 5 of *New Testament Studies* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1912), p. 59.

25. Contrast this narrow view with the liberal love of literature evidenced by Theonas, bishop of Alexandria (282-300). In a letter to Lucianus, the chief chamberlain of the emperor (probably Diocletian), he makes the following comments regarding the choice of a new librarian for the emperor:

> If, therefore, it should happen that a believer in Christ is called to this same office, he should not despise that secular literature and those Gentile intellects which please the emperor. To be praised are the poets for the greatness of their genius, the acuteness of their inventions, the aptness and lofty eloquence of their style. To be praised are the orators; to be praised also are the philosophers in their own class. To be praised, too, are the historians, who unfold to us the order of exploits, and the manners and institutions of our ancestors, and show us the rule of life from the proceedings of the ancients. On occasion also he will endeavour to laud the divine Scriptures, which, with marvellous care and most liberal expenditures, Ptolemy Philadelphus caused to be translated into our language; and sometimes, too, the Gospel and the Apostle will be lauded for their divine oracles; and there will be an opportunity for introducing the mention of Christ; and, little by little, His exclusive divinity will be explained; and all these things may happily come to pass by the help of Christ.
>
> He ought, therefore, to know all the books which the emperor possesses; he should often turn them over, and arrange them neatly in their proper order by catalogue; if, however, he shall have to get new books, or old ones transcribed, he should be careful to obtain the most accurate copyists; and if that cannot be done, he should appoint learned men to the work of correction, and recompense them justly for their labours. He should also cause all manuscripts to be restored according to their need, and should embellish them, not so much with mere superstitious extravagance, as with useful adornment; and therefore he should not aim at having the whole manuscripts written on purple skins and in letters of gold, unless the emperor has specially required that. With the utmost submission, however, he should do everything that is agreeable to Caesar. As he is able, he should, with all modesty, suggest to the emperor that he should read, or hear read, those books which suit his rank and honour, and minister to good use rather than to mere pleasure. He should himself first be thoroughly familiar with those books, and he should often commend them in the presence of the emperor, and set forth, in an appropriate fashion, the testimony and the weight of those who approve them, that he may not seem to lean to his own understanding only.

(Translation by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers:*

Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to 325 A.D., 10 vols., American reprint of the Edinburgh edition [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907] vol. 6, p. 160.)

26. *Letter to the Philadelphians* 8.2; for a discussion of this passage, see Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," cols. 853–854. With regard to the Jewish libraries of this era, see Richardson, *Biblical Libraries*, p. 183. The latter lists seven different types of libraries in Palestine in the first century, encompassing both public and private collections. Cf. also *Nedarim* 5.5: "the things which belong to a town are, e.g., the roads, the bathing institution, the synagogue, the sacred chest or ark, the sacred books."

27. But cf. also the claim that Edessa had the oldest known Christian edifice, destroyed in 201 after a flood; F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 438. As to the church at Dura Europas (now reconstructed in the Yale Art Museum), archeological findings indicate a meeting place constructed from two rooms of a private house with the partitioning wall removed. It had a raised platform, doubtless for the altar at the east end, with a third room of the house converted into a baptistry. There is no evidence of any kind of library. For a brief discussion and bibliography of this site, see the article "Dura Europas," in Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 429.

28. J. P. Kirsch, *Die römische Titelkirchen in Altertum* (Paderborn: F. Schoningh, 1918), p. 106.

29. Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 142.

30. Cf., for example, *de Rebaptismata* in Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–1882), 3, col. 246.

31. See the lists by Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 142, Fritz Milkau, *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1931–1940), vol. 3, p. 48; and Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," cols. 855–856.

32. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, 3:26.

33. Augustine, *Acta S. Feliciae*. See the discussion by Harnack, *Bible Reading*, pp. 80–81. Eusebius also discusses the matter in *Eccl. Hist.*, 8.

34. On the whole the libraries of the East suffered less than those of the West. We know of no damage, for example, to the great libraries of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Caesarea. Vleeschauwer attributes this to a simple lack of energy in enforcing the edict in the East ("The Early Christian Library," p. 143); however, C. Wendel, "Bibliothek," in Theodor Klauser, *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1952), vol. 2, col. 248, attributes the sparing of the Alexandrian school library to the fact that it was independent of the church there.

35. *Gesta Apud Zenophilum*, Appendix 2 in O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, against the Donatists* (London: Longmans, Green, 1917), pp. 355–356.

36. Cf. also the references by Augustine, *Contra Cresconium* 2:29, 53 and 4:55–56.

37. See Harnack's discussion of this point in *Bible Reading*, p. 32, note 1.

38. Cf. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, 3:13, 30 and his *Brevis Collationis contra Donatistis*, 3:13, 25.

39. The word used in the trial transcript is *bibliotheca*, which may itself mean "bookcase," but taken in conjunction with *armaria* probably does refer to a distinct library room; cf. Vassall-Phillips, *Optatus*, p. 354, note 7.

40. Cf. Sayle, "The Vatican Library," pp. 332–333.

41. Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 145.

42. Tertullian, *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, 7. For further discussion on Tertullian, see Timothy D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

43. This number is taken from Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 16.

44. Though there is no doubt that *florilegia* figured prominently in the readings of both Clement and other church fathers. For a discussion of Clement's life and works, see Richard B. Tollinten, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Liberalism* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1914).

45. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 6:8, 13, and 14; cf. also Eusebius's statement in 6:27 to the effect that when Origen set up residence at Caesarea in 232 Alexander considered him his "only teacher, and used to concede to him the task of expounding the divine Scriptures, and the other parts of the Church's instruction."

46. Translated by Hugh J. Lawlor, *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History*, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), vol. 2, p. 65.

47. P. Carrington, *The Second Christian Century*, vol. 2 of *The Early Christian Church*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), p. 439.

48. Ibid., p. 449; cf. also *P. Oxy.* 3:412.58–68, which reads: "you will find the whole work [his *Kestoi*, of which this papyrus preserves the end of book 18] preserved in the archives of your [?] old home, the colony of Aelia Capitolina in Palestine, at Nysa in Caria, and as far as the thirteenth verse at Rome, near the baths of Alexander, in the beautiful library at the Pantheon which I myself designed for the Emperor."

49. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, 113.

50. Hesychius, *Martyrium Sancti Longini*, in Migne, *PG*, 93, col. 1559.

51. Cf. J. De Ghellinck, "Diffusion, Utilisation et Transmission des Ecrits Patristiques," *Gregorianum* 14 (1933): 365. Vleeschauwer, however, considers it to have been "a dependency of the patriarchal church, rather than the school associated with it" ("The Early Christian Library," p. 146).

52. The classic work on this library still remains: A. Ehrard, "Die griechische Patriarchalbibliothek von Jerusalem," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 5 (1891): 217–265.

53. Henry Bettenson, *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection from the Writings of the Fathers from St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 18.

54. Ibid., p. 19; cf. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 6:23.

55. Besides Demetrius's own personal feelings of insult for having one of his own parishioners ordained in another's jurisdiction, a breach of ecclesiastical order, Origen had actually disqualified himself from the priesthood when very early in life in a moment of rashness he had emasculated himself in his zeal literally to fulfill Matthew 19:12.

56. Jerome, *Praefatio ad Origenis Homiliae in canticum canticorum*, in Migne, *PL*, 23, col. 1117; cf. also Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," col. 857, note 5.

57. Translated by Bettenson, *Early Christian Fathers*, p. 19. The actual location of Origen's library may have been tentatively identified by Robert Bull of Drew University, who is currently excavating Caesarea and has discovered the *cardo maximus* of the city.

58. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, paragraph 112.

59. As is evidenced by the fact that he wrote a five-book eulogy on Origen, to which Eusebius appended a sixth, and of which only the first is preserved in Rufinus's Latin translation.

60. See above, note 7.

61. Cf. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 6:32. This list was included in Eusebius's biography of Pamphilus, but it too is lost to us.

62. Translation from Adolf von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, translated and edited by James Moffatt, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1908), vol. 1, p. 285, note 1.

63. Thompson, *Medieval Library*, p. 16.

64. Jerome, *Epistle* 34 (to Marcellus).

65. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus*, paragraph 3.

66. Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, 6:32.

67. Jerome, *Commentary on Titus* (q.v. 3:5).

68. Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," cols. 862–863 mentions a third possibility; the papyrus collection may have incurred damage by being hidden in hazardous places (e.g., underground, in caves) during the persecution of Diocletian, but we have no evidence that the library was ever stored in such a manner.

69. Jerome, *Epistle* 34 and *De Viris Illustribus*, paragraph 113.

70. See above, note 8.

71. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 17, mentions its use by Euthalius in the fifth century, but this is open to question. For a discussion of the problem, see J. A. Robinson, *Euthalania* (Cambridge: University Press, 1895), pp. 34–36.

72. See the discussion by N. G. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 8 (1967): 53–80, and "Byzantine and Moslem Libraries," in Johnson, *History of Libraries*, pp. 77–83. A century later the imperial library had grown to 100,000 volumes under Theodosius II (401–450); however it was largely destroyed in the fire of 475 and then rebuilt on a less grand scale. Jackson, *Libraries*, p. 35, gives the date of its founding as 353 under Constantius.

73. Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, 4:36–37. Whether Constantine's order of fifty bibles from Eusebius at Caesarea was intended specifically for the patriarchal library or for the churches of Constantinople at large is uncertain; cf. C. Wendel, "Der Bibel-Auftrag Kaiser Konstantius," *Zentrablatt für Bibliothekwesen* 56 (1939): 165–175. We do know that Constantius continued his father's policy in this regard by ordering a large number of copies of the bible from Athanasius at Alexandria, probably to be distributed among the Italian churches; cf. Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 148.

74. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World," pp. 60–61, gives the sketchy details of this library for which our sole source is a speech by the sophist Themistius in honor of the emperor Constantius in the year 357.

75. For further reading on Byzantine libraries, see note 72 above; Herman J. de Vleeschauwer, "The Byzantine Library to Justinian," *Musaion* 74 (1964): 187–220; and the brief bibliography in Johnson, *History of Libraries*, pp. 94–95. With respect to our debt to these libraries, Johnson (p. 83) estimates that fully 75% of the Greek classics known to us today derive from these institutions.

76. Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, 2:5.

77. Jerome, *Epistle* 49.3 ("ecclesiarum bibliothecis fruere").

78. Vleeschauwer ("The Early Christian Library," p. 148) is rather dubious that much can be made of this reference, but cf. C. Wendel, "Bibliothek," in T. Klauser, *Reallexikon,* vol. 2, col. 248.

79. The list of Vatican librarians reaches back complete only to the end of the seventh century; cf. Sayle, "The Vatican Library," p. 339. The standard treatment of this matter of the early papal library is G. B. De Rossi, *De Origine, Historia, Indicibus Scrinii et Bibliothecae Sedis Apostolicae* (Rome: 1886). The primary source, however, remains the *Liber Pontificales*, a collection of early biographies of the popes, whose earliest form appears to have been the works of a Roman presbyter at the time of Boniface II (530–532). The critical edition of this work is by L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificales,* 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1955–1957).

80. Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," cols. 863–864.

81. The "scrinium" is later referred to as a "chartarium"; for the rich terminology connected with ancient libraries, see Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," col. 869.

82. Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," col. 864, places it in the vicinity of the theater of Pompey on the Campus Martius in the northwest quarter of Rome, but Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 151, attributes this to a confusion with the basilica and library built later in this locale by Pope Damasus I (366–384).

83. See P. Lauer, "Les Fouilles du Sancta sanctorum au Latéran," *Bibliothèque d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 20 (1900): 251–287.

84. An inscribed stone has been found that reads: "I have erected this structure for the archives of the Roman Church; I have surrounded it with porticos on either side; and I have given it my name which I hope will be remembered for centuries" (Damasus, *Epigrams;* translated by Johnson, *History of Libraries*, p. 103).

85. De Rossi, *De Origine,* xxxixff.

86. Cf. Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 152.

87. Sayle, "The Vatican Library," p. 338.

88. The full list is given by Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," cols. 870–872.

89. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 25. Perhaps the most significant expansion in the Lateran collection during this period would have been the addition of Cassiodorus's library, which according to Pierre Courcelle, *Les Lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1943), went to the Lateran shortly after Cassiodorus's death.

90. Johnson, *History of Libraries*, p. 103.

91. A complete discussion of the archeological remains of this library can be found in H. I. Marrou, "Autour de la Bibliothèque du Pape Agapit," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 48 (1931): 124–169.

92. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, pp. 23–25, provides a little fuller picture of this near-great academic library of Rome. See also Sayle, "The Vatican Library," p. 337.

93. Paulinus, *Epistle* 32.16; translated by Clark, *Care of Books*, p. 54. This appears to have been a favorite inscription for such purposes; Sayle, "The Vatican Library," p. 333, note 2, for example, cites an instance of the same inscription at Rouen Cathedral.

94. Cf. Henri Leclercq, "Abside," in Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* vol. 1, col. 191. Another favorite practice was to keep the books in a room built into an encircling portico as, for ex-

ample, in the Laurentian Church in Rome; cf. Vleeschauwer's discussion ("The Early Christian Library," p. 162) of the various practices and their Jewish and Roman antecedents.

95. Galla Placidia (c. 390–450) was the wife of Constantius III. The rather forbidding-looking mosaic found in her tomb is reproduced in Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," cols. 895–896; see also the same (cols. 893–894) for a reproduction of the frontispiece of the Codex Amiatinus. Vleeschauwer (see note 94 above) notes that the triangular pediments of these *armaria* belie their Jewish origins, namely the torah-chests of the synagogue.

96. Harnack, *Bible Reading*, p. 104, discusses this point briefly. Along these same lines is the proclamation of Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–386) that "nothing that is not read in the churches should be read *privatim*" (*Catechism* 4:36).

97. Possidius, *Life of Saint Augustine*, paragraph 31. The critical edition of this work is H. T. Weiskotten, *Sancti Augustini Vita* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1919).

98. Possidius, *Life of Saint Augustine*, paragraph 18. Possidius also appends an *Indiculus* of these works, fixing the total of Augustine's literary output at 1,030 separate works; cf. Weiskotten, *Vita*, p. 160, note 6.

99. Cf. Augustine's *De doctrina* 2.60 where he likens the practice of using profane authors to the ancient Israelite's despoiling of the Egyptians at the time of the Exodus; see L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 35.

100. Possidius, *Life of Saint Augustine*, paragraph 31; translated by Weiskotten, *Vita*, p. 143.

101. For further reading on this library, see Johann Martin Chladenius, *De Fortuna Bibliothecae Augustini in Excidio Hipponensi* (Leipzig, 1742) reproduced in I. Herzog, *Realenzykopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1897), vol. 3, cols. 189ff.

102. According to Jackson, *Libraries*, p. 30; cf. also Augustine, *Epistle* 118.9, 211.13, and 231.7.

103. In this letter, dated 397, Jerome waxes eloquent in his defense of his practice of not only reading but quoting from profane authors. Not only does he cite Paul's practice (see above, note 19) but also a string of some two dozen of the fathers. One must read the letter *in toto* to appreciate his passion. Nor was Jerome the only one of the fathers to display a similar appreciation of the classics; cf. Basil's *Homily* 22 on how the young can best profit from profane literature and also Gregory Nazianzus's criticism of his fellow Christians for their rejection of profane works (cited by Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 43).

104. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 20, alludes to a period of some fifteen years when Jerome "refrained from all reading of classical literature"; cf. his description of his own pilgrimage in this area in *Epistle* 22.30.

105. Cf. Jerome, *Epistle* 22.30: "Many years ago, when for the kingdom of heaven's sake I had cut myself off from home, parents, sister, relations, and—harder still from the dainty food to which I had been accustomed . . . I still could not bring myself to forego the library which I had formed for myself at Rome with great care and toil. And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after floods of tears called from my inmost heart, after the recollec-

tion of past sins, I would once more take Plautus." (Translated by Schaff, *Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 6 [see above, note 17], p. 35.)

106. Cf. Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, p. 19.

107. For further discussion of the nature of this library, see Georg Grützmacher, *Hieronymus*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1901–1908), vol. 1, pp. 128–129.

108. For more information about Jerome and his influence on Christian libraries, the reader is referred to Evaristo Arns, *La Technique du livre d'après Saint Jerome* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1953) and J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London: Duckworth, 1975), pp. 20, 41–43, 48–49, 327.

109. Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 150, gives a cursory treatment of both this and subsequent bishops of this great center of learning, as well as for the cities of Seleucis, Nicator, and Nisibis, centers which he says "library history ignores at its cost."

110. Sidonius, who may be regarded as the last representative of classical culture, gives us a glimpse in his writings of several libraries in southern Gaul, especially the beautiful collection of the prefect of Gaul near Nimes; cf. Louis Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Paris: Fontemoing, 1910), vol. 1, p. 144; S. Dahl, *History of the Book*, p. 42; and Leclercq, *"Bibliothèques,"* col. 873.

111. In this list of names the story of his library makes for the most interesting reading. George was an extremist Aryan bishop who intruded into the see of Alexandria and was subsequently murdered by mob action there in 361. At his death Emperor Julian, recalling George's great personal library at Macellum in Cappadocia and how he himself had used it quite profitably for works on philosophy and rhetoric, dispatched Eodicius, the governor of Egypt, to obtain it. The latter failed in his attempt; but Julian's second agent, Porphyrius, proved successful. The library was removed from Macellum and transferred to a temple at Antioch, Julian's residence. Unfortunately, it was burned a few years later by Emperor Jovian to please a whim of his wife; cf. Milkau, *Handbuch*, p. 54; Vleeschauwer, "The Early Christian Library," p. 150; and Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, p. 44.

112. Bishop Isidore's library was no mean collection. Housed in fourteen separate *armaria* (seven dedicated to the fathers), it must have totaled somewhere around 450 codexes; cf. Henry M. Gwatkin, *Germany and the Western Empire*, vol. 3 of *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 491. For his collection Isidore wrote the following delightful poem (quoted from Johnson, *History of Libraries*, p. 101):

> Here sacred books with wordly books combine;
> If poets please you, read them; they are thine.
> My meads are full of thorns, but flowers are there;
> If thorns displease, let roses be your share.
> Here both the laws in tomes revered behold;
> Here what is new is stored, and what is old . . .
>
> A reader and a talker can't agree;
> Hence, idle chatterer; 'tis no place for thee!



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A Note on Christian Libraries during the "Great Persecution," 303–305 A.D.

Lorne D. Bruce

The "Great Persecution" begun in 303 by the Roman emperor Diocletian (284–305) has often been regarded as a destructive setback for the development of Christian church libraries and private collections. After thoroughly reviewing the evidence, Henri Leclercq stated that Christian libraries had suffered irremediable damage in 303–304.[1] Another scholar, Carl Wendel, agreed, but was more cautious because he recognized that the largest eastern church libraries at Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Caesarea were not victims of the Great Persecution and that bishops often refused to turn over authentic materials to Roman magistrates.[2] James Westfall Thompson believed that Diocletian made a concerted effort to destroy the corpus of Christian literature.[3] However, these conclusions are in need of modification: a review of the implementation of Diocletian's four edicts against the Christians indicates that there was no systematic destruction of church libraries or private collections of books. In fact, the imperial regulations were frequently circumvented by the Christian clergy or not vigorously enforced by many municipal magistrates and provincial governors. More important than the demolition of buildings or burning of texts, the command to surrender scriptures led to the permanent schism of the Christian communities in Egypt and North Africa that affected these areas for centuries after. A consideration of this aspect will help provide a better understanding of the havoc wrought on Christianity during Diocletian's persecution from 303 to 305.

There can be no doubt that Diocletian was a devout conservative in religious matters.[4] Shortly after he had consolidated his

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position as Augustus, he adopted Rome's traditional guardian, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for his heavenly patron. His imperial colleague, Maximian (286–305), chose to be the representative of Hercules. Together the two Augusti adopted the surnames *Iovius* and *Herculius* to emphasize their special relationship with these traditional Roman deities.[5] Because it was the emperor's duty to maintain the *pax deorum*, the divine harmony directing human affairs, Diocletian was very careful to preserve order in religious practices, and there are a number of examples that occurred before the outbreak of the Great Persecution that demonstrate his ruthless manner in dealing with what he regarded as subversive literature. In Egypt Diocletian commanded ancient alchemical books on silver and gold burned to safeguard against tampering with imperial coinage for personal profit.[6] At about the same time, he dealt harshly with the relatively new sect of Manichaeans. When the emperor learned this sect was disrupting religious life in North Africa, he directed their abominable scriptures to be burned together with their leaders in order that "this pestilence can be cut out at the roots from our prosperous generation."[7] It is quite clear, therefore, that Diocletian did not intend to allow corrupt doctrines to spread by means of written communication. For the Christians the consequences of his policy were not serious until the final years of his reign, at which time they came under suspicion. After carefully considering various charges against them, Diocletian issued the first of four edicts against the Christians.

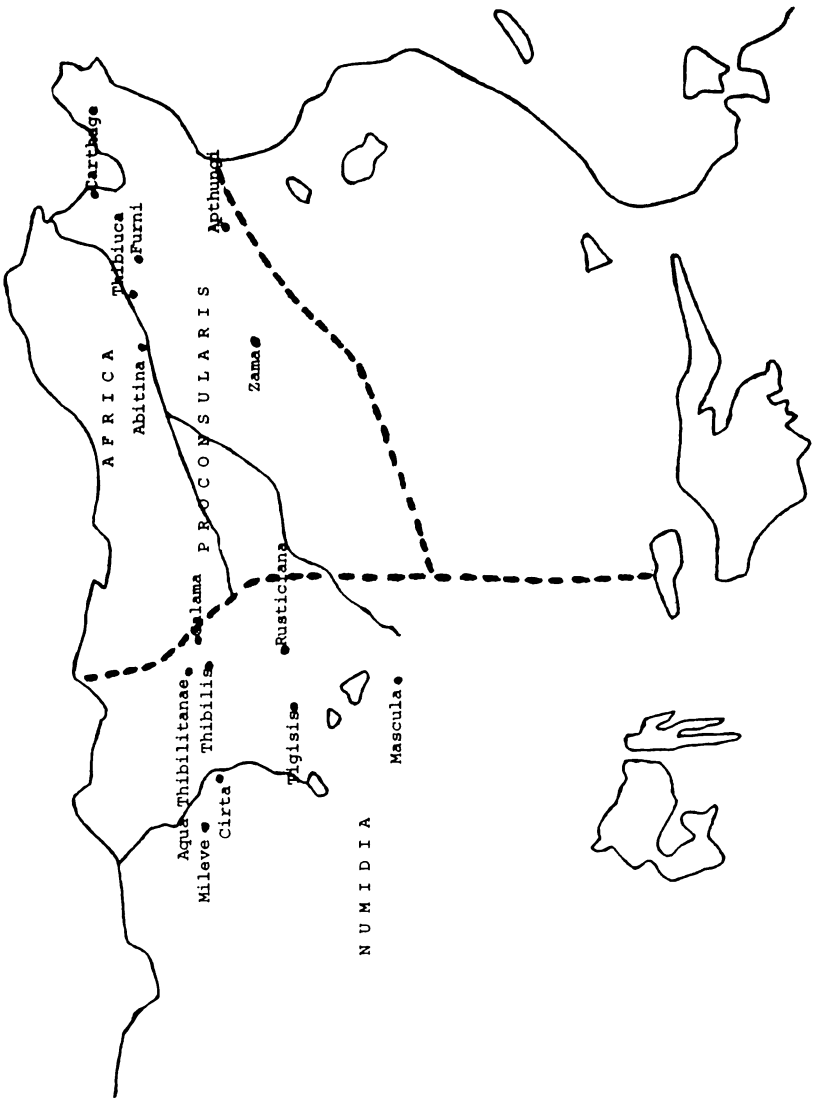
The final Roman persecution of the Christians began on the morning of 23 February 303 at Diocletian's capital, Nicomedia. Some officials from the emperor's central administration forced open the doors of the Christian church and burned scriptural works while they went about the task of demolishing the entire church.[8] The following morning an imperial edict was circulated to his three colleagues containing the following clauses: (a) the destruction of Christian churches, (b) the surrender of scriptures for burning, (c) the suspension of legal rights for privileged upper-class Christians, and (d) the reduction to slavery of Christian members of the imperial service.[9] This first edict was obviously designed to attack the church as an institution rather than actively prosecute individual Christians.

The most extensive knowledge about the actual implementation of the specific regulation to hand over sacred books to be burnt occurs in the west in the provinces of North Africa where Maximian was in charge. In the province of Numidia the imperial magistrate, Munatius Felix, the *curator* of Cirta, ordered Bishop

Paul to surrender scriptures on 19 May 303.[10] Felix was a staunch pagan and a priest (*flamen*) at Cirta; he had been responsible for a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus some twenty years before in this city.[11] But Bishop Paul was obstinate and replied that the readers (*lectores*) had the books, and that the curator's own clerks knew their names. Felix searched through church clothing, utensils, and other items before coming upon the church library (*bibliotheca*); here he found the cupboards and shelves (*armaria*) empty. When a further search uncovered more items, Felix became suspicious and repeated his demand for the surrender of scriptures: a subdeacon, Catulinus, gave him a large volume. Again, Felix asked for more works, and, with the knowledge that his assistants could identify the readers, toured the Christian community. Six readers produced their books on demand; one stated he possessed none. Eventually twenty-nine volumes, together with twenty smaller works, were seized at Cirta.

There is testimony that a large number of Christian bishops in other Numidian towns also relinquished their scriptures upon request.[12] Donatus of Mascula openly admitted to committing *traditio*, that is, the surrender of scriptures to Roman officials. Marinus of Aqua Thibilitanae turned over some papers (*chartulae*) but retained his more important codices. At Calama Bishop Donatus circumvented orders by giving medical treatises (*codices medicinales*) in place of scriptures. Victor of Rusticiana confessed that he had surrendered and burned four tattered gospels on the curator's orders. Indeed, the primate of Numidia, Secundus of Tigisis, was suspected by some people of having turned over scriptures, but nothing could be proved against him because he claimed "I am a Christian, a bishop, not a traditor."[13] Judging by the number of acts of *traditio*, it is obvious that Numidian bishops often compromised by handing over scriptural works.

There was similar cooperation by Christian bishops in the neighboring province of Africa Proconsularis, where scriptures were seized at three towns—Zama, Furni, and Apthungi.[14] In the latter town the civic magistrate, Alfius Caecilianus, was directly approached during the spring of 303 by Christians who inquired if he had received the imperial edict; he replied that nothing had reached him yet, but that they should hand over their books at once. Later, when Bishop Paul was absent, Caecilian closed the church, but found only a few letters. To the north at the principal Christian center, Carthage, Bishop Mensurius surrendered heretical works (*scripta haereticorum*) in place of church scriptures.[15] Although civic officials discovered his deception, the



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Roman governor Anullinus refused to investigate the issue; for some reason he was content to allow the matter to rest. Sometimes outright cooperation with the local authorities divided the Christian communities. At Abitina Bishop Fundanus had complied with an order to turn over his scriptures.[16] Part of his congregation rejected his act of *traditio* and continued to hold services in a reader's house until their eventual arrest and transport to Carthage for trial by the governor. Whether Anullinus extended clemency or condemned them is unknown, for in their Acts the charge was made that Mensurius resented their popularity and permitted his deacon Caecilianus to prevent food donated by admirers from reaching the prisoners. According to the version given in the Acts, the congregation starved in prison. This episode was one origin of the vexatious Donatist controversy that insisted on the removal of all ordained bishops who had committed *traditio*.[17]

The same rigorous determination of the congregation to resist Diocletian's edict was also displayed elsewhere. At Thibiuca in Africa Proconsularis the *curator* Magnilianus ordered the bishop, Felix, to give him books or parchments (*libri vel membranae*), but Felix replied that it would be better to burn himself than have the divine books reduced to ashes.[18] The *curator* did not press the matter, but proceeded to transport Felix to Carthage to be tried by Anullinus. On 15 July 303 Felix was beheaded for his intransigence. About a year later, in April 304, the governor of Sicily, Calvisianus, was astounded to hear a Christian, Euplus, shouting outside the courthouse in Catania that he possessed his own gospels and wished to die a martyr's death.[19] Calvisianus interrogated Euplus and imprisoned him before commanding his execution in August for refusing to sacrifice to the gods.

There is no definite information on the persecution in other western provinces. Apparently a few church libraries must have suffered in Constantius Chlorus's territories of Gaul, Britain, and Spain since the *rhetor* Lactantius, a Christian, mentioned that a few church buildings were demolished by this emperor.[20] Also, the Spanish poet Prudentius (c. 348–405) recalled that the Roman governor Datianus demanded the surrender of scriptural teachings during the torture of the martyr St. Vincent on 22 January 304/305.[21] But in the two main centers of Christianity in the west, Diocletian's order to surrender church books was not really enforced. At Rome Bishop Marcellinus, who died of natural causes during the persecution on 26 April 304, was suspected of *traditio*, but this allegation stems from the fourth-century Donatist controversy and is not to be trusted.[22] There is no evidence that church

libraries suffered at this time, perhaps because there was as yet no central collection: it was not until the time of Pope Damasus (366–384) that a central library was established for the Roman see.[23] At the second center in Carthage Bishop Mensurius managed to surrender heretical works and maintained his position until his death in 311. At a synod held to elect his successor, moderate Christians supported his archdeacon, Caecilian, as bishop, while the more resolute Christians who maintained that sacraments administered by a *traditor* were invalid rallied behind their own rival bishop, Marjorinus. To support their case the Donatists argued that Caecilian had been consecrated by the bishop of Apthungi, Felix, whom they charged with committing *traditio*. Despite support from Emperor Constantine for Caecilian, and the imperial confiscation of Donatist property between 316–321, the Donatists continued to increase in number during the fourth century, dividing the African church and absorbing the energy of partisans on both sides; this schism continued until the Muslim conquest of North Africa in the eight century.[24]

The extent of our knowledge of the persecution in the west is, of course, based upon the fortuitous character of the sources that remain. It is significant, however, that no church library was particularly marked out for destruction, especially at Rome or Carthage. The Roman magistrates were content to seize scriptural works, or what appeared to be theological works, from Christians who were mostly concerned with the consequences of *traditio* in ecclesiastical succession rather than loss of material resources. In the eastern provinces where Diocletian governed, the controversy about *traditio* was completely overshadowed by the issue of *sacrificatio*, the burning of incense that was decreed by Diocletian's fourth edict in early 304.[25] Because of this striking difference in emphasis between east and west, two scholars have insisted that the "Great Persecution" was not carried out uniformly in the empire and that edict four was not promulgated in the west.[26] In support of this view, a review of the persecution in the east with regard to surrender of scriptures shows the uneven implementation of edict one.

It is a misfortune that there are fewer cases to draw upon as sources of information in the eastern provinces. In Macedonia during March 304 the governor, Dulcitius, interrogated three sisters, Agapê, Chionê, and Irenê, and four other women on the charge that they had refused to eat meat that had been sacrificed to the gods.[27] The three sisters had left their private books in their houses and fled to the mountains outside their city after the first

edict became known. Dulcitius was anxious to recover their writings and referred specifically to their parchments, books, tablets, codices, and pages on four occasions during the trial. He had their homes searched, and the writings were discovered in cabinets and chests. All three sisters were executed later because of their belief in a "false" religion; the fate of the others is unknown. At Heraclea, in Thrace, the governor, Bassus, was a mild persecutor (his wife was a Christian) but in January 304 he finally commanded Bishop Philip to hand over church scriptures and precious plate. Philip refused, but his deacon, Hermes, under torture, did surrender some volumes. Both men were subsequently executed for refusing to sacrifice.[28] In Pannonia the reader, Pollio, was burned at the stake in the same year.[29] A number of other Christian readers were also executed. In Palestine the martyr Procopius had served his church at Scythiopolis as a reader and interpreter of Syriac.[30] Another reader and exorcist of the church at Caesarea, Alpheus, was martyred about this time.[31] There is no information concerning the library at Caesarea until the deaths there in 306 of two brothers, Aedesius and Apphianus, who had received training in scriptural studies under the supervision of the library's director, Pamphilus.[32] Pamphilus himself escaped death until after Diocletian's abdication in May 305; he was beheaded in the arena at Caesarea c. 310.[33] The church library at Caesarea was not destroyed by Palestinian governors, and survived as a major library in the fourth century. No doubt the many traditional works collected by Origen and Pamphilus were not regarded as suitable for burning.[34] In Egypt at the village of Chseis near Oxyrhynchus the first edict apparently was not enthusiastically enforced: almost a year after the edict had appeared, on 5 February 304, a minor clerk from the Christian church reported to the authorities that the church had no possessions of value—no gold, money, clothing, animals, or properties except a bronze gate that was being transported to Alexandria by ship. There is no mention of scriptural works or books of any kind.[35]

To sum up the eastern evidence, there is no proof of extensive destruction of church libraries. At Caesarea the two governors, Urbanus and Flavianus, made no effort to move against a prominent Christian library collection. In Jerusalem the library did not lose the important collection that aided Eusebius in writing his *Ecclesiastical History* during the persecution.[36] At Alexandria, where the Catechetical School had been established for Christian instruction and boasted such teachers and scholars as Origen (c. 185–255), the library remained an essential part of the school

after Diocletian.[37] However, an ecclesiastical schism did develop. The Alexandrian bishop, Peter (300–311), apparently led a fugitive existence c. 303–305 and was perhaps in prison before returning to his see for a short time in 305. During his absence active Christian resistance came under the leadership of the bishop of Lycopolis, Melitius, who boldly went outside his own jurisdiction to ordain priests and deacons despite the protests of his fellow prelates. When Peter returned he urged a lenient attitude toward *sacrificatio* and excommunicated Melitius at a synod held at Alexandria. These actions were the origin of the Melitian schism in Egypt, although the conflict did not begin in earnest until after 305 when the emperor Maximin Daia (305–313) began a more thorough persecution that saw many Christians lapse.[38] This dispute led to a longstanding division of the Christian church in Egypt during the fourth century, but it never was as contentious as the Donatist schism in North Africa.

The widespread nature of Diocletian's persecution reveals the progress of Christianity and the obvious need for church libraries and archives containing scriptures, theological works, letters, legal documents, and volumes of local records relating to administration. No doubt the Roman emperors were aware of the growth of the Christian sect, but they were never hesitant to attack the Christians. There is no evidence that Diocletian himself was ever influenced by court officials who were Christians—it should be noted that the letter of Bishop Theonas of Alexandria c. 300 to the emperor's chief chamberlain, Lucianus, giving lengthy advice on the duties of his office, including a section on the administration of the imperial library, has long been known to be a forgery.[39] During Diocletian's persecution many church writings, especially scriptures, were confiscated and burned, but the consequences for large church libraries at Caesarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome, and Carthage were not serious. None of these libraries was destroyed and all continued as centers for Christian learning. Most church libraries held but a small number of works that could easily be removed to private homes in the persecution. For private collections the evidence is less certain. Many Christians had their personal scriptures seized because they flouted the imperial edict, or in some cases, such as Euplus, openly embraced martyrdom. For those who could not read, the church often provided readers to serve the community: many of these officials surrendered their own books or scriptures from the church libraries they used, and some were executed. But the ordinary Christian who possessed writings was not eagerly sought out on this score. It must be recog-

nized now that the two ecclesiastical disputes which arose from Diocletian's decree to surrender scriptures were more disastrous to Christian unity than the destruction of libraries.

Notes

1. Henri Leclercq, "Bibliothèques," in Fernand Cabrol, ed., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953), vol. 2, pt. 1, cols. 859–862; he was following Hartmann Grisar, "Le antiche Biblioteche cristiane," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 18, no. 8 (1902): 464–465.

2. Carl Wendel, "Bibliothek," in Theodore Klauser, ed., *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950-), vol. 2, col. 248; and Fritz Milkau and Georg Leyh, eds., *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft*, 3 vols. in 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1950–1960), vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 129.

3. James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 18. This judgment is commonly found in general histories: Elmer D. Johnson, *A History of Libraries in the Western World*, 2nd ed. (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1970), pp. 73 and 77; and Sidney Louis Jackson, *Libraries and Librarianship in the West: A Brief History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 29.

4. See Kurt Stade, *Der Politiker Diokletian und die letzte grosse Christenverfolgung* (Wiesbaden: Heinrich Staadt, 1926), pp. 66–117, for Diocletian's religious conservatism.

5. See Salvatore D'Elia, "Ricerche sui panegirici di Mamertino e Massimiano," in *Annali della facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Univ. di Napoli (1960–1961)* (Rome: Accademia Nazionali dei Lincei, 1962), vol. 9, pp. 199–220, for the significance of these surnames.

6. John of Antioch, fragment no. 165 in Carl Müller, ed., *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols. (Paris: A. Firmin Didot, 1853–1885), vol. 4, p. 601.

7. *Mosaicarum et Romanorum legum collatio* 15.6 in Salvatore Riccobono, Giovanni Baviera, Contardo Ferrini, J. Furlani, V. Arangio-Ruiz, eds., *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani*, 4 vols. (Florence: S. A. G. Barbera, 1940–1942), vol. 2, p. 581. Edoardo Volterra, "La costituzione di Diocleziano e Massimiliano contro i Manichei," in *La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano, Roma 11–14 aprile 1965* (Rome: Accademia Nazionali dei Lincei, 1966), pp. 27–50, studies this text and its interpretations.

8. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 12, trans. by Jacques Moreau, *De la mort des persécuteurs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1954).

9. Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.2.4. trans. by Kirsopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1932).

10. Optatus of Mileve, *Gesta apud Zenophilum consularem*, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 26, ed. by Carl Ziwsa (Vienna: F. Temsky, 1893), appendix 1, pp. 186–188 (hereafter cited as *CSEL*).

11. Hermann Dessau, ed., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916), no. 2996.

12. St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium Grammaticum et Donatistam*

3.27.30, in *CSEL*, vol. 52, ed. by Michael Petschenig (Vienna: F. Temsky, 1909), pp. 435–437.

13. St. Augustine, *Breviculus collationis cum donatistis* 3.13.25, in *CSEL*, vol. 53, ed. by Michael Petschenig (Vienna: F. Temsky, 1910), p. 75.

14. Optatus, *Acta purgationis Felicis episcopi Atumnitani*, in *CSEL*, vol. 26, appendix 2, p. 199.

15. St. Augustine, *Breviculus collationis* 3.13.25, in *CSEL*, vol. 53, pp. 73–75.

16. St. Saturninus and companions in Jacques Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844–1880), vol. 8, cols. 689–715.

17. See Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, in *CSEL*, vol. 26.

18. St. Felix in Herbert A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (London: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 266–271; Richard Duncan-Jones, "An African Saint and His Interrogator," *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1974): 106–110, discusses the location of Magnilianus's office.

19. St. Euplus in Musurillo, *The Acts*, pp. 310–319.

20. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum* 15.7.

21. Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, hymn 5, lines 176–192, in Henry John Thomson, trans., *Prudentius*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949–1953), vol. 2, pp. 178–181; St. Vincent in *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. by John Bollandus et al. (Antwerp: Society of Jesus, 1643–), January, vol. 2 (1643), pp. 397–414.

22. E. H. Röttges, "Marcellinus-Marcellus: Zur Papstgeschichte der diokletianischen Verfolgungszeit," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 78 (1956): 394–395 and 418–420.

23. Charles Sayle, "The Vatican Library," *The Library* 6 (1894): 331–343; and Hartmann Grisar, "La biblioteca della S. Sede ed il culto di S. Lorenzo," *La Civiltà Cattolica* 18, no. 8 (1902): 467–471.

24. See William Hugh Clifford Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), pp. 141ff.

25. Eusebius, *De martyribus Palaestinae* 3.1, trans. by Hugh Jackson Lawlor; and J. E. L. Oulton, *The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Clay and Sons, 1927–1928).

26. G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "Aspects of the 'Great Persecution,' " *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954): 88–95; and A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), vol. 1, p. 72, and vol. 3, p. 9; W. H. C. Frend, "A Note on the Great Persecution in the West," in *Studies in Church History* (London: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1964–), vol. 2, pp. 141–148, believes edict four was enforced in Africa.

27. St. Agapê, Chionê, and Irenê in Musurillo, *The Acts*, pp. 280–293.

28. St. Philip in *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. 9 (1858), pp. 537–553.

29. St. Pollio in *Acta Sanctorum*, April, vol. 3 (1758), pp. 565–567.

30. St. Procopius in *De martyribus Palaestinae* 1.1–2.

31. Ibid, 1.5.

32. Ibid, 4.6 and 5.1.

33. Ibid, 11.1–13.

34. René Cadiou, "La bibliothèque de Césarée et la formation des chaînes," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 16 (1936): 476–478; and Joseph

de Ghellinck, "Diffusion, utilisation et transmission des écrits patristiques," *Gregorianum* 14 (1933): 365–371.

35. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt et al., eds., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1898–), no. 2673.

36. Albert Ehrhard, "Die griechische Patriarchal-Bibliothek von Jerusalem: Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Paläographie," *Römische Quartalschrift* 5 (1891): 217–265, 329–331, and 383–384; 6 (1892): 339–365.

37. Gustave Bardy, "Pour l'histoire de l'école d'Alexandrie," *Vivre et Penser* 2 (1942): 80–109 (*Revue Biblique* 51 [1942]).

38. See H. Idris Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy* (1924; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), pp. 38–99; a→ William Telfer, "Meletius of Lycopolis and Episcopal Succession in Egypt," *Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955): 227–237.

39. Pierre Batiffol, "L'épître de Théonas à Lucien," *Bibliothèque de l' Ecole des Chartes* 47 (1886): 155–160; and Adolf von Harnack, "Der gefälschte Brief des Bischofs Theonas an der Kammerherrn Lucian," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 24 (1903): 93–117. This letter was uncritically accepted by James Westfall Thompson, *Ancient Libraries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940), pp. 44–45; and Jeppe Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2. Århundrede e. Chr.* (Copenhagen: Danmarks Biblioteksskole, 1976), pp. 125–126. Even the identification of Bishop Theonas was never known for certain before the forgery was revealed.



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The Side Chambers of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna: Church Libraries of the Fifth Century*

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Abstract

The small chambers symmetrically flanking the main apse of the early fifth-century church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, built under the patronage of the empress Galla Placidia of the Theodosian dynasty, are architecturally designed to function as libraries and possibly scriptoria. Contrary to true *pastophoria*, as they are often called, they are not intimately connected with the performance of the eucharistic liturgy. They follow the Roman architectural tradition of libraries as twin structures (one for Greek works and one for Latin), symmetrically arranged around an exedra/apse or open room for reading and debate, and supplied with numerous rectangular niches for manuscript storage. Furthermore, archeological evidence supports the presence of a hypocaust in the northern chamber, a necessary provision in marshy Ravenna to keep the humidity out of the walls in order to better preserve the manuscripts.

The small chambers symmetrically flanking the apse of San Giovanni Evangelista have generally been considered in scholarly literature as *pastophoria*,[1] that is, *prothesis*[2] and *diaconicon*.[3] They have also been casually compared with examples in Syria, where the functions of similar chambers flanking the main apse have occasionally been securely established and are not necessarily that of a *prothesis* and *diaconicon*.[4] This article discusses these side chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista. After a brief history of the building of the church under the patronage of the empress Galla Placidia, the archeological evidence for a reconstruction of the original architectural form of the chambers is presented. Their function as libraries and possibly scriptoria is established and, finally, these church libraries are revealed as continuations or revivals of the formal tradition of Roman Imperial libraries, and as uniquely well-preserved examples of ecclesiastical libraries of the fifth century.

Building History

The three-aisled basilica of of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna was constructed during the time of the empress Galla Placidia, ca. 426–30[5] (Figs. 1, 2). It was located about 150 m inside the eastern, Late Antique city walls, close to the harbor on marshy ground, and probably stabilized by pilings of alder.[6] The immediate proximity of Galla Placidia's palace to the south of the church has been established.[7] The original narthex was flanked by annexes, but the presence of an atrium in the original Placidian design remains improbable.[8]

There has been some debate as to whether the side chambers were merely extensions of the side aisles rather than enclosed spaces (Fig. 2). According to Grossmann, core samples taken during the 1948–49 restoration of the church proved that the eastern walls of the aisles were bonded to the side chambers, thus confirming that the side chambers, as enclosed spaces, were an integral part of the original Placidian building.[9] It is not known what these samples actually were, how comprehensively they were taken,[10] or whether the present reconstructed doorways were based on the findings, at least for their widths.[11]

The second major building campaign, probably under Archbishop Marinianus (ca. 598–606), lengthened the nave by absorbing the narthex into the body of the church.[12] A mosaic fragment containing a partial inscription with letters from Marinianus's name (. . . ARIN . . . IE), originally found at approximately two meters below current grade and located near the eastern end of the southern aisle, indicates an extensive redecoration of the church under that archbishop.[13] Probably the pavement of the side chambers was also raised at this time. The reason for these changes is not known.[14]

The floor of the church was raised again in 1213, probably because of the constantly rising level of the ground water. In 1524, the southern side chamber was completely transformed. A second story was added with access stairs placed against the northern wall of the chamber. Also, the chamber was no longer entered directly from the southern aisle. Rather, one first entered a small antechamber formed from part of the original space of the chamber, and then entered the first level of the two-story complex.[15] In 1568, during a thorough renewal of the church, the whole presbytery zone was redecorated.[16] The floor was possibly raised in 1560 and again in 1765.

From 1919 to 1925, extensive restoration was carried out in an attempt to return the church to its original Early Christian form.[17] Unpublished photographs and drawings made during the 1920s' restoration provide the only currently available evidence of the original state of the lower walls of the side chambers.

In July 1944, Allied bombs, meant for the nearby train station, hit the church and destroyed large portions

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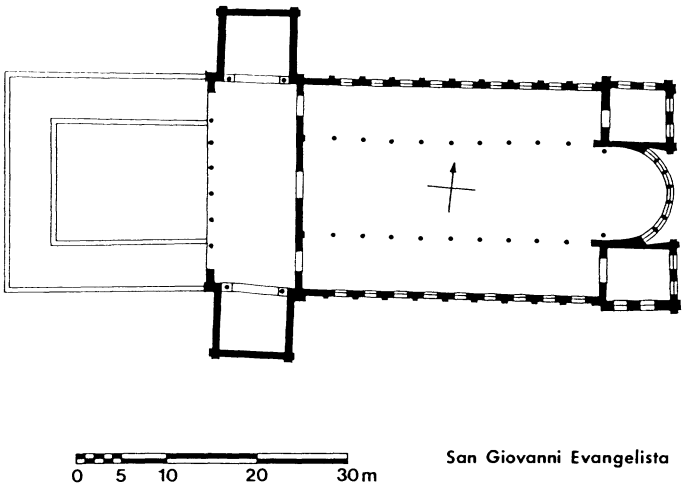


FIGURE 1. *Ravenna, San Giovanni Evangelista, plan (Christoph Panfil, after Deichmann).*

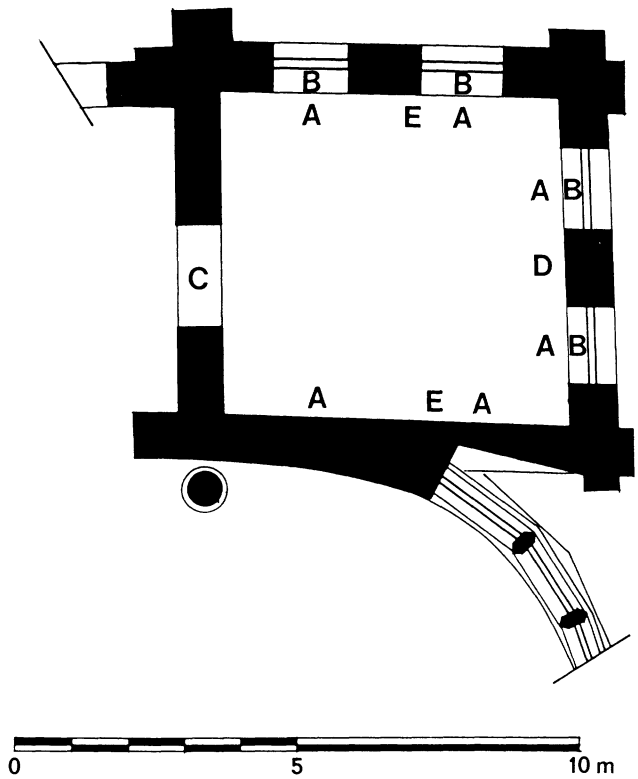


FIGURE 2. *San Giovanni Evangelista, plan of the northern side chamber: A=niche, B=window, C=door to aisle, D=small arch, E=evidence of* tubuli *(after Deichmann).*

of it.[18] Extensive damage to the eastern end included the eastern wall of the apse and its vaulting. The southern side chamber was virtually destroyed, losing its entire eastern wall and portions of its northern and southern walls. The northern chamber survived the bombing relatively intact. Rebuilding and restoration were begun at the end of World War II in 1948[19] (Fig. 3).

Architectural Form of the Chambers

The side chambers of San Giovanni Evangelista directly flank the main apse of the church (Fig. 1). They are relatively equal in size and plan, almost square, the southern room being slightly larger. The approximate interior measurements of the northern chamber are 5½-by-6-m. The interior of the southern chamber measure about 5½-by-6½-m. The original floor level of the main body of the church was 2.71–2.80 m below current grade. The floor level of the chambers is assumed to have been the same.

The side chambers were probably covered by wooden lean-to roofs. The walls with their numerous large windows and niches probably would not have supported masonry vaults. There is no evidence of either multiple stories or stairs in the original side chambers and there are no surviving apses or apsidioles.

Each of the side chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista has six arched, rectangular-plan niches, two evenly spaced in each of the northern, eastern, and southern walls of each chamber; only the western or entrance walls are lacking niches (Figs. 2, 4, 5). There are only small variations in the sizes of these niches (see below).

Table A: Niche Measurements for San Giovanni Evangelista

(Niches are listed counterclockwise from southwestern corner. All measurements are in meters; height from the present pavement level.)

	Height	*Width*	*Depth*
Northern chamber	1.00	1.26	0.56
	1.06	1.26	0.56
	1.06	1.26	0.56
	1.07	1.26	0.56
	1.04	1.26	0.56
	1.14	1.26	0.56
Southern chamber	1.00	1.22	0.23
	1.00	1.22	0.58
	1.00	1.22	0.58
	1.01	1.23	0.57
	1.01	1.22	0.56
	1.00	1.21	0.59

Each of the side chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista has four large arched windows, each about 1½ m wide and 2 m high (Figs. 4, 5). All of the windows are about 1½ m above the current pavement, and would have been about 4½ m above the original pavement.

The level of illumination is high in the side chambers because of the large size of the windows, their number, and their even placement in both of the available exterior walls in each chamber. Since the entire building faces east,



FIGURE 3. *San Giovanni Evangelista, apse end, post-World War II restoration (photo: German Archeological Institute, Rome—57.1964).*

illumination is naturally highest early in the morning. The level of the lighting is the same in both chambers at that time, given slight seasonal variations. Later in the day, the southern chamber with its sunlight would have been brighter than the northern, unless, of course, the windows were blocked by the Placidian palace buildings to the south. However, the light in the northern chambers would have been more evenly distributed and more diffuse throughout the room.

The side chambers of San Giovanni Evangelista communicated only with the eastern ends of the aisles. They did not open into the apse or directly to the exterior of the church; therefore, their traffic patterns were fairly simple. They were intended as closed areas, not passageways, and probably were not involved with the performance of the Eucharistic liturgy since there was no direct access to the chancel/apse area. Chancel barriers followed the line of the nave arcade and did not extend across the eastern ends of the aisles. The doorways are complete reconstructions.[20]

Archeological Evidence from the Northern Chamber for a Hypocaust System

Sketches and photographs made during the 1920s' excavation show a small arch, about 1 meter wide, located between and below the lower sections of the two niches in the eastern wall of the northern chamber (Figs. 2, 5). The lowest voussoirs of this simple arch were cut back from

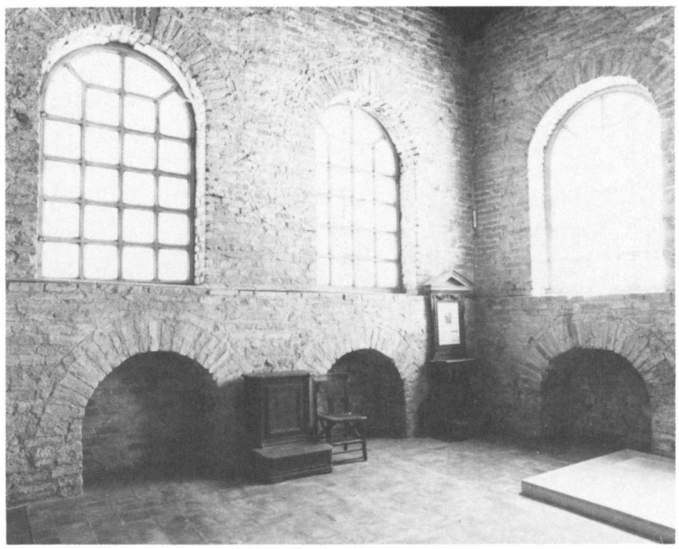


FIGURE 4. *San Giovanni Evangelista, interior of northern chamber, northern wall and half of eastern wall, showing niches 6, 5, and 4 (photo: German Archeological Institute, Rome—68.1320).*

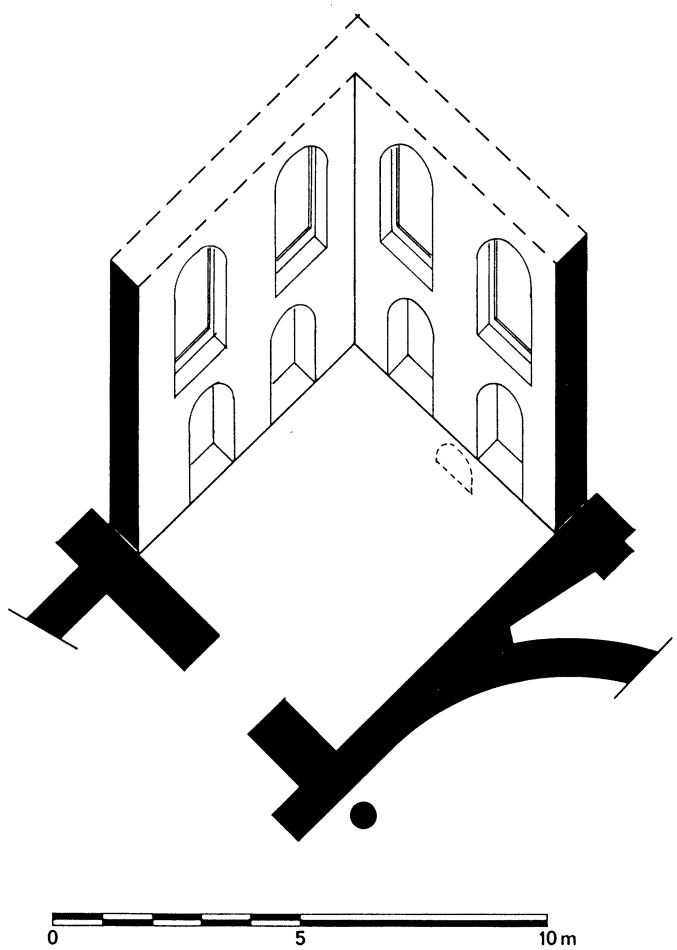


FIGURE 5. *San Giovanni Evangelista, reconstruction drawing of northern chamber (drawn by C. Panfil).*

30 cm to only 20 cm by the open niches on either side. Its careful placement between the two niches and the adjustment of its brick work to this cramped location support the idea that it is original and utilitarian in character. Farioli Campanati thinks this arch was probably over a small door.[21] It is unusual to have a door in the eastern wall of a side chamber and it is also unusual to have a door between and primarily below two niches. Additionally, although there is no hard evidence of the original pavement or its level, this arch would seem to be too low for a normal door. The size and location of this particular arch suggest that it is a *praefurnium* arch, and I will return to this possibility.

Unpublished drawings documenting the 1920s' excavation present other important evidence regarding the northern chamber of this church. They show the placement of a series of terra-cotta flue tiles embedded in the southern wall directly under the eastern corner of the eastern niche (Figs. 6, 7). These *tubuli* are grouped to form a vertical channel three tiles wide and probably three high.[22] At the top of the channel, there is evidence of horizontally placed *tubuli* branching off westward, directly under the level of the niches. There is no trace of an eastern branch. The single photograph (Fig. 8) in the *Archivio fotografico* showing these *tubuli in situ* and indicating the beginning of the western branch is invaluable, because the entire area was reburied after the restorations. A drawing of the southern wall (Fig. 7) indicates the presence of another, similar channel located directly under the eastern corner of the western niche. Another sketch (Fig. 6) indicates the *tubuli* placed vertically between the two niches and above the horizontal channel of the southern wall. The northern wall also seems to have had *tubuli* and a vertical channel under the western corner of the eastern niche, according to another drawing (Fig. 9).

The presence of the *tubuli* is an indication of a hypocaust system in the chamber[23] (Fig. 10). The level of the suspended floor of the original northern chamber would probably have been close to that of the body of the church.[24] The small arch located between and below the two niches of the eastern wall can easily be interpreted as a *praefurnium* arch, given the presence of the *tubuli*.[25]

Unfortunately, the archeological evidence found in the northern chamber does not permit an absolutely secure reconstruction of a hypocaust since there is no sign of the required *suspensurae* or of a system of floor channels. One alternative might be a drainage system for rainwater from the roof, but, logically, any roof drain would proceed straight down to below floor level to minimize seepage into the walls from pockets of pooled water. At San Giovanni Evangelista, the channel in the southern wall comes straight down along the side of one niche, then makes a right-angle turn in order to proceed horizontally *under* the next niche, where it then takes another right-angle turn and proceeds vertically downwards under the

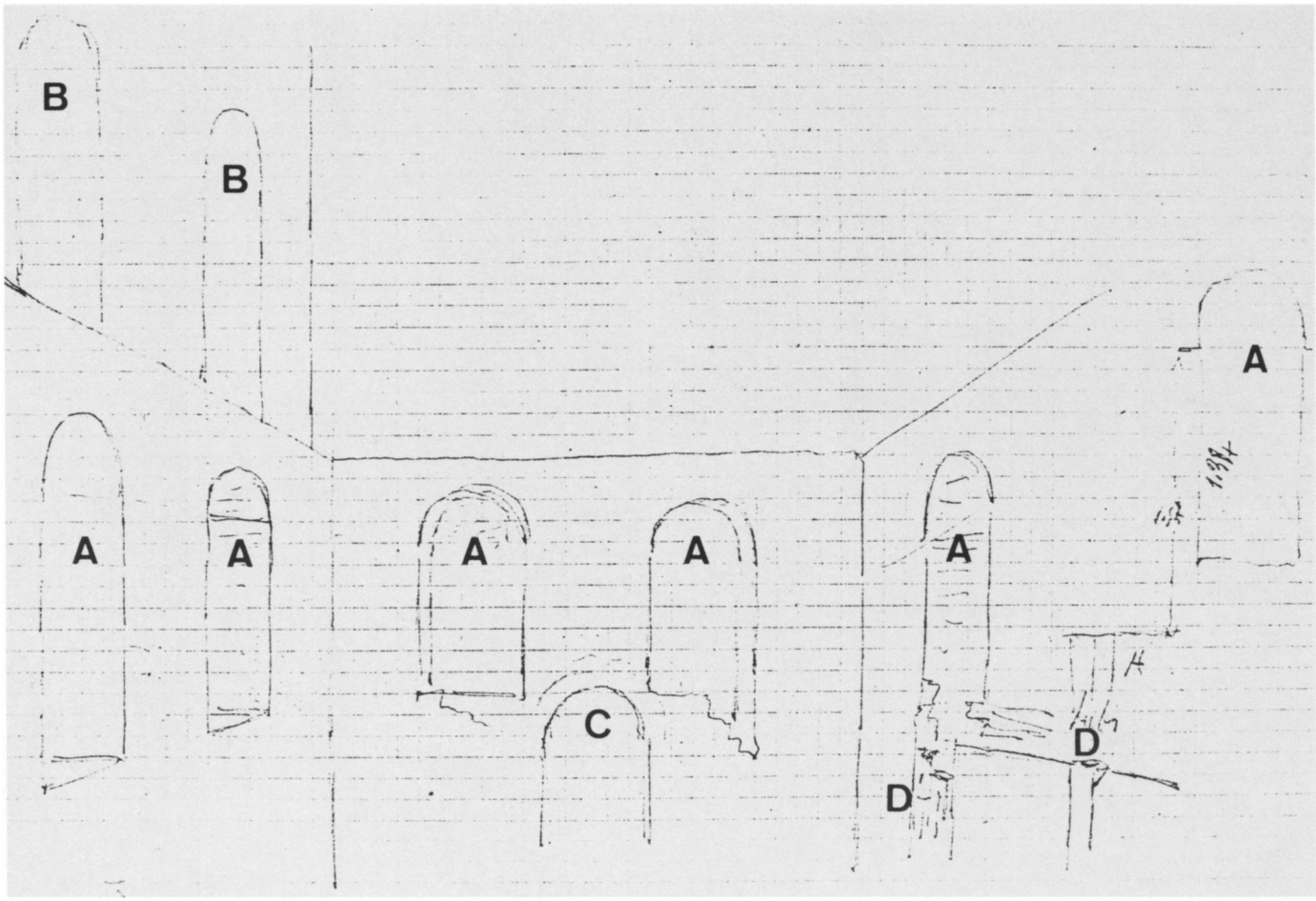


FIGURE 6. *San Giovanni Evangelista, northern chamber, general sketch of the interior made during 1920s' restoration: A=niche, B=window, C=small arch, D=*tubuli *(photo: Archivio fotografico, Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici della Romagna e Ferrara, Ravenna, hereafter Archivio).*

presumed floor level (Fig. 10). I feel that the horizontal branches in this system of *tubuli* are not suitable for the efficient passage of water, and thus preclude their incorporation in a drainage system.

Another possible explanation for these *tubuli* is to facilitate the circulation of fresh air to keep the walls and floor drier. The theory and technology of this kind of ventilation was well known to builders trained in the Roman tradition of constructing grain *horrea* with raised floors and wall vents in order to avoid the high humidity responsible for much grain spoilage.[26]

Without a detailed examination to discover whether there are traces of soot or ashes on the arch or inside the tiles, either a hypocaust or simple system of channels for the circulation of fresh air remains a possibility, although I favor a hypocaust.[27] There was no typical Roman hypocaust system but, rather, the various elements were arranged, added to, and vastly altered depending on the climate, site, purpose, and size of the room, and probably the availability of materials. The significant issue here is, however, one of the effects of both of these systems, namely to alleviate the problem of humidity in the walls and floor of the room, if not by fresh air circulation, then by the passage of heated air under the floor and through the walls.

Both side chambers have another curious architectural feature. Their northern and eastern walls have a ledge nineteen centimeters wide formed by a setback in the brick wall above the niches and below the windows. Since the southern chamber has been so thoroughly reconstructed, and these ledges are such a minor feature, it might be best to attempt to explain them in terms of the northern chamber. There we see the ledges only on the exterior walls. Thick brick walls were necessary to contain so many niches. It is possible that the setbacks, resulting in relatively thinner upper walls, were merely an economy measure. Another explanation might be that the upper sections of the exterior walls were jacketed with *tubuli*. The set-

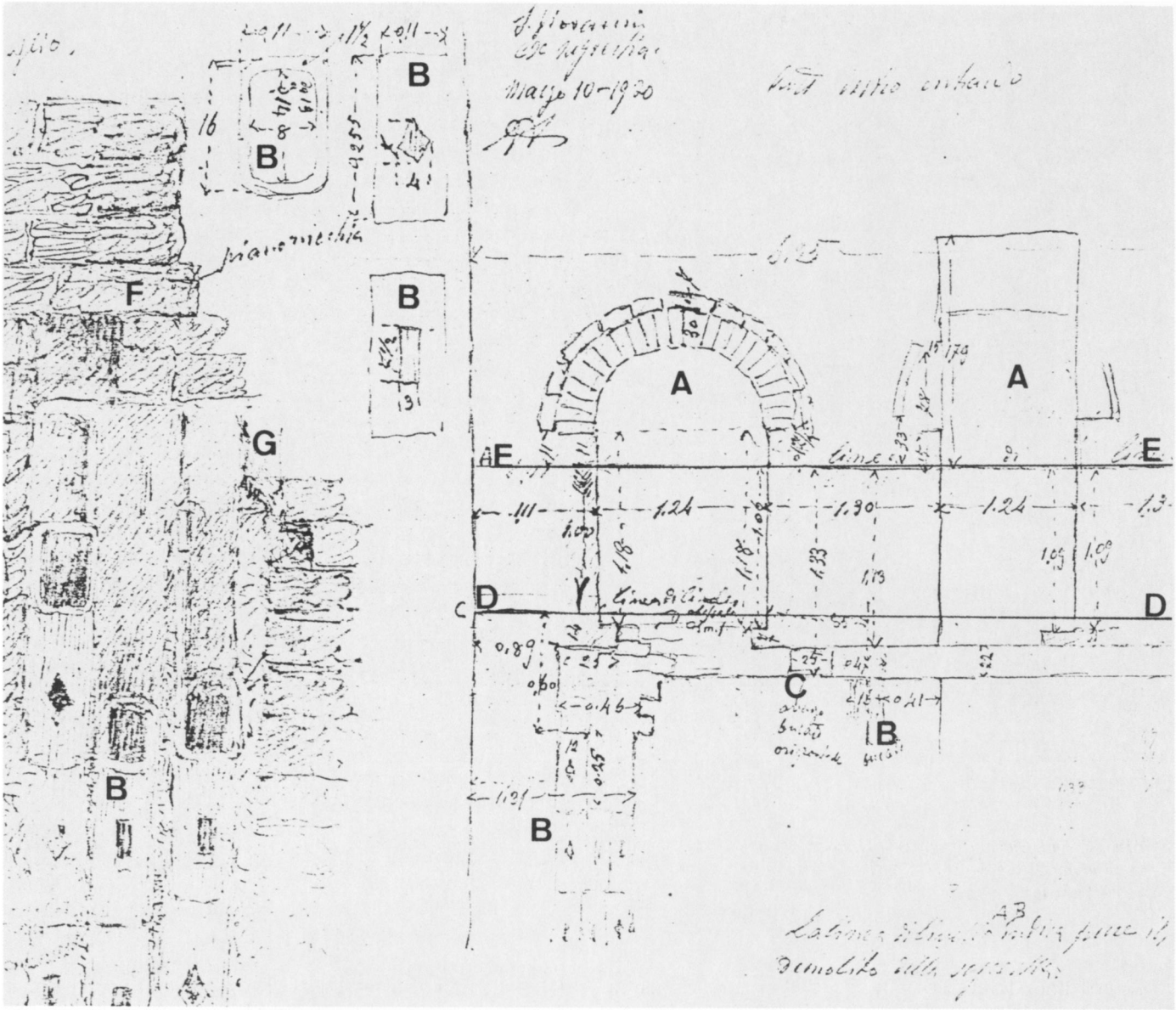


FIGURE 7. *San Giovanni Evangelista, northern chamber, detail of* tubuli *and their placement in the southern wall, sketch made during the 1920s' restoration: A=niche, B=vertical* tubuli, *C=remains of horizontal* tubuli, *D=proposed floor level with F=niche level, G=horizontal branch of* tubuli *(photo: Archivio).*

back would have been necessary to maintain the planarity of the entire wall and also to help with supporting the tiles. The interior would then be more isolated from exterior moisture and seepage. This, however, remains only a hypothesis.

Architectural Elements of the Side Chambers Relating to their Functions

One of the distinctive architectural elements that offer clues as to the functions of these two side chambers is the hypocaust in the northern chamber. At San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna, we have an early example of a heated side chamber in an Early Christian church. Comparison with the two other excavated fifth-century heating systems in Ravenna points toward the uniqueness of that found in the northern side chamber at San Giovanni Evangelista. The clerical baths recently discovered at the Banca Popolare construction site and subsequently moved and reconstructed in the courtyard of the Museo Nazionale are thought to have been fifth century,[28] as is the so-called palace complex of Theoderic with its private bathing



FIGURE 8. *San Giovanni Evangelista, northern chamber, photograph of* tubuli *(photo: Archivio—1-E-16).*

facilities.[29] Although measurements of the individual *tubuli* for these two facilities are currently unavailable, their method of deployment was distinctly different. They were used to jacket the walls, not to form interconnecting channels as at San Giovanni Evangelista. Jacketing the entire wall with *tubuli* resulted in the higher room temperature required for heating sections of a bathing establishment.[30] Since this higher temperature was not necessary in the heating of a room for other than bathing purposes, a non-bathing function is suggested for the northern side chamber.[31]

It is not unusual to find an Early Christian church built into a preexisting bath structure, and often ancillary rooms in these churches continued to use the heating and/or bathing facilities.[32] However, at San Giovanni Evangelista, we have evidence of a hypocaust system contemporary with an existing side chamber. This is significantly different. Although there is no similar archeological evidence available for the southern chamber, a limited excavation along its eastern wall might be informative. One could logically propose the existence of a hypocaust, since the chambers are identical in all of their other structural features.[33]

The fact that at least one, if not both, of the side chambers at this church was originally heated is important in helping to clarify its function. Heating in Roman buildings was often accomplished with charcoal braziers which provided uneven, irregular heat and which were fire hazards in rooms filled with flammable materials.[34] In contrast, the hypocaust system gave an even, long-term warmth suitable for a chamber that might be used as a library and/or workroom throughout the cold Ravenna winter. More importantly, however, it would also serve the essential purpose of keeping the dampness out of the walls and floor, an obvious building requirement for a library in marshy Ravenna.

Other distinctive architectural elements in the side chambers of San Giovanni Evangelista are the regularly placed, rectangular-plan niches and the numerous, large windows. The niches have almost the same form (rectangular in plan) and measurements (0.56 m deep and 1.25 m wide) as those niches used for manuscript storage from the ancient libraries at Athens, Timgad, and Ephesus.[35] This type of niche and the large number of them placed in a single room were major characteristics of Roman libraries.[36] The niches in the first two levels of the Theodosian *skeuophylakion* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople were more varied in their measurements, but similar in form and arrangement.[37]

The architectural form of the Roman library had become well defined by the end of the second century A.D.[38] In addition to the presence of numerous regularly disposed, rectangular niches, twin library rooms, one for Greek works and one for Latin, were often found flanking a lecture room, open court, or semicircular exedra with benches, suitable for readings and discussion.[39] The twin side chambers flanking the apse at San Giovanni Evangelista follow this formal tradition (Fig. 11). The semicircular main apse with its bishop's throne and *synthronon* emphasizing the teaching role of bishops in the Early Church corresponds to the Roman tradition of an architecturally defined area in libraries for reading and discussion.[40] This image of the bishop as teacher was stressed as well in the mosaic scheme at San Giovanni Evangelista by the juxtaposition of Bishop Peter Chrysologus in mosaic under the figure of Christ flanked by books in the apse, and the location of the flesh-and-blood bishop who officiated under the triumphal-arch representation of Christ handing the Gospel to St. John.

Roman libraries were sometimes provided with double walls to reduce the dampness,[41] and a superficial layer of *tegulae mammatae* or *tubulari* was often used to isolate the inner walls from moisture seeping through the exterior walls.[42] This was a common practice to facilitate the circulation of fresh air as well as well as heated air.[43]

The need to keep the northern chamber warm and/or dry, combined with the presence of the numerous niches

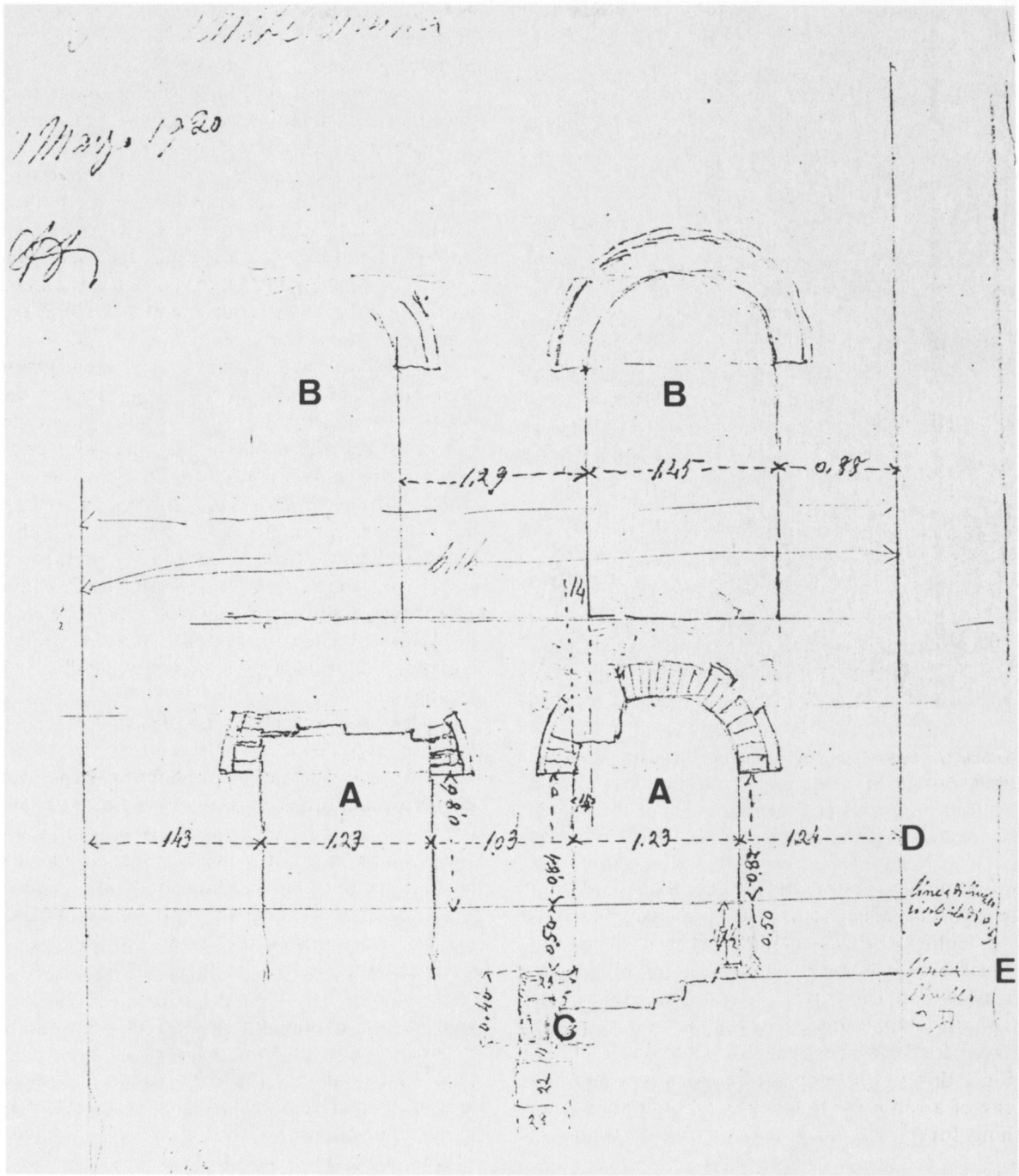


FIGURE 9. *San Giovanni Evangelista, northern chamber, northern wall as sketched during the 1920s' restoration: A=niche, B=window, C=*tubuli *evidence, D=present floor level, E=proposed floor level with hypocaust (photo: Archivio).*

and windows characteristic of libraries and scriptoria, suggest that the side chambers of this church functioned as manuscript repositories and possibly as reading rooms and/or scriptoria. Chapels, on the other hand, usually have evidence of an architectural focus, such as an apse or apsidiole, altar, or reliquary cavity. The windows are not so abundant or so evenly distributed over the walls in a chapel as they are at San Giovanni Evangelista, but rather serve to accentuate this focus on the apsidiole and its altar/relics.

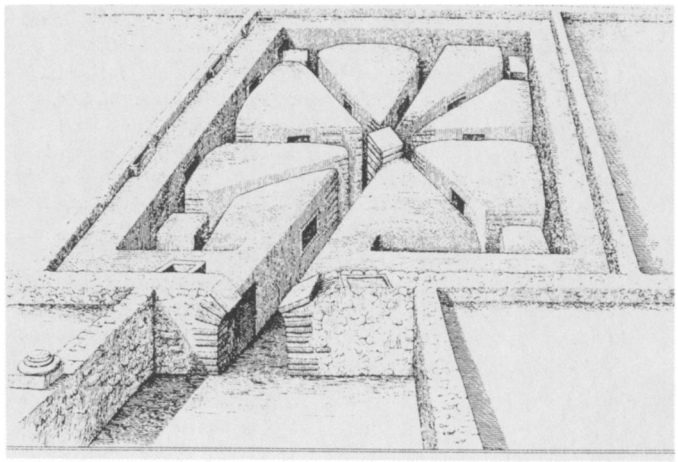


FIGURE 10. *Silchester, England, Roman hypocaust of channeled type. Note the* praefurnium *arch and the terra-cotta channels located along the walls (photo: W. Horn and E. Born,* The Plan of St. Gall, *I, fig. 380).*

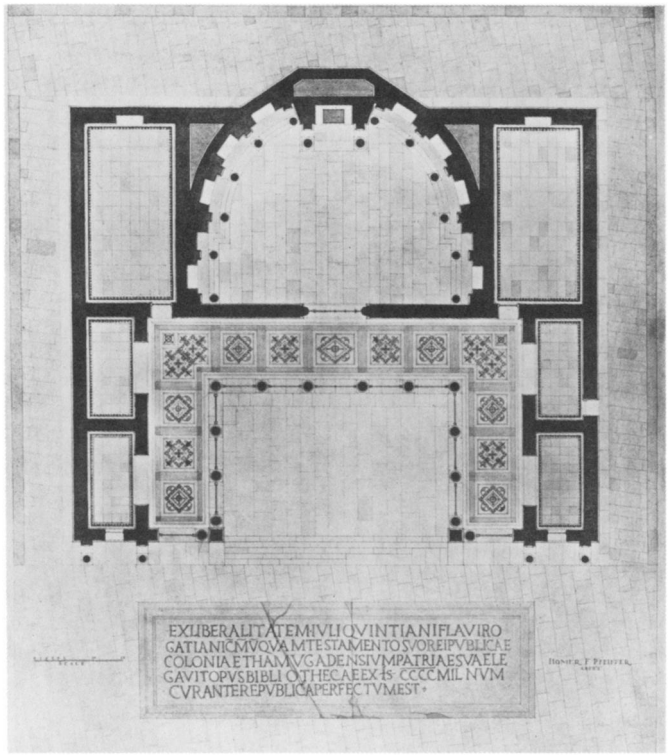


FIGURE 11. *Timgad, Roman Library, reconstruction drawing (photo: H. F. Pfeiffer, "The Roman Library at Timgad,"* Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, *IX [1931], pl. 16).*

Architectural and Historical Context of Early Christian Libraries

The Early Christian library in the West as an architectural type is unknown, if not nonexistent. There are some literary references to ecclesiastical libraries built in the fourth and fifth centuries in the West, but any archeological evidence suggesting their form is quite scarce.[44] Side chambers or ancillary rooms of churches were known to contain libraries,[45] and the most famous example was the library/reading room described by Paulinus (353–431) in his church at Nola. The room, called a *secretum*, was located to the left (north) of the main apse,[46] as was one of the library chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista. Nothing is known of its architectural detailing such as niches or windows. The construction of the library/reading room of Paulinus's church in Nola in the early fifth century was almost contemporary with the side chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista.[47]

Pope Damasus (366–84) possibly added a library/archive to the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso in Rome,[48] but we know nothing of its architectural form.[49] A century later, Pope Hilarius (461–68) added two libraries, a bath, and a palace to the church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome.[50] This passage in the *Liber Pontificalis* suggests a Latin and a Greek library, but, unfortunately, we hear nothing else of these two libraries from the sources and we know nothing at all about their architectural form. They should probably be understood in the context of a monastery foundation.[51] Chronologically, the next documented Roman ecclesiastical library is that of Pope Agapetus (535–36).[52] The dedicatory inscription is known and the architectural form of the library—a rectangular room about 30-by-22-m with a central apse and wall niches—has been established through excavation.[53] Here at last we have proof of the use of wall niches in a sixth-century ecclesiastical setting. Although the later sixth-century library at the Lateran seems to have been located under the present chapel of the *sancta sanctorum*, such a small section of wall has been uncovered that it would be premature to discuss its architectural form.[54]

There is some debate about side chambers functioning as libraries in the East. Weitzmann feels that the two-storied chamber flanking the eastern end of the south aisle of the sixth-century monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai may have been the original library because of its accessibility to the sanctuary and its two small cabinet niches in the western wall.[55] Forsyth, however, states that these "two western niches appear, rather, to have been created as service adjuncts" of a later staircase along the southern wall of the chamber, and that there is no archeological evidence to "confirm the existence originally of any room in the church designed to serve as a library." The small number and size of the niches would seem to preclude the storage of a large collection of books in this chamber.[56]

There seems to be some truth to Wendel's claim that the earliest Christian libraries were patterned after small library rooms in private villas and palaces and, therefore, did not utilize wall niches which required thicker walls.[57] For this reason, they are almost impossible to identify

using purely archeological evidence. However, it is into this context of scant literary evidence and even scantier archeological evidence that we can now place the libraries at San Giovanni Evangelista. In the early fifth century we have a clear example of the use of wall niches and the intimate connection of these ecclesiastical libraries with the main body of the church. Perhaps the increased expense of wall niches was not a limiting factor in the imperially funded church of San Giovanni Evangelista.

There is documentary evidence for a continuing tradition or a revival in the placement of ecclesiastical libraries. Carolingian in date, the plan of St. Gall clearly indicates the location of the library and scriptorium in the northern side chambers of the monastery church.[58] Although these ninth-century side chambers are two-storied,[59] the similarity to the placement of the library in the fifth-century church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna is striking. Carolingian architecture is well known for its revival of Early Christian models.[60] The placement of the St. Gall monastery library to the left (north) of the chancel might reflect the earlier usage as seen in the surviving chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista and in documents referring to the *secretum* of Paulinus's church at Nola.[61]

Conclusions

This is the only known set of paired ecclesiastical libraries from the fifth century. They are simple, rectangular structures, entered only from their respective aisles, whose thickened lower walls contain numerous square-backed niches for *armaria* and whose thinner upper walls contain numerous large windows that flood the interior with light. The supposed formal and functional connection to Syrian models for the side chambers should probably be discarded. Reliquary coffers, exterior doors, and different window and door sizes, which distinguish the usage of the side chambers in Syria, are lacking at San Giovanni Evangelista, where the chambers are almost identical.

They strongly recall earlier Roman library types in three ways. First, they are paired; second, they use numerous wall niches for manuscript storage; and third, their placement on either side of the main apse of the church clearly recalls the Roman auditorium/lecture area in form *and* function, if not in scale. Whether this formal similarity reflects their imperial patronage and its innately conservative tradition of design or, rather, a conscious return to earlier Roman library models by the Theodosian empress, Galla Placidia, remains to be further explored.

NOTES

* This article is based on a section from my dissertation, "A Study of Architectural Form and Function: The Side Chambers of Fifth and Sixth Century Churches in Ravenna and Classe," written under the direction of Cecil L. Striker at the University of Pennsylvania, 1987. The writing was funded by a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship at Princeton University, 1988–89. The thesis of this article was first presented during a talk at the 15th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in 1989. I would like to thank Slobodan Ćurčić, George H. Forsyth, Jr., Richard Krautheimer, William L. MacDonald, Thomas Mathews, Hugo Meyer, Tony Rook, Cecil L. Striker, and Kurt Weitzmann for their comments about San Giovanni Evangelista, its archeological evidence, and the thesis of this article. I would also like to thank Raffaella Farioli Companati and the Byzantine Institute of the University of Bologna for their help in Ravenna during the initial stages of this research, and the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici della Romagna e Ferrara* and the *Archivio fotografico* for their generous help in locating drawings and photographs of San Giovanni Evangelista during the past restoration campaigns. Lehigh University has generously helped with photographic costs.

1. G. Galassi, *L'architettura protoromanica nell'Esarcato* (Ravenna, 1928), 7; L. Scevola, "La basilica di San Giovanni Evangelista a Ravenna," *FR*, III (1963), 95; P. Grossmann, "Zum Narthex von San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna," *Römische Mitteilungen*, LXXI (1964), 209; G. Bovini, "San Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna: il problema della sua forma nel primitivo edificio placidiano," *Corsi*, XIV (1967), 78–79; F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes, II, Kommentar I* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 102, where Deichmann, while mentioning *pastophoria* in other churches, carefully calls the side chambers in San Giovanni Evangelista simply "Nebenräume der Apsis." See T. Mathews, "'Private Liturgy' in Byzantine Architecture: Toward a Re-Appraisal," *CA*, XXX (1982), 125–38 which includes a discussion of the use of these chambers in Early Byzantine architecture.
2. Cabrol-Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, XII/2, col. 1951–52, "Offertoire." See G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographique* (Paris, 1969), esp. 58–64. G. Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien im Syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden, 1983) has a thorough discussion of the usage of the terms *pastophoria*, *prothesis*, and *diaconicon* in ancient times.
3. Cabrol-Leclerq, *Dictionnaire*, IV/I, col. 733–34, "Diaconicum."
4. J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétians de Syrie* (Paris, 1947), passim, and G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, I–III (Paris, 1953–58), passim. Also see more specifically Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien*, passim.
5. Deichmann, *Kommentar I*, 94.
6. C. Giovannini and G. Ricci, *Le città nella storia d'Italia. Ravenna* (Rome-Bari, 1985), 24. Vitruvius mentions that the foundations of all the public and private buildings of his time in Ravenna were supported by piles of alder wood (Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*, II.9.2). Pilings were found under the foundation of Santa Croce during the recent excavations and the consolidation of the site with a pumping system.
7. Deichmann, *Kommentar I*, 97 and 116–17.
8. Grossmann, *Mitteilungen*, 206–28, specifically 213 and 228.
9. *Ibid.*, 99–101.
10. I have found only oblique references to these core samples in the literature and, therefore, I have not personally examined the actual evidence that they presented.
11. The southern chamber doorway was restored as an arch and the northern one as trabeated. I have not been able to find information explaining why this was done or detailing the prerestoration state of the doors. In scholarly circles, it was well known at the time of the restoration that in Syria the southern chamber was often entered through a wide arch, while the northern one was entered through a smaller trabeated door. It would be significant to know if the restorers were influenced by this information, especially since the

existence of the side chambers at San Giovanni Evangelista has always been ascribed to Syrian influence. The Renaissance transformation of the southern chamber included a wide door. It is possible that the twentieth-century restoration width of the entryway was based on the width of this Renaissance door. The unanswerable question is whether the Renaissance width was based on that of a preexisting doorway.

12. Grossmann, *Mitteilungen*, passim.

13. R. Farioli, "I mosaici pavimentali della Chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna," *FR*, Ser. 1, IV (1970), 169–222. The fragment contains some of the letters of Marinianus's name and was first discovered during restoration work done in 1919, then lost, and now recently rediscovered. This article is a good discussion of all the mosaic pavement fragments of the church, their levels, dating, and stylistic considerations.

14. Archbishop Marinianus was chosen by Pope Gregory the Great for the Ravennate episcopacy. He had been a fellow monk as well as a friend of Gregory's in Rome. An earlier friend and archbishop of Ravenna chosen by Gregory was John the Roman (578–95), who constructed the monastic buildings at Sant'Apollinare in Classe between 575–95. Monastic buildings were supposedly constructed at San Giovanni Evangelista around 890. It is my hypothesis that monks were installed at the church by Archbishop Marinianus and this was the reason for expanding the interior space of the building by including the narthex in the body of the church. In any case, San Giovanni Evangelista became one of the four most powerful abbeys in Ravenna in the later Middle Ages. See Giovannini and Ricci, *Ravenna*, 93–94, with additional bibliography on 130, n. 39.

15. Scevola, *FR*, III, 5–107.

16. Deichmann, *Kommentar I*, 101.

17. G. Gerola in the *Corriere di Romagna* 57, nr. 278. Sunday, 26 October 1919, where he discussed the work necessary to free the church from its Baroque additions. See also G. Gerola, "L'architettura deutero-bizantina in Ravenna," *Ricordi di Ravenna medioevale* (Ravenna, 1921), 69.

18. Deichmann, *Kommentar I*, 101. Deichmann reproduces contemporary photographs of the damage, see illustrations 49–51. See also C. Capezzuoli, "Danni di guerra ai monumenti di Ravenna e restauri compiuti," *FR*, Fasc. I (1950), 71 for a listing of war damage and the subsequent restorations.

19. L. Crema, "San Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna alle luce delle ultime indagini," *Corsi*, V (1958), 55–58, and C. Capezzuoli, "L'abside della basilica paleocristiana di San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna," *Studi Romagnoli*, III (1952), 27–29.

20. The northern chamber is entered by a rectangular opening whose height is roughly 2½ m and whose width is 2 m. There is no evidence as to what type of door, if any, originally closed this opening since the entire wall is a reconstruction. A wide archway connects the southern chamber with its aisle. The original existence of an archway cannot be proven by the available evidence, but perhaps the width of the opening, about 3 m, can be postulated. The height of the present arch is roughly 3½ m, more than one meter higher than the entrance to the northern chamber, and the opening is about ½ m wider than the opening from the northern chamber into the northern aisle. This great width might have been the reason for the reconstruction of an arched doorway, rather than a trabeated one.

21. Farioli, *FR* (1970), 169–222. Farioli does not reproduce the sketch that is found along with most of Azzaroni's other sketches in the Soprintendenza di Monumenti di Ravenna. Mazzotti mentions this arch which he apparently saw and thought was either from a door or window. M. Mazzotti, *La basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe* (Vatican, 1954), 70, n. 37.

22. Each *tubulus*, or hollow box tile, is 25-by-12-by-16-cm and opened by a rectangular or diamond-shaped hole in its front face. G. Pavan, "I mosaici della chiesa di S. Croce a Ravenna, vecchi e nuovi ritrovamenti," *FR*, Ser. 4, CXXVII–CXXX (1984–85), 341–80. Pavan mentions *tubuli* found in a Roman house of the late second or early third century excavated under the church of Santa Croce, slightly east of the eastern cross arm. These *tubuli* were lined up along the southern wall of the probably rectangular area; they were not arranged in channels as at San Giovanni Evangelista. Although the length is not given, the width and thickness of the *tubuli* are given as 15 and 10 cm (see 357).

23. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology, Vol. VI, Heat and Heating, Refrigeration, Light* (Leiden, 1966) and F. Kretzschmer, "Hypokausten," *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, XII (1953), 7–41.

24. The lowest level reached by the extant *tubuli* was about 3 to 3½ m below current grade. This is below what is considered to be the original pavement level of the main body of the church, namely 2.71–2.80 m. However, if the open area under the suspended floor was from 40 to 60 cm (Forbes, *Studies*, 37), the level would be brought up to 3.0–2.80 m. The pavement thickness might have varied from 20 to 40 cm. The heated room of the fifth-century baths discovered under Santa Maria di Palazzolo near Ravenna had an open space of only 70 cm. See G. B. Montanari, "S. Maria di Palazzolo (Ravenna)," *Arheološki Vestnik*, XXIII (1972), 212–18, especially 214.

25. The width of the *praefurnium* arch, about 1 m, corresponds with that of another fifth century *praefurnium* arch discovered at Santa Maria di Palazzolo near Ravenna. See Montanari, *Arheološki Vestnik*, 212–18.

26. G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, England, 1971), passim. See also M. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines* (Philadelphia, 1973), 91, 113–15, where she presents some of the many inventive techniques for keeping the humidity out of floors and walls and for hypocaust systems per se.

27. See articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, "Heizung" (VII, col. 2646) and "Hypocaustum" (IX, col. 333) for a complete description and additional bibliography. The small arch was the opening to the exterior *praefurnium* (oven, firebox) and the hollow terra-cotta rectangles are *tubuli*, which are the box flue tiles. "The tubulus seems to be the ultimate development in the construction of flues. It found application both in continuous tubulation and as single chimneys for cooler rooms. It appears in the luxury villa that were destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 . . ." This quote is from T. Rook, "The Effect of the Evolution of Flues upon the Development of Architecture," in *Roman Brick and Tile. Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire*, ed. by A. McWhirr (BAR International Series 68, 1979), 303–8. See also Vitruvius, *De architectura*, X, for the technology of this heating system. See O. Krell, *Altrömische Heizungen* (Munich, 1901), especially chapters 6 and 7 for a good discussion of the heating in Roman buildings. See *Germania*, XXXIII (1955) for two very interesting articles regarding the hypocaust on a large scale found at the fourth-century *aula palatina* in Trier: W. Reusch, "Die Aula Palatina in Trier," 180–99 and F. Kretzschmer, "Die Heizung der Aula Palatina in Trier," 200–210. For a probable later example of the hypocaust in a church/monastery complex, see W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall*, II (Berkeley, 1979), 128–32.

28. G. B. Montanari, "Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici a Ravenna," *Corsi*, XXVII (1981), 13–14, dates the original bath structures to the fifth century.

29. G. Ghirardini, "Gli scavi del Palazzo de Teodorico di Ravenna," *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della reale Accademia dei Lincei*, XXIV (1918), cols. 738–841.

30. Kretzschmer, *Saalburg*, 7–41, discusses this distinction in optimum temperature for rooms of different functions.

31. See J. Zeller, *Bad und Bäder in der altchristlichen Kirche* (Munich, 1928), especially 27–30, and A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, XXVII (Munich, 1982).

32. The excavations at Aizanoi in Turkey have recently uncovered an example of a heated ancillary room of the Justinianic period, and this room made use of the heating system of a previously existing bath complex. See *Anatolian Studies*, XXXIV (1984), 203, and *Anatolian Studies*, XXXV (1985), 175.

33. The southern chamber has undergone several major alterations during the centuries which the northern chamber has not. Perhaps this is the reason that some evidence of the hypocaust remains in the northern chamber.

34. See Krell, *Heizungen*, and Pauly-Wissowa, VII, "Heizungen."

35. B. Gotze, "Antiken Bibliotheken," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, LII (1937), 238–40. Niches from the library in Hadrian's stoa in Athens were 0.50 m deep, 1.22 m wide, and 2.83 m high. Those from the library at Ephesus were 0.50 m deep, 1.00 m wide, and 2.83 m high. At the Timgad library, the niches were 0.50 m deep and 1.25 m wide. The library itself resembled an apsed church with side chambers. H. F. Pfeiffer, "The Roman Library at Timgad," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, IX (1931), 157.

36. E. Makowiecka, *The Origin and the Evolution of the Architectural Form of the Roman Library* (Warsaw, 1978), passim. She mentions that Greek libraries did not have niches, but that all Roman libraries after the Palatine library did (30–31).

37. G. Majeska in his talk, "Notes on the Skeuophylakion of St. Sophia," at the 15th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference in 1989 gave the following measurements: first level niches 1.35 m wide and 0.9 m deep; second level niches 1–1.43 m wide and 0.48–0.77 m deep. T. Mathews pointed out to me the numerous niches in the *skeuophylakion* of Santa Sophia and that of Saint John's at Ephesus and their similarity to Roman library niches.

38. Makowiecka, *Library*, passim.

39. In addition to Makowiecka, *Library*, see C. Callmer, "Antiken Bibliotheken," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, III (1944), 145–93 and G. De Gregori, "Biblioteche dell'antichitá," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, XI–1/2 (April 1937), 9–24. Examples include the libraries attached to the Basilica Ulpia in Trajan's forum which functioned well into the fifth century, according to Sidonius Apollonaris, *Epistl.*, IX, 16, 3, 25–28.

40. A. Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, trans. J. R. Wilkinson (New York, 1912), passim.

41. See Pfeiffer, *Memoirs*, 162.

42. Vitruvius, *De architecture*, VII, 4.1–3.

43. M. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians* (Washington, D.C., 1959), passim. See also Krell, *Heizungen*, passim, who felt that hypocaust construction was most often used for drying purposes and that it provided very slight and inefficient heating. His arguments have in large part been refuted by further archeological evidence, but certainly one of the results of the hypocaust heating was to keep the humidity out of the walls. See also Vitruvius, and Rook, *Tile*, 304–5.

44. C. Wendel's extensive writings include short discussions of Early Christian libraries. See his "Die bauliche Entwicklung der antiken Bibliothek," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LXIII (1949), 407–28, especially 426–28, and his discussion under the heading "Bibliothek" in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II (1951–54), col. 231–74, especially 246–74. Callmer has also published a section about them in his article on ancient libraries (*Opuscula*, esp. 190–93).

45. See the "Bibliothek" heading in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, I (Stuttgart, 1966), cols. 612–15. Also see C. Wendel, "Bibliothek," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, II (Stuttgart, 1954), col. 246, and J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (reprint, New York, 1967) which mentions on 313 that Theodosius II was an excellent scholar, book collector, and illuminator and copyist. Harnack, *Bible* also provides interesting background. See also E. D. Roberts, "Notes on Early Christian Libraries in Rome," *Speculum*, IX (1934), 52.

46. Harnack, *Bible*, passim. Harnack also discusses the importance of Bible reading in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, mentioning particularly St. John Chrysostom's emphasis in his teachings. See R. C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Church at Nola* (Amsterdam, 1940), 45.

47. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus*, 45.

48. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, I (Paris, 1881–92, 1955), 212–15.

49. R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, II (Vatican City, 1959), 145–51.

50. Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, 245. I would like to thank R. Krautheimer for bringing this passage to my attention.

51. Wendel, *Reallexikon*, 256.

52. Duchesne, *L.P.*, I, 287–89.

53. Callmer, *Opuscula*, 191 and H. J. Marrou, "Autour de la bibliothèque du Pape Agapet," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XLVIII (1931), 124–69.

54. P. Lauer, "Les fouilles du Sancta Sanctorum au Latran," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, XX (1900), 251–87.

55. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1973), 7. I would like to thank S. Ćurčić for bringing this to my attention and K. Weitzmann for discussing his ideas about this chamber with me.

56. Letter from G. H. Forsyth, Jr. of November 26, 1988. See also G. H. Forsyth, "The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: the Church and Fortress of Justinian," *DOP*, XXII (1968), 11, n. 13.

57. Wendel, *Zentralblatt*, 426–28.

58. Horn and Born, *St. Gall*, I, 147.

59. W. Horn, "The Medieval Monastery as a Setting for the Production of Manuscripts," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XLIV (1986), 16–47.

60. R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *AB*, XXV, 1–38.

61. See also G. H. Forsyth, Jr., *The Church of St. Martin at Angers* (Princeton, 1953), 42, n. 244 and 150, n. 268.



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The Genesis of Monastic Libraries

Herman A. Peterson

The reproduction of manuscript books in the Middle Ages by monks is related to the original goal of the monastic way of life, which is to live a life of prayer. Thus, the history of books and libraries in monasteries can be traced backward from the *Rule of Benedict* to the beginning of Christian monasticism in the desert of Egypt. This article examines several ancient documents to show how the first monks considered reading books—and assembling libraries—necessary for a specific form of prayer.

Hushed monks in a big room hunched over their desks scribbling furiously—the image of monks copying books by hand is a commonplace from the history of Western culture. It is so familiar, in fact, that a popular film of a few years ago, *The Name of the Rose*, based on the novel by Umberto Eco, was able to use a monastic scriptorium (as such a room is called) and its library as centers around which the plot evolved with a minimum of explanation. Similarly, a television commercial from a few decades ago used the image to suggest that photocopying was much faster than letting a monk copy a document by hand. At root, this image is fairly simple: in the Middle Ages monks used to copy books by hand, working together in silence in one big room, a scriptorium. They saved many ancient classical texts from being lost. These classical texts were "rediscovered" and gave birth to the Renaissance.

Scholarly works on the history of libraries, such as Bernhard Bischoff's *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, remind us of the significance of monastic scriptoria and their importance in the history of Western culture.[1] While the image of the monastic scriptorium may be familiar in our culture, it remains a bit of a mystery why monks started copying books. Why did they collect books in the first place? How does this activity fit with the monk's life of silence and prayer? Tracing this history begins with the *Rule of Benedict*, but rather than proceed forward in time, as did Bischoff and others interested in the monks' impact on Western culture, this article will work backward to the beginnings of Christian monasticism in the desert of Egypt and the impulse to find a

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quiet place to pray.[2] The establishment of monastic libraries and their scriptoria in fact can be traced to the requirement, begun in the earliest monastic communities, that monks recite and memorize passages from texts collected and stored in the monastery.

The two basic genres in the early monastic literature, "rules" and "conferences," can be used to trace the transmission and development of the monastic tradition from its birthplace in the Christian East to the West. The *Rule of Benedict*, which became the premier rule in the Western Church, will be examined for what it has to say about books and the monastery "library"; the *Rule of the Master*, a text upon which Benedict based his rule, will then be discussed. Both authors were dependent on John Cassian, since his works, especially the *Conferences*, were the major means by which the wisdom of the monastic tradition in the Eastern Church reached the Western Church. The corpus of works produced by Pachomius and his successors in the desert of Egypt was one of the pillars of this Eastern tradition, and the connection between books and prayer is made most clear in these writings.

The *Rule of Benedict*

The bedrock of the medieval monastic system in which the scriptoria and libraries thrived was undoubtedly the sixth-century Latin document known as the *Rule of Benedict*.[3] Already centuries old by the time of Charlemagne, its precepts were followed by the vast majority of religious houses in the Western Church from his reign until the turn of the thirteenth century and the foundation of the mendicant orders by Francis of Assisi, Dominic, and others. The rule's practicality and flexibility have been found to be applicable in a wide variety of eras and cultures down to the present day. Drawn up usually by the founder of a monastery, a rule is the document that guides the daily lives of the monks, often containing a daily schedule and a description of the liturgical cycle of the community. It always roots the practices of the monks in the values of the ascetic life and the tradition of Christian monasticism. Thus, nothing is done for its own sake in a monastery but rather as a means of engendering holiness in the monk.

The *Rule of Benedict* was written in Italy in the early to middle sixth century. The Italian peninsula at that time was riddled with political and ecclesiastical unrest. The Goths had sacked Rome more than a century earlier in 410, followed by the Vandals in 455. The reign of the last Roman emperor ended in 476, though the Eastern Empire continued in Byzantium. The Eastern emperor Justinian attempted to

recapture Rome, so Byzantine armies were coursing up and down the countryside almost continually from 535 to 553. Byzantine control was short-lived, however, and the Lombards sacked Rome once again in 568. One consequence of this political turmoil was an introspective turn in the population, which began to see all things in this life as transitory and to expect that the only security was to be found in the next life. The ascetic life of the monastery, therefore, held a certain appeal for many. The church, meanwhile, was preoccupied with combating heresies. This was not completely unrelated to the barbarian invasions, as many of them were Arian.[4] At the same time, many monks were suspected of semi-Pelagianism, and not without foundation.[5] The reaction of the church was to increase its institutional control over monastic life, a role for which Benedict's rule was thought very fit (*RB*, 65–69).

The traditional date for the birth of Benedict, the author of the rule bearing his name, is 480. Born in the region of Italy then known as Nursia, he was sent to Rome for schooling. Some evidence indicates that he had a life-altering religious experience while in that city that led him to become a hermit near Subiaco (west of Rome). He eventually founded a monastery on Monte Cassino (south of Rome), where it is presumed that he wrote his only known work (*RB*, 73–79). The sole source of information on the life of Benedict is the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great, who wrote at the turn of the seventh century, about fifty years after the death of Benedict.[6] Gregory was pope at a time when the Roman political machine had completely collapsed and the only stable authority in the Italian peninsula was the church, specifically, the papacy. Gregory regarded Benedict as the supreme example of a recent Italian saint who exemplified stability, particularly stability in the monastic way of life that was manifest in his rule (*RB*, 65–69).

The quotation from the *Rule of Benedict* usually invoked to show the roots of medieval monastic libraries is from chapter 48, verses 14–16: "During the days of Lent, they should be free in the morning to read until the third hour, after which they will work at their assigned tasks until the end of the tenth hour. During this time of Lent each one is to receive a book from the library, and is to read the whole of it straight through. These books are to be distributed at the beginning of Lent" (*RB*, 251).

Given their mention of reading, books, and even a library, these seem appropriate verses to quote in such a context. The reading that this passage refers to and the way it was conducted, however, served a specific religious, even ascetic goal. The monastic "library" mentioned here served this purpose. It is interesting to note that the verses quoted above do not come from chapter 49, "The Observance of Lent," which is

where one might expect to find special practices for the Lenten season. Rather, Benedict placed these verses (22 and 23) in the chapter on the monk's daily work, chapter 48, "The Daily Manual Labor," partly because the specific kind of reading that Benedict had in mind for those early Lenten mornings was also something done every Sunday: "On Sunday all are to be engaged in reading except those who have been assigned various duties. If anyone is so remiss and indolent that he is unwilling or unable to study or to read, he is to be given some work in order that he may not be idle" (*RB*, 251–53). The Latin word for "reading" that Benedict used in these verses is *lectio*, and the word he used for "study" in verse 23 is *meditare*, both technical terms for a specific form of prayer. That form of prayer can be found in the chief source Benedict used in composing his rule, a work known as the *Rule of the Master*.

The *Rule of the Master*

A generation earlier than Benedict, barbarian hordes were still in charge at Rome, and the thought of deliverance by the Byzantine armies of the emperor in the East was wistful. As in Benedict's day, the influence of the church was very strong in Rome and the surrounding region. Into this social and cultural milieu was born a Latin document known as the *Rule of the Master*.[7] Its author is unknown, and its place of origin probably was somewhere between Rome and Campania. For many centuries it was assumed that it was a later work than the *Rule of Benedict* and was derived from it. Twentieth-century critical scholarship has shown that the *Rule of Benedict* is actually dependent on the slightly earlier *Rule of the Master*. This discovery has made the study of Benedict's thought even more fascinating. While it is clear that Benedict had a copy of the *Rule of the Master* in front of him as he was composing his own rule and that the *Rule of the Master* also addresses the subject of reading, a great deal can be learned from analyzing what Benedict leaves out. The *Rule of the Master* is a much longer document than the *Rule of Benedict*, and its minute details make it much more rigid and much less adaptable and practical than the accomplishment of Benedict. (The scholarly arguments for this are summarized in *RB*, 79–83.)

An example of this rigidity is found in verses 9–15 from the *Rule of the Master* (in chapter 50), which parallel the verses from the *Rule of Benedict* quoted above.

> In winter from the winter equinox, which is 24 September, until Easter, because it is cold and the brothers cannot do any work in

> the morning, they are to devote the time from Prime to Terce [i.e., sunrise to the third hour] in reading, with the various deaneries in places separated from one another to avoid having the entire community crowded together and disturbing one another with their voices; let one of the ten in each place do the reading while the rest of the group listen. During these three hours the boys, in their deanery, are to learn letters on their tablets from someone who is literate. Moreover, we also exhort illiterate adults up to the age of fifty to learn letters. Again, we wish it kept in mind that during these same periods the psalms are to be studied by those who do not know them, directed by the deans in their respective deanery. So during these three hours they are to read and listen to one another, and take turns teaching letters and the psalms to those who do not know them.[8]

Compared with the text from the *Rule of Benedict,* this quote seems verbose and redundant. The author of the *Rule of the Master* also seems to have had a specific place and specific persons in mind. While the details give a clear picture of what was expected of the monks at this monastery, the result is a certain rigidity that contrasts starkly with the more general applicability of the *Rule of Benedict.* The words "book" (*codex*) and "library" (*bibliotheca*), which Benedict used, are not found in the corresponding text of the *Rule of the Master,* either in the Latin original or in the English translation. So Benedict specifically added the words *codex* and *bibliotheca.*

While the Latin word *codex* has the very general meaning of any written work in the physical form of the codex (as opposed to a scroll), the meaning of the Latin word *bibliotheca,* at the time Benedict was writing, is much less clear. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* states that *bibliotheca* is a loanword from the Greek βιβλιοθήκη. According to Liddel and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon,* the etymology of βιβλιοθήκη lies in βιβλήον and θήκη. The former is the diminutive form of the word for book, which should be understood here in the sense of a literary unit (as in the phrase "Genesis is the first book of the Bible") and not the physical form of the codex. According to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* the latter means "a case to put anything in, a box, chest." The implication here is something enclosed, so visualizing a *bibliotheca* as a modern shelf where books are kept is probably misleading. Rather, it is more accurate to think of Benedict's use of the word *bibliotheca,* translated as "library" in the quote above, more in the sense of a cupboard where books are kept.

John Cassian

Other than sacred scripture, very few books in Benedict's book cupboard are mentioned by title in the text of his rule. Among the exceptions are two works by John Cassian, the *Institutes* and the *Conferences*, which clearly influenced the writings of both Benedict and the author of the *Rule of the Master*.[9]

"Conferences" originally were given as oral hortatory speeches, not unlike a sermon in some respects, save that the context was not liturgical. Usually they were given by the abbot of the monastery, or by someone delegated by him, at a gathering of the community for the particular purpose of hearing the conference. The speaker would take up a theme from the monastic life, or he might recall a conference given by some venerated monk or hermit that he had heard in his younger days. Sometimes these conferences would be written down afterward by the speaker but more often by one or more of the listeners.

In chapter 42 of his rule Benedict prescribes reading from John Cassian's *Conferences* in the interval between evening prayer and night prayer on days of fasting (*RB*, 243). At the very end of the *Rule of Benedict* in chapter 73, "This Rule Only a Beginning of Perfection," Benedict suggests both the *Institutes* and the *Conferences* as further guides to seeking God in the monastic life (*RB*, 297). The *Institutes* is a firsthand description of the Christian monasteries in Egypt, where monasticism began. The *Conferences* are a collection of dialogues between Cassian's friend Germanus and several monastic teachers in the Egyptian desert. From Cassian's writings some light can be shed on what Benedict means specifically by "study" (*meditare*) in chapter 48 of his rule, that is, the form of prayer that this word implies.

In Cassian's tenth conference, entitled "On Prayer" (*C*, 365–93), he twice used the metaphor that learning to pray is like learning to read (*C*, 377, 378). How should a monk, then, begin to learn the art of prayer? "Every monk who longs for the continual awareness of God should be in the habit of meditating on it ceaselessly in his heart" (*C*, 379). The word translated into English as "meditating" is the same word in the original Latin (rooted in the verb *meditare*) translated as "study" in the quote from the *Rule of Benedict* above. Cassian suggested that the continual repetition of the beginning verse of Psalm 70 ("O God, come to my assistance. O Lord, make haste to help me.") was the way to begin a life of ceaseless prayer. He had in mind that the monk, at whatever work occupying him during the day, would repeat this verse under his

breath (*C*, 379 ff.). This is very different from the general use of the English word "meditation," which has roots in a Buddhist tradition of prayer: "[Christian monastic] meditation was rather a recitation or a reading in an undertone, a rumination, as it were, on the inspired text."[10] This form of prayer could be used with any inspired text, but using this particular verse when nothing more obvious was at hand was the way Cassian was taught to begin learning the art of prayer.[11]

Because Cassian's teacher was an Egyptian monk, Cassian's writings are the major literary link between the Christian monks in Egypt, where monasticism began, and the church in the West. Born in Dacia (roughly the area of modern Romania) around 360, about 120 years before Benedict, Cassian left Dacia for the Holy Land and joined a monastery in Bethlehem. During his time there he twice made his way to Egypt, where he studied with an Egyptian hermit called Isaac. When he was about forty years old, Cassian traveled to Constantinople, where he met John Chrysostom, the patriarch there and one of many outstanding intellectuals in the church at a time when doctrinal controversies were still fresh. While the empire was in decline during this period, the church was in the ascent. It is possible that Pope Innocent suggested to Cassian that he found monasteries in the vicinity of Marseilles, as this was a very important Mediterranean port city, and Rome was under constant threat of sacking. Thus, at this earlier period monasteries functioned as bulwarks of order rather than as the retreats they became in Benedict's day. Chrysostom sent letters to Pope Innocent I in Rome by John Cassian, and from Rome Cassian traveled to Marseilles, where he founded a monastery and wrote both the *Institutes* and the *Conferences* from his memories of the teachings he had received in Egypt. Thus, John Cassian's writings transmitted the teachings on individual prayer from the Christian monks in Egypt to the monasteries of the church in the West (*C*, 5–7).

Pachomius

Though Pachomius is not mentioned by name in any of Cassian's works, the great Egyptian monastery at Tabennesi, which he founded, is mentioned in both the *Institutes* and the *Conferences* (*I*, 79; *C*, 693). Through the literary works of Pachomius and his disciples can be traced the origin of monastic libraries. Pachomius, born in Upper Egypt around the end of the third century, converted to Christianity after he was shown charity by some Christians. After he was baptized he became a hermit in the desert, and eventually a group of disciples formed around him.

Beginning around 320 he founded several monasteries, and a great corpus of written works from those establishments has been handed down through the ages (*RB*, 24–30).[12]

The church during this time was in prime vigor, especially in the East. In 313 Constantine signed the Edict of Milan, making it legal to be a Christian in the empire. This was just a few years before Pachomius began his monastic foundations. The great intellectual powerhouse Athanasius was patriarch in Alexandria and thus had authority over the monks in the Egyptian desert. Alexandria was yet a cosmopolitan seaport city, a cultural and intellectual center. The great library there had been burned by the emperor Aurelian ca. 275 but had not yet received its coup de grâce, which was to come in 391, when all the pagan temples in the city were looted. Many heresies, rampant during this period, were being attacked and defended most vigorously and sometimes even violently. The Pachomian monks were not exempt from these external forces and often played roles in the heretical controversies.

The Pachomian corpus contains a number of literary forms, some of which have survived in their original languages, usually the Coptic dialects of Bohairic or Sahidic, although a few were authored in Greek. For some of those that did not survive in their original languages, an ancient translation into Latin or Arabic is available (*PK*, 1:xxv–xxix). Many of the oldest manuscripts are in extremely poor condition, so that even critical editions of the texts may contain lacunae. These writings include several different accounts of the life of Pachomius and several different rules (some written by Pachomius and one by his successor Horsiesios), instructions, and letters.

The first rule and last authority in the Pachomian monasteries was scripture, which plays the central role in providing insights into the collections of books gathered by these monks. Both Pachomius and his followers maintained that the rules for living the monastic life were culled from the Bible: "In fact he established for them an irreproachable life-style and traditions profitable for their souls in rules which he took from the holy Scripture" (*PK*, 1:46). They believed that the way God related to his people in the Bible was the way he would relate to the monks. So the monks took the passage from Deuteronomy very seriously: "You shall put these words of mine in your heart and soul, and you shall bind them as a sign on your hand, and fix them as an emblem on your forehead. Teach them to your children, talking about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise" (18:11–12, New Standard Revised Version). Rather than follow this ancient Jewish practice of binding the word of God inside a

phylactery upon the forehead and the forearm, the Pachomian monks committed large portions of scripture to memory.[13]

Pachomius expected his monks to know all the psalms and the New Testament by heart. Even before a man could be admitted into the monastery as a novice, he was expected to commit part of scripture to memory (*PK*, 2:166). These great efforts toward memorization not only were an act of piety toward the word of God, they also had a more practical purpose. Knowing large portions of scripture enabled the Pachomian monk to pray much more easily, both in private and in public.[14] The communal chanting of psalms was and still is central to monastic prayers at prescribed hours of the day. Knowing the psalms by heart was especially important for the Pachomian monks because they had the unusual custom of plaiting mats during their communal prayers (*PK*, 2:145–46). Just as Cassian's monks were exhorted to recite verses from scripture over and over again under the breath as a form of individual prayer, the monks gathered around Pachomius prayed in this manner as well (*PK*, 2:190–91, 222). "They shall not speak to each other, but each one shall recite something from the Scriptures" (*PK*, 2:156). Memorizing passages enabled the monk to engage in this prayer form throughout the day during whatever tasks had been assigned.

Of course, the memorization of texts assumes the ability to read. Pachomius insisted on literacy for all his monks but seems to have had some trouble in this area.

> And if he is illiterate, he shall go at the first, third, and sixth hours to someone who can teach and has been appointed for him. He shall stand before him and learn very studiously with all gratitude. Then the fundamentals of a syllable [probably letters of the alphabet], the verbs, and nouns shall be written for him, and even if he does not want to, he shall be compelled to read. There shall be no one whatever in the monastery who does not learn to read and does not memorize something of the Scriptures (*PK*, 2:166).

Apparently, this kind of insistence was necessary to convince the recalcitrant, but it should be remembered that the goal was to learn a particular form of prayer that would lead the monk to holiness.

Memory, Prayer, and Books

It may seem surprising that such a great emphasis was placed on memorization after literacy was achieved. Normally, the memorization

of long texts is associated with oral cultures rather than with literate cultures. Today, of course, we rely on books rather than on our memories when we want to engage a text. In the fourth-century milieu of Pachomius and his monks it was not simply the scarcity and intrinsic value of books that encouraged memorization. Mary Carruthers, who has studied the question of memory and memorizing in the manuscript culture of the Middle Ages in Europe, provides insights into the intellectual and spiritual functions of memory in the Pachomian monastic system.

Carruthers's study has convinced her that memorization and literacy are not incompatible, "for the cultivation and training of memory was a basic aspect of the literate society of Rome, and continued to be necessary to literature and culture straight through the Middle Ages." Why bother to cultivate and train memory? Because it was thought to be the seat of human creativity. To illustrate this Carruthers contrasts contemporary descriptions of two geniuses, Thomas Aquinas and Albert Einstein. Each is credited with original thought. However, the origin of that thought was described as being in a "creative imagination" for Einstein and in a "retentive memory" for Aquinas. This contrast sheds a great deal of light on the cultural differences between our own time and late antiquity and also explains why memory was trained and cultivated. Carruthers calls special attention to the connection between memorization and living a moral life:

> The choice to train one's memory, or not, for the ancients and medievals, was not a choice dictated by convenience: it was a matter of ethics. A person without a memory, if such a thing could be, would be a person without moral character and, in a basic sense, without humanity. *Memoria* refers not to how something is communicated, but to what happens once one has received it, to the interactive process of familiarizing—or textualizing—which occurs between oneself and others' words in memory.[15]

Since the monk endeavored to live by the precepts of scripture, from which were derived the rules of the monastery, he needed to take the words of scripture to heart, that is, to internalize them through memorization and the prayerful rumination of meditation. Even today we speak of learning something "by heart" when we mean that it has been memorized.

To read and memorize texts the Pachomian monks needed books, which they undoubtedly had. Those who wanted a book to read were given one freely (*PK*, 2:149, 170). Apparently, books were kept in a

cupboard similar to that found in the *Rule of Benedict* (*PK*, 2:162). Scripture would have formed the bulk of the collection of books in Pachomius's book cupboard. The monasteries of the Egyptian desert were surprisingly cosmopolitan, so there probably would have been texts in the various Coptic dialects as well as in Greek, still the lingua franca of the eastern portion of the late Roman Empire. There is some evidence that Greek-speaking Christians were among Pachomius's monks (*PK*, 1:256). Very few authors, other than those of scriptural texts, are named, so the book cupboard at Tabennesi remains something of a mystery.

Conclusion

The great medieval monastic libraries and their scriptoria had their birth in the book-collecting activity necessary to support the monastic form of individual prayer. As Christianity moved into position as a mainline religion in the late Roman Empire under the rule of Constantine, men and a few women left their homes to take up the ascetic life as Christian monks and nuns in the desert of Egypt. In this radical form of life they were encouraged to pray unceasingly (1 Thessalonians 5:17), meditating on the words of scripture by reciting them over and over to themselves in a low murmur. Great portions of text were memorized in order to effectively engage in this sort of prayer as well as in the communal chanting of the psalter. Literacy was necessary for memorization, and books were necessary in all these monasteries if the monks were to be literate and learn texts by heart.

It is sometimes said that the motto of the Benedictine Order is "Ora et Labora—Pray and Work." While never officially adopted as such, it cannot be denied that prayer and work are the two fundamental themes of the *Rule of Benedict.* This rule never mentions a scriptorium or the copying of texts. In fact, it is clear that the kind of work Benedict had in mind was agricultural. However, by the high Middle Ages the most renowned abbot of the day could say: "He cannot take up the plow? Then let him take up the pen; it is much more useful. In the furrows he traces on parchment, he will sow the seeds of the divine words."[16] The monk's daily work evolved quite naturally from the farm to the scriptorium, where the work of copying texts also aided the monk in memorizing them for prayer. In this way work and prayer were melded together in the life of the monk.

It might be argued that monks surely did not pray over the texts of the pagan classical authors. There was certainly controversy over the propriety of monks copying the works of the ancient pagans, but a large number of monastic leaders were able to see how monks could extract

virtue from these texts.[17] So their copying continued, and the ancient wisdom was saved for its rebirth at the Renaissance. This significant contribution to the history of Western culture has, at least, been preserved in the popular image of rows of silent monks of medieval times, each at his own desk, quill pen in hand. But their libraries date from ancient days. From the beginning of monastic life, literary works were collected and books read as required activities on the path to prayer and holiness.

Notes

1. Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), see chapter 7, "Benedictine Monasteries and the Survival of Classical Literature."

2. There are a number of references in the gospels that tell of Jesus going aside to find a quiet place to pray. Probably the most influential of these for the early monks was the Holy Spirit leading Jesus into the wilderness immediately after his baptism in the Jordan by John the Baptist (Mark 1:12–13 and its parallel passages in Matthew 4:1–11 and Luke 4:1–13). There Jesus prays, fasts, and resists temptation.

3. See Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), 153–55; Benedict of Nursia, *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. Timothy Fry, Timothy Horner, and Imogene Baker (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981) (hereafter cited in the text as *RB*).

4. Arianism is the christological heresy that holds that the Son was not "of one substance with the Father" (as in the Nicene Creed) but rather a being created by the Father. Effectively, it denies the divinity of Christ.

5. Semi-Pelagianism is a complex heretical understanding dealing with the working of God's grace in effecting human salvation. The question is whether human effort is required or if God's grace is sufficient without any human effort. The ascetic life of monks often led many of them to overemphasize the place of human effort in the working of salvation.

6. A translation is available in Gregory the Great, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great, Book Two: Saint Benedict* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967).

7. *The Rule of the Master (Regula Magistri)*, trans. Luke Eberle and Charles Philippi (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1977). For a history of this time period see pages 73–79.

8. Ibid., 209.

9. John Cassian, *The Institutes*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (Mahwah, N.J.: Newman Press, 2000) (hereafter cited as *I*); John Cassian, *The Conferences*, trans. Boniface Ramsey (Mahwah, N.J.: Newman Press, 1997) (hereafter cited as *C*).

10. Armand Veilleux, "Holy Scripture in the Pachomian Koinonia," *Monastic Studies* 10 (1974): 149.

11. This art is not mentioned at all by Benedict not because he thought it unimportant but because he undoubtedly considered it so basic that he took it for granted. Benedict does not mention celibacy either.

12. The Pachomian corpus has been gathered and translated into English by Armand Veilleux in his three-volume work entitled *Pachomian Koinonia* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1980–82) (hereafter cited as *PK*).

13. Veilleux, "Holy Scripture," 145–47.

14. Ibid., 148.

15. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 11, 4, 13.

16. Peter the Venerable, as translated in Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, 154.

17. One of the most popular ways of doing this was by interpreting the text allegorically (ibid., 146–50).



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Carolingian Monastic Library Catalogs and Medieval Classification of Knowledge

Buford Scrivner

The role of the monastic *scriptoria* and libraries of the Middle Ages in preserving the literature of the ancient world as well as of their own times is one whose importance has long been recognized. So valuable was their contribution to the survival of classical literature that scholarly attention to the catalogs of monastic libraries has dwelled with some tenacity upon this subject. In the study of the libraries of the Middle Ages that has the strongest claim to being definitive, *The Medieval Library* by James Westfall Thompson and his collaborators, the discussion of a library catalog is most frequently reduced to an enumeration of the classical works it contains.[1] A somewhat different interest motivates the enterprise of attempting to identify the titles listed in a medieval catalog with manuscripts currently extant.[2] Neither approach allows for sufficient consideration of the unique characteristics of the catalogs themselves as documents compiled for a specific type of institution and user during a period of history quite removed from the present. The concern of the following study of medieval monastic library catalogs is with matters that have hitherto been largely overlooked: the principles of construction of a catalog as an expression of the needs and values of the users of the libraries they record, and the relationship of a catalog as a cultural artifact to the intellectual milieu of its time.

Because the Carolingian period[3] is the earliest time from which catalogs have been preserved in significant numbers, and because the methods of arranging entries in these documents continued to appear in monastic library catalogs for centuries to come, four catalogs of the ninth and tenth centuries have been chosen as a

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point of departure for an examination of classification practices in monastic library catalogs of the Middle Ages. The four catalogs are among those collected, largely from previously published sources, by Gustavus Becker in his *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* and have been reduced to outline form in the four tables that follow.[4] These particular catalogs were selected for close examination because they were more liberally provided with headings of various kinds (author, subject, form) than were others of the period. Headings that were actually devised by the compilers of the catalogs serve to bring principles of arrangement into sharper focus and to present more substantial support for an origin of these principles in the catalogs themselves, rather than in the eye of the modern researcher. The collections listed in the four documents are also among the largest of the ninth and tenth centuries, the number of volumes enumerated in catalogs of this time ranging from partial lists of a dozen or so volumes to the more than six hundred from the monastery of Bobbio (table 4). In the other libraries under consideration, the books numbered 415 at Reichenau (table 1), 243 at St. Riquier (table 2), and 428 at St. Gall (table 3).[5] It would seem inevitable that more manifestly conscious efforts to impose order would accompany large numbers of books, although other extant catalogs of three to five hundred titles lack headings altogether. Even the largest monastic collections throughout the medieval period were astonishingly small when compared to the great libraries of antiquity or to those of the post-printing centuries; the library of the renowned monastery of Cluny in the twelfth century possessed fewer than six hundred volumes. In the kinds of works represented, however, these four libraries were entirely typical of monastic institutions in general. More central to the present investigation is the fact, as will be established by subsequent comparisons, that forms of arrangement employed in these early documents are encountered repeatedly in monastic library catalogs until as late as the fourteenth century. In the tables that summarize the four catalogs, *all headings or other explanatory matter in Latin are actually to be found in the catalogs themselves*, with abbreviation, capitalization, and punctuation following Becker. *Headings or commentary in English have been supplied* for one of the following reasons: to identify clearly discernible subject, author, or form groupings that do occur in the catalogs but are unannounced by any type of heading; to elucidate the contents of classes; or to translate less obvious phrases from the Latin.

Table 1
Catalog of the Monastery of Reichenau, 822

De libris Veteris ac N. Testamenti (Books of the Old and New Testaments)
De opusculis S. AUGUSTINI (Works of St. Augustine)
De opusculis B. HIERONYMI (Works of St. Jerome)

There follow six headings of identical form introducing works by Gregory the Great, Leo I, Cyprian, Eusebius (his church history), Hilary, Basil, and Athanasius.

De vita patrum (Chiefly lives of the church fathers, but also accounts of the destruction of Troy, *Apollonius of Tyre*, and a book on architecture)
De libris Iosephi (Josephus's history of the Jews)
Law (Civil, Roman, and Germanic codes)
History and Geography (Secular history only)
Medicine
Service books (Lectionaries, psalters, and antiphonaries)
De opusculis S. AMBROSI (Works of St. Ambrose)

There follow author headings for the works of John Chrysostom, Orosius, Cassian, Eucherius, Prosper (prose works only), Isidore of Seville, Bede, Cassiodorus, Primasius, Aldhelm (both poetry and prose), and Boethius.

De libris canonum (Canon law)
De libris homilarium (Collections of homilies, one noted as being arranged according to the calendar of church holidays)
De regulis (Monastic rules of Benedict and others)
De passionibus sanctorum (Hagiography)
De libris glossarum (Miscellanies of writings by "diversis doctoribus")
De libris PRISCIANI
Grammar and rhetoric (Priscian, Donatus, and others)
Poetry
Christian (Juvencus, Sedulius, Prosper, Aldhelm, and others)
Pagan (The *Georgics* and portions of the *Aeneid* of Virgil)

Table 2
Catalog of the Monastery of St. Riquier, 831

De libris: libri cononici (One complete Bible, forty manuscripts of various of the Scriptures)
De libris S. Hieronymi
De libris S. Augustini

There follow author headings of identical form identifying works by Origen, Hilary, John Chrysostom, Cassiodorus, Fulgentius, and Bede.

Diversorum (Minor church fathers such as Primasius, Gregory Nazianzus)
De canonibus (Canon law)
Homilies

After a series of miscellaneous works including saints' lives, scriptural commentary, and some history, a note states that the *codices librorum claustralium de Divinitate*, that is, the works of divinity kept in the cloisters for the reading of the monks, number 195.

De libris grammaticorum
Grammar and rhetoric (Priscian, Donatus, Cicero)
Poetry (Christian and pagan together, including Prosper, Aldhelm, Virgil)
Medicine
De libris antiquorum qui de gestis regum vel situ terrarum scripserunt
These "books of the ancients who wrote of the deeds of kings or situation of the earth" include secular and church history, Pliny the Younger, and a geography.
Law (Civil)
De libris sacarii (Service books: missals, lectionaries, antiphonaries)

A final note observes that the books owned by the community as a whole number 256.

Table 3
Catalog of the Monastery of St. Gall, 9th Century

LIBRI SCOTTICE SCRIPTI. (Manuscripts in the "Scots," or insular, hand)
DE LIBRIS VETERIS TESTAMENTI.
ITEM DE LIBRIS NOVI TESTAMENTI.
DE LIBRIS BEATI GREGORII PAPAE.
DE LIBRIS HIERONIMI PRBI.

There follow author headings of the same form preceding lists of works by Augustine, Ambrose, Prosper (prose writings only), Bede, Isidore, Cassiodorus, and Eusebius.

DE LIBRIS DIVERSOV AVCTORVM
Under this heading are grouped those works, primarily scriptural commentary, of authors represented by only a single title in this catalog as well as volumes of mixed authorship: for example, the histories of Jerome and Eusebius in a single manuscript.
DE LIBRIS ALCHUUNI. (Prose works only of Alcuin)
DE REGVLIS SCORV PATRV. (Monastic rules, often in the same volume with martyrologies)
DE VITA SCORVM PATRVM. (Lives of the church fathers and other saints)
DE VIRTVTIB. SEV PASSIONIB. SCOR. APOSTOLOR. VEL MARTIRV. ("Concerning the virtues and passions of the Apostles or martyrs," with a single volume of canon law included)
DE LEGIBVS. (Civil law)
LIBRI GLOSARIVM. (Scriptural glosses and homilies)
Psalters
DE METRIS. (Christian poetry only, including works of Alcuin and Aldhelm)
History (Secular only)
DE LIBRIS GRĀMATICE ARTIS. (Grammar and rhetoric)

Table 4
Catalog of the Monastery of Bobbio, 10th Century

(The original opening of the catalog having been lost, it begins in the middle of a listing of works by Augustine.)
Works of Augustine
Item de lib. . . . (Works of Jerome)
Item de Eusebii libris.
Author headings in the same form introduce works by Gregory the Great, Ambrose, Origen, Cyprian, and Isidore of Seville.
Item de canonibus. (Canon law)
Item de libris diversorum auctorum. (Various types of works from moral tracts to Pliny's natural history)
Item de libris incertis. (Works either of unknown or of collective authorship)
Item de vita & passionibus sanctorum
  Saints' lives
  Monastic rules
Language arts
  Grammar, rhetoric, poetry (Christian and pagan intermingled)
Homilies (A note states that these are arranged for use at church festivals)
Books written in insular hand, obtained, it is claimed, from St. Columban himself.
Donor lists.

The surviving catalogs from the ninth and tenth centuries were not designed as finding tools to assist in the use of the collections they enumerate. Apart from the thirteenth-century *Biblionomia*, Richard de Fournival's complex and idiosyncratic catalog of his private collection, the earliest medieval catalog to contain location information would appear to be that of Christchurch, Canterbury, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[6] In respect to immediate purpose, Carolingian monastic catalogs, like those of the following centuries up to the late Middle Ages, were essentially inventories, some no more than donor lists arranged according to the names of those who had contributed books to the monastery. The number of titles contained in the different groupings in the tables varies greatly. It should occasion no surprise that the Scriptures, the major church fathers, and the liturgical works constitute the largest classes—the writings of St. Augustine, for instance, occupy from twenty to as many as forty volumes, with considerable duplication. The totals of the grammar, rhetoric, and poetic texts range from ten in the Reichenau catalog to almost forty in that from Bobbio, while the minor church fathers and such subjects as medicine and geography are generally present in only a volume or two. It should be kept in mind that the full contents of any individual manuscript are not often given, so the author or subject heading of any book was assigned on the basis either of the first work it contained or of what was considered the major work. Given the fact that facilitating access to the books does not appear to have been a concern in compiling the catalogs, one would expect to find no order whatsoever. In many cases this expectation is justified. Certainly no monastic library catalog of the medieval period, Carolingian or later, exhibits a full and meticulous classification scheme. Yet organization based upon author, subject, and form, as well as other less obvious principles, does occur with noteworthy frequency. Fields of knowledge can be seen to have been discriminated and disposed into rough hierarchical structures.

The catalog of the monastery of Reichenau, dated 822, opens with the Scriptures followed by writings of the church fathers gathered beneath author headings. The same pattern is encountered in the catalogs of St. Riquier and St. Gall, and, because of the loss of the beginning of the catalog, in incomplete form in that of Bobbio. Since the Bobbio catalog opens with a damaged, partially illegible, and uncharacteristically brief listing of works by Augustine, it is virtually certain that the Scriptures, followed by a fuller representation of Augustine, constituted the original be-

ginning. The practice of placing the Scriptures at the outset and following them immediately with patristic works in author arrangement was common in catalogs of the ninth and tenth centuries and was to prove viable for some time to come. Among Carolingian catalogs in which it occurs, in addition to the four summarized in the tables, are two from St. Vandrille, one of the late eighth century and the other of the ninth, and another Reichenau catalog of somewhat later date than that of table 1.[7] In later centuries, it appears in eleventh-century catalogs from Toul and Schaffhausen,[8] in twelfth-century catalogs from the abbeys of St. Martin of Tournai and St. Martial of Limoges,[9] and from Durham Cathedral Priory, as well as in a thirteenth-century catalog from Glastonbury Abbey.[10] In the catalogs of the university libraries the author arrangement of patristic works gives way at last to subject classifications, as in a Sorbonne catalog of 1338 in which scriptural commentary is arranged according to the books of the Bible with which it is concerned.[11] In a slight departure from the typical pattern, the St. Gall catalog has as its first classification, preceding the church fathers, a group of manuscripts collocated on the basis of the script in which they were written. The "Scots" script would have been the insular hand used for copying many books during the sixth and seventh centuries in monastic institutions influenced by Irish and Northumbrian missionaries. These books may possibly have been set apart out of reverence for their age and association with saints such as Columban or Boniface, possibly because at this date the insular script appeared quaint and had become difficult to read, possibly both. Such a grouping of books occurs also near the end of the Bobbio catalog, and the practice bears some comparison with the *Libri Anglici*, or "English books," heading used in some English catalogs of the twelfth century and later to designate manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon, which had by that time become unreadable.

In the placement of individual works, the conflicting claims of author and subject interest were answered with varying solutions. Under the author heading for works of Augustine in the Reichenau catalog is listed a *De musica*, a work wrongly but widely attributed to that author. In a catalog of St. Gall, dating from somewhat earlier in the ninth century than the one outlined in table 3, the same pseudo-Augustinian *De musica* is found among works on the liberal arts and collections of poetry rather than with the group of theological writings by Augustine. Clearly the choice was between placement on the basis of subject of a work noticeably different in character from other writings by Augustine and the

collocation of all works by this most renowned of the church fathers. The same conflict is apparent in the placement of the church history of Eusebius. In the Reichenau and Bobbio catalogs Eusebius appears with other church fathers under an author heading, while in the St. Riquier catalog his work is placed among that of other writers of history, both church and secular.

In some cases it was form rather than author or subject that provided the basis for classification. An example from the Reichenau catalog is also one of many instances in which a heading does not indicate with altogether literal accuracy what is actually contained in the grouping of books it introduces. Under the heading *De libris PRISCIANI* are found not only the works of Priscian together with other grammar and rhetoric texts, but also a number of collections of poetry scrupulously separated into two groups so that the Christian poets precede the pagan ones. The separation of verse from prose on the basis of form and without respect to subject appears to have been a convention of formidable strength in medieval cataloging. In the St. Gall catalog the prose works of Prosper and Alcuin both are entered under author headings, while the poetic works of these writers come near the end under the *DE METRIS* heading. The same practice may be observed with regard to Prosper in the Reichenau catalog, but the author grouping for Aldhelm in this catalog includes his poetry, while one of his poetic works, which formed part of a collection of Christian poetry by various authors, appears under *De libris PRISCIANI.* The discrimination of Christian poets from pagan ones is much less frequent, the desire to distinguish *all* verse from *all* prose having apparently been more urgent than consideration of the subject of the verse. Both distinctions were maintained, with Christian poets preceding pagan ones, in the famous eighth-century "metrical catalog" of Alcuin, which was simply a versified author list of the library of York Cathedral and is contained in his long historical poem, *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiae Eboracensis.*[12] Both were likewise maintained in the eleventh-century catalog of the monastery of Toul, which provides headings for the explicit distinction of the *Libri divinorum poetarum* from the *Libri gentilium poetarum.*[13] Among the "Gentile" poets, however, one also discovers the grammatical works of Donatus and Priscian, making this heading somewhat the obverse of the *De libris PRISCIANI* and the *De libris grammaticorum* headings of the Reichenau and St. Riquier catalogs, respectively, under which poetic works were included. Indeed, grammar and rhetoric texts are most often found closely associated in some fashion with works of poetry, by

being located beneath the same subject heading, intermingled in a common grouping without heading, or placed in separate but adjoining groups. In addition to those catalogs specified, such an association also appears in the catalog from Bobbio, in two from Lorsch compiled in the tenth century,[14] and, as in the catalog from Toul, beneath the heading *LIBRI GENTILIUM POETARUM* in a twelfth-century catalog of the Abbey of St. Martin of Tournai.[15] Additional types of headings include the *Libris incertis* of the Bobbio catalog, used to designate works of unknown authorship, and the *Diversorum auctorum* of the St. Gall catalog, under which are grouped single works of various authors as well as collections of mixed authorship. Though interesting, the two latter types of headings represent isolated instances rather than recurrent tendencies.

Taking into account the fact that service books, lectionaries, antiphonaries, missals, and other texts of liturgical function were usually grouped together in medieval monastic catalogs, certain forms of collocation and arrangement can now be seen to appear with some regularity. A list of the Scriptures followed by at least the major and often a number of minor church fathers is a frequent pattern at the opening of a catalog. Verse of all varieties is commonly separated from prose works and usually appears either at the end or near the end of a catalog. Service books most often are grouped together, although their relative location within the overall arrangement varies from document to document. Beyond these more obvious features, there are two major recurrent patterns of association according to which certain subjects tend to cohere to each other in clusters. As previously observed, poetic works are often listed among or adjacent to grammar and rhetoric texts. The second type of association, formulated on its most general level, is between works concerned in various ways either with time (history, the computation of time, the observance of time through liturgy) or with law (civil law, canon law, monastic rules). In regard to this second pattern, it should be noted that although the service books commonly form a cohesive group rather than being scattered throughout a catalog, as a group they are found in association with other subject classes of the type listed above. When reduced to specific examples, this second kind of association manifests itself in varying combinations of the component subjects. The Reichenau catalog, for instance, lists under the heading *De vita patrum* not only lives of the church fathers but also some historical works concerning the classical, pagan past. The author heading *De libris Iosephi* introduces only two copies of

Josephus's history of the Jews; distinct subject groups containing considerably larger numbers of volumes follow with no type of heading whatsoever. In order, these are law, history, medicine, and the service books. In the catalog from St. Gall one finds, in succession, monastic rules, saints' lives, canon law, and civil law; in that from Bobbio, saints' lives and monastic rules are under a single heading. Associations between works concerned on some level of generality with time or law assume the following forms in other contemporary and later medieval monastic catalogs: St. Vandrille, 823–833, monastic rules, history, canon law; Lorsch, tenth century, service books, monastic rules, and cycles of martyrologies in one cluster, law and saints' lives in another; Lorsch, also tenth century, history and "computes" (tables for computing time and establishing dates); Toul, eleventh century, saints' lives and service books;[16] Massay, eleventh century, monastic rules, martyrological cycles, computes;[17] Glastonbury Abbey, thirteenth century, history, martyrologies, saints' lives, monastic rules;[18] Christchurch, Canterbury, fourteenth century, history, computes, martyrologies, monastic rules.[19]

Merely listing such examples of patterns of associations, though it may bring into sharper focus some of the peculiarities of cataloging in the medieval monastic library, does nothing to advance understanding them. For that purpose it is necessary to examine briefly the cultural heritage that shaped the way compilers of these catalogs are likely to have understood the world around them and the configuration of existing knowledge. If the cataloging practices of the Alexandrian or Roman libraries failed to be transmitted to the Middle Ages, at least one model for the arrangement of certain areas of knowledge relative to each other did survive. This was the group of seven liberal arts, the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music). In truth it was less a matter of the assimilation of a concept than of the persistence of terminology. From the time of Aristotle the liberal arts were conceived as those studies appropriate for the seeker after knowledge, not useful or practical knowledge, but that which would lead to moral and intellectual excellence in preparation for the highest of all disciplines, philosophy. Christianity was to provide a new context that radically altered their purpose and relative importance.

From the foundation of the Roman empire to the collapse of its western half in 476, the quality of literature and literary studies was in a state of decline. Rhetoric became the predominant liberal art, giving birth to an oratorical style of great inventiveness and

little substance and elevating the panegyric to favored status as a literary form. Liberal studies fell into a conservative dependence upon authority that was to become so pervasive and characteristic in the Middle Ages, each new text of grammar, rhetoric, or dialectic being simply a compilation from earlier ones. Grammar, often not clearly distinguished from rhetoric and combined with that subject in a single text, was studied through analysis of passages from Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. In a poverty of originality and inspiration, poetry was largely imitative of these and other authors of earlier times, Christian poets being no exception to the use of classical models. A poetic life of Christ composed in the sixth century by Proba, wife of a prefect of Rome, was made up entirely of lines from Virgil removed from their original context, while Prudentius and Prosper wrote religious verse in imitation of the epic form.[20]

It was in this kind of intellectual climate that Christianity developed and it was these traditions in literature and education it inherited upon receiving official sanction from Constantine in the fourth century. St. Augustine, trained in the liberal arts and a teacher of rhetoric himself at the time of his conversion, did not fail to sense an emptiness in the education he had received. In the *Confessions* he noted that he had learned the rules of correct speech and the techniques of persuasion, but no useful purpose for these skills nor any moral constraints upon their exercise. Concerned with the potential for abuse of language, Augustine regarded the incarnation of Christ as a redemption of language as well as of mankind. In his view, when God became man, He had spoken human language and enjoined believers to communicate in language His message to their fellows. Grammar and rhetoric could thus be reunited with substantive purpose: their function now was to assist in the interpretation of the Scriptures and effectively communicate this interpretation.[21] Lists of quotations from Christian writers from the ante-Nicene fathers straight through the Middle Ages can be, and on occasion have been, assembled to demonstrate the church's continuing ambivalence and inconsistency in its positions regarding classical pagan literature.[22] Though historically interesting, such compilations are finally inconclusive, because for all the expressions either of hostility or of tolerance, there was never in fact any real possibility that Christianity in Western Europe could dispense altogether with classical learning: Christianity, like Judaism, is a text-centered religion requiring the reading and study of certain unique and sacred writings; Latin, in the West, became the language of the church and

of these sacred texts themselves; and Christianity inherited an educational system in which the study of language was accomplished through analysis and imitation of passages from classical Latin literature.

The study of the Scriptures, however, did not stop simply at a mastery of the Latin language. There was in Christian thought something of a paradox whereby its central message was of such simplicity that a person of even the rudest understanding could grasp it sufficiently so as to secure salvation, while at the same time its doctrines offered complexities of such depth as to try human comprehension to its limit in their explication. It was generally believed that whatever was hidden or obscure in one part of the Scriptures was laid open and made plain in another, thus allowing for both the immediate communication of the message of redemption and the unending task of interpretation and commentary. Though often quite complicated in its result, the purpose of interpretation was simple: to uncover what was hidden. The interpretation of Scripture received no challenge as the highest and most complex form of intellectual activity until the advent of scholastic philosophy in the twelfth century, when questions of the relative domains of faith and reason began to be addressed. In the *De doctrina Christiana* Augustine explained that that which is obtained with difficulty is the more highly prized. Thus, he wrote, he found much greater delight in discovering the concealed meaning behind the metaphor in the Song of Songs, "Thy teeth are as flocks of sheep" (4:2), than had he been told directly that the saints were like the teeth of the church, which bite men free from heresies.[23] Any given passage could conceal more than one meaning, and, though allegorical interpretation had limits only in the imaginative powers of its practitioners and could thus give rise to bewildering arrays of significations, there were three standard levels of interpretation: the literal, the moral, and the anagogical (or that having to do with things eternal and divine). A well-known example of this method at work is the interpretation of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt: it is a historical event precisely as described on the literal level; on the moral level it represents the individual turning away from a life of sin toward God; on the anagogical level, the passage from earthly to eternal life.

It becomes readily understandable, then, why the works of Donatus, Priscian, and other grammarians and rhetoricians not only are almost universally represented in medieval monastic catalogs but are frequently also found in conjunction with poetic works. For the medieval monks, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, as well as

Christian poets such as Prosper, Sedulius, and Juvencus who imitated the classical authors, represented models of correctness in Latin style. Christian poets appear to have been read not for substance but rather for form, and together with the pagan poets and the grammar and rhetoric texts they constituted a pedagogical apparatus for providing access to the language, the *litera*, of the Scriptures. Charlemagne himself emphasized the religious implications of literary studies in his well-known letter, written near the end of the eighth century, enjoining the improvement of education in the monasteries, the *Epistola de litteris colendis*. Concerning the failure of some monks in his kingdom to master Latin grammar, Charles observed, "We began to fear, therefore, lest this might lead to lamentable want of understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and we all know well that, dangerous as are errors in form, errors of understanding are far more to be feared."[24]

In addition to a measure of familiarity with the medieval approach to the reading and interpretation of Scripture, a consideration of the nature of monastic existence can contribute to the discovery of an explanation for aspects of arrangement in the monastic library catalogs. In short, the user groups and the purposes for which they used their libraries were important in influencing the form that the catalogs of the libraries assumed. By and large, an individual joined a monastic community so that through reading the Scriptures and devotional texts, rigorously observing a crowded liturgical regimen of prayer, private meditation, and a certain amount of self-denial, he might live safely insulated from the world and its temptations and achieve salvation.[25] When it is recalled that grammatical and rhetorical texts were frequently grouped with poetical works and located near the end of a catalog while the Scriptures and the church fathers opened it, a correspondence may be discerned between catalog arrangement and a valuative hierarchy of forms of knowledge:

Scriptures	---------	Divine revelation
Church fathers	---------	Interpretation revealing moral and anagogical levels of meaning
Grammar and rhetoric texts, poetic works	---------	Language study, access to literal level

As revealed truth, the Scriptures rest at the top of the hierarchy, whereas approaches to their study and understanding are disposed beneath in order of importance.

Certain kinds of groupings observable in monastic library catalogs must at times have corresponded in a loose fashion to the physical distribution of portions of the books. During the Carolingian period and for some time thereafter, the monastic complex normally would not have included a room set apart and designated for use as a library. Typically the books would have been scattered throughout the monastery in various locations according to use. Of these smaller collections there were three principal types: the liturgical or service books, kept in or near the chapel; the books for the monks' private reading (scriptural commentary, homilies), possibly kept in the *scriptorium* when not in active use; and the instructional books, the grammar, rhetoric, and literary texts, to be used for educating both novitiates and a certain number of youths not intended for the order. Although the trend in the later periods was toward increasing centralization, there seem to have been at all times separate smaller working collections of various types.[26] What is significant in the present context of discussion is not the degree of accuracy with which any of these catalogs records an actual order of arrangement of *books*, for which evidence until the very late Middle Ages is entirely lacking, but the fact that they reflect enduring assumptions concerning the relationships among and purposes of the various fields of *knowledge*.

One recurrent grouping, the service books, was noted to join in forming larger clusters with other groupings of books concerned in some manner with law or with time. The relationship of these subjects becomes less mysterious when the routine of life in the monastery is taken into account. The life was highly regulated, its activities governed by the monastic rule, the daily round of prayer at the liturgical hours, and the special offices on appointed days according to the calendar. The day and the year were patterned, and the pattern was repeated day after day, year after year. All history, too, was patterned, its beginning and its future termination familiar from Scripture and homily. The events of history represented a record of the working out of God's will, of which human laws were but a simulation, from Adam through the five Ages of Man comprising the old law (justice) and into the Sixth Age beginning with the birth of Christ and the advent of the new law (mercy). The lives and martyrdoms of the saints, read with great fervor and celebrated according to established schedule, illustrated God's law, and, far from being remote events, were real and immediate to the members of the monastic communities in a way most difficult to comprehend in a much less devout and credulous age. To some degree perhaps the very distinctions

among past and present and future were obscure to the minds of these monks, to whom both past and future were also always present and repeatedly commemorated in prayer, reading, and sacrament. Law, history, chronology, liturgy—these had in common the element of a form enduring and perpetually manifest. The fact that associations of these subjects appear in monastic catalogs from the Carolingian period to the fourteenth century indicates how unchanged in its essentials the monastic life remained.

Other subjects were certainly known, but found less full and frequent representation in the catalogs for two mutually dependent reasons: not a great deal was written on them and they were evidently perceived as peripheral to the central concerns of a cloistered existence. Because it lacked direct application to the study and interpretation of Scripture, dialectic, the third discipline of the *trivium*, is seldom evident until the twelfth century, when the new scholastic philosophy began to call for precise methodology in reasoning. The four disciplines of the *quadrivium*, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, along with architecture, medicine, history, and geography, clearly constitute information either necessary or potentially valuable to a monastic community. Indeed, some of them are usually found in most medieval catalogs. In assessing the importance of these subjects to the compilers of the catalogs, the sparseness of their representation is perhaps less important than the fact that, except for medicine, distinct groupings of books devoted to any of them virtually never occur in monastic library catalogs until the very end of the Middle Ages, though they do appear in cathedral library catalogs as early as the eleventh century and somewhat later in the university library catalogs.[27]

In summation, aspects of classification in medieval monastic library catalogs from the Carolingian and later periods are of two rather different types. The first consists of clearly deliberate devices such as author, subject, or form headings, or of collocation of titles without headings but according to some immediately obvious principle such as author, subject, or form. The second type involves features of arrangement that recur persistently but are not self-explanatory, such as the relative location of a subject group within a catalog (for instance, the placement of grammatical and poetic texts near the end), or associations of several subject groupings according to an undisclosed rationale (the frequent contiguity of works concerned at some level of abstraction with either law or time). Where headings were provided by the compilers of the catalogs, classification according to those headings

was not always especially rigorous. In some instances an example of the first type of overt organizational device proves upon closer examination to be one of the second, associative type, as when a heading such as *De vita patrum* introduces not only lives of the church fathers but also accounts of the Trojan War and the life of the pagan hero Apollonius of Tyre. The true subject in this instance was history. That the associative type of organization was possibly less a result of conscious attempts at imposing order than an unforced expression of world view perhaps argues against its being admitted as cataloging in the strict sense of the term, something constructed *kata logos*, or "according to reason." Nonetheless, much that appears completely chaotic and insensitive to the appeal of order in these documents can be found to evidence an order visible only when the attempt is made to perceive the world and the particular place of the medieval monk within it from the vantage point of the compilers of the catalogs and the users of the books recorded in them.

Notes

1. James Westfall Thompson et al., *The Medieval Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; reprint ed., New York: Hafner, 1963).

2. Classic studies of this type are those of Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1868, 1874, 1881); and M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903).

3. Although the kingdom created by Charlemagne, who had himself crowned emperor in 800, did not survive as a political entity beyond the death of his son Louis the Pious in 840, his interest in learning gave stimulus to literary activity in the monasteries that continued to produce results through much of the ninth century. Also, many of the catalogs whose contents most fully reflect the influence of Charlemagne were not actually compiled until as late as the tenth century. For these reasons, the term "Carolingian" is for the purposes of the present study employed in its broadest dynastic sense so as to encompass the lineal descendants of Charlemagne through Louis V (d. 987).

4. Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn: M. Cohen, 1885).

5. The full catalogs of which these tables represent an outline may be found in Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, catalog no. 6, pp. 4–13; no. 11, pp. 24–28; no. 22, pp. 45–53; and no. 32, pp. 64–73.

6. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. xxv–xliv, 13–36.

7. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, no. 4, pp. 3–4; no. 7, pp. 13–16; no. 8, pp. 16–18.

8. Ibid., no. 68, pp. 149–154; no. 69, pp. 154–157.

9. Delise, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 2, pp. 487–504.

10. Dorothy May Norris, *A History of Cataloguing and Cataloguing*

Methods, 1100–1850 (London: Grafton, 1939), pp. 14–15, 26–30.

11. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 3, pp. 9–72.

12. The passage may be found in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1863), vol. 101, col. 843.

13. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, no. 68, pp. 149–154.

14. Ibid., no. 37, pp. 82–119; no. 38, pp. 120–125.

15. Delisle, *Le cabinets des manuscrits*, vol. 2, pp. 487–492.

16. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, no. 7, pp. 13–16; no. 37, pp. 82–119; no. 38, pp. 120–125; no. 68, pp. 149–154.

17. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 2, pp. 441–443.

18. Norris, *History of Cataloguing*, pp. 26–30.

19. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. 13–36.

20. For fuller accounts of the classical educational curriculum, the seven liberal arts, and the decline in classical culture, see Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*, 4th ed. (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957), pp. 33–55; Andrew Fleming West, *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools* (New York: Scribner, 1892), pp. 4–22; Frederick B. Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages, A.D. 200–1500: An Historical Survey*, 3rd ed. rev. (New York: Knopf, 1965), pp. 85–94, 179–183; and Pierre Riche, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 1–7.

21. Augustine's philosophy of language is examined at length in Marcia L. Colish, *The Mirror of Language: A Study in the Medieval Theory of Knowledge* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 21–35.

22. For example, Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (London: Allen and Unwin, 1906), pp. 75–95; and M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900* (New York: Dial, 1931), pp. 26–33.

23. John J. Gavigan (trans.), in *The Writings of St. Augustine*, 17 vols. vol. 4 (Ludwig Schopp, ed.), (New York: CIMA Publishing, 1947), pp. 65–66.

24. As translated by Eleanor Shipley Duckett in *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne: His World and His Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), p. 125.

25. These and other generalizations concerning the monastic existence must not be assumed to apply to the mendicant orders founded in the thirteenth century. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites had rather different motives, which involved preaching, missionary work, teaching, and combating heresy. In time they, too, gathered libraries as had the older Benedictine and other monastic orders. On the character of the libraries of these new mendicant orders, see K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars, 1215–1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964).

26. See the chapter contributed by Florence Edler De Roover to Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, pp. 594–612; and A. J. Piper's study of the numerous shiftings of the book collection in Durham Cathedral Priory, "The Libraries of the Monks of Durham," in M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (eds.), *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker* (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 213–249.

27. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, vol. 2, pp. 443–445.



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Chinese Library Science in the Twelfth Century

Kuang Neng-fu

Introduction

A foundation of Chinese library science was laid during the twelfth century. At that time the needs of social development forced people to make a summary of materials of Chinese library science unceasingly accumulated by predecessors, thus forming a systematic knowledge of library science of an elementary scientific nature, characterized by the intuitive experience.

Among the most celebrated librarians were Cheng Ju and Zheng Qiao,[1] who not only formulated comprehensive rudimentary knowledge of library science, but also considered it great learning. In the same manner, they combined their theories with practice. What they did no doubt had a deep influence upon later generations.

The Song Dynasty (960–1279) was an important period during which the thoughts of Chinese library science developed greatly. The Song Dynasty saw the establishment of an ultimate centralized feudal country, consequently ending the war that lasted for many years. In such a peaceful society, agriculture, industry, and trade developed rapidly, especially the mining and metallurgy, porcelain-making and paper-making, and block printing industries. By this time the Chinese technology of shipbuilding was ranked first in the world. The economic center did not transfer to South China until the Southern Song Dynasty (1127–1279), which was more prosperous than the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127).[2] In fact, never before had China printed as many books as it did in the Song Dynasty, and the books were spread far and wide in unprecedented fashion. Moreover, the books printed in the Song Dynasty are generally superior in quality and in other

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aspects to the books printed in the later dynasties, such as the Ming (1368–1644) and the Qing (1644–1911).

The development of production promoted the development of science and culture. In the Song Dynasty there were three great inventions—gunpowder, the compass, and typographic printing, which are the great contributions made by the Chinese people. At this time Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi absorbed the essence of the Confucian school and created a new branch of philosophy, called Cheng Zhu. As a marker of social culture, librarianship developed unprecedentedly in China in the twelfth century.

In the Song Dynasty civil officials were appointed to administer the country; they gave much thought to studying, writing, and collecting books (ref. 19). Even though the national destiny suffered many setbacks and chaos caused by war in the Song Dynasty, many articles and monographs of many volumes were written by both nobles in the imperial court and common people in the countryside (ref. 17). There were no such things in any other dynasties in Chinese history (ref. 20). The number of books spread among the masses in this period even surpassed that of the Han Dynasty and the Tang Dynasty.[3] Therefore, the state organs, academy of classical learning, and private libraries developed rapidly. In the meantime acquisition, classification, and circulation in the library were perfected. Only in such a social context could the thoughts of library science form. It was also fertile soil for the librarians Cheng Ju and Zheng Qiao, who were the founders of library science in China.

Cheng Ju and His *A Tale of the National Library*

Cheng Ju (1078–1144), who had worked in the national library for many years and was the first deputy director of Mi Shu Sheng, understood that the national library played an important role in administering a feudal country. With unswerving loyalty to the Southern Song Dynasty, he had high aspirations and determination to reestablish a national library. With Cheng Ju's rich experience and profound knowledge, his system of library science was shaped gradually on the basis of a comprehensive summation of ideological materials accumulated by predecessors. Moreover, he collected records of the construction of the previous national libraries and then classified them by subject (ref. 2). After several months of hard labor, the first work of library science was completed, which consisted of five chapters and twelve sections, entitled *A Tale of the National Library*.

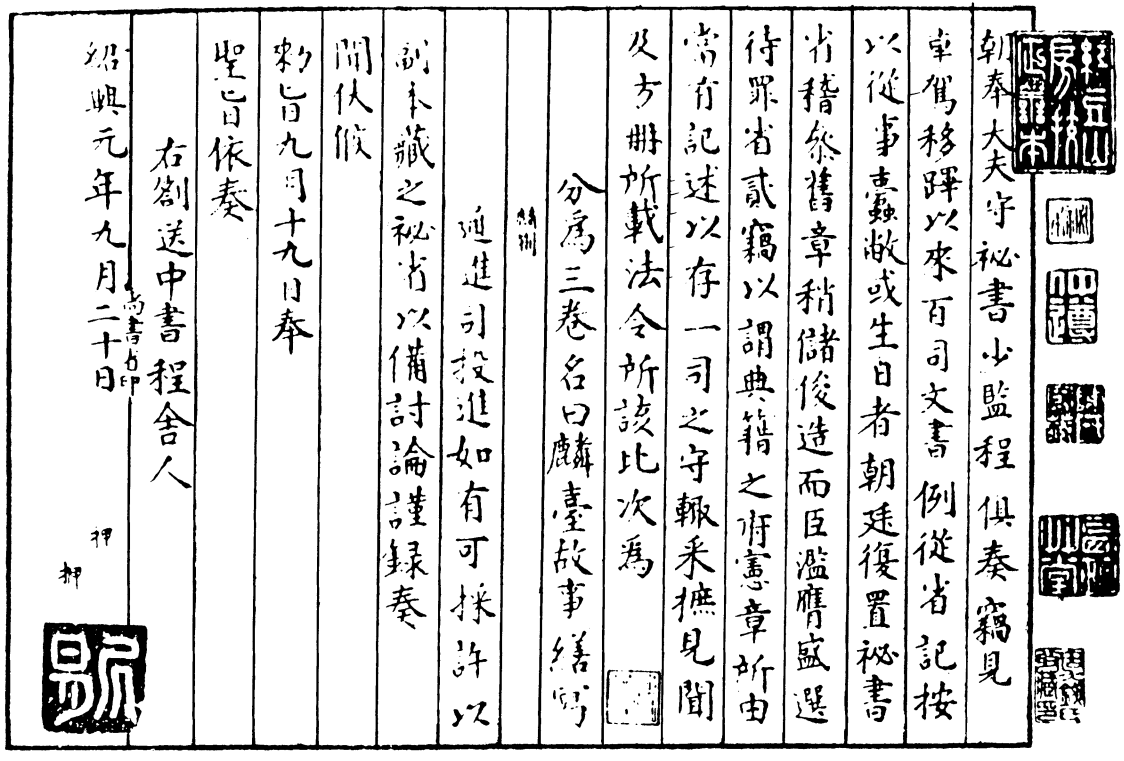
The book made suggestions about policies of the national library. The purpose of his compilation was to make proposals to reestablish the national library and resume the ancestral system of San Guan Mi Ge.[4] He presented his book to Zhao Gou, the emperor of the Southern Song Dynas-

ty, who granted the proposals two months later, on 19 September 1131. The following day the emperor's agreement was issued and put into effect.

The policies in *A Tale of the National Library* were not only adopted initially by Emperor Zhao Gou (ref. 13), but also adopted by subsequent emperors (ref. 7). Li Tao, a historian, said afterward, "It is forty years since the capital was moved to South China. All government offices and their systems have to be reexamined and resumed except San Guan Mi Ge. It has achieved outstanding results and no state organs can compare with its great success" (ref. 12). The records have proved that implementation of the policies yielded brilliant results; therefore, posterity has followed their examples. Six centuries later Hong Li (1711–1799), the emperor of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), gave praise to *A Tale of the National Library* in his imperial edict: Cheng Ju's book recorded state affairs in detail. For example, it recorded that in San Guan Mi Ge well-organized government positions were given as Ling Ge Shi, general director of the library, Zhi Mi Ge, directors of branch libraries, and Jiao Li, library staff. They were in charge of administering the collections (ref. 22). Emperor Hong Li also held that Wen Yuan Ge, the national library of the Qing Dynasty, must offer positions to a library director and must have concurrent officials for its administration. Only in this way could the national library be worthy of the name; the example of the system of the Song Dynasty was followed. As a result the government of the Qing Dynasty put the thoughts of library science proposed by *A Tale of the National Library* into practice.

Two incomplete copies of *A Tale of the National Library* reveal what Cheng Ju thought about the library and its functions. He believed that a library should be an important basis for working out various policies and be an institution for the country. From comprehensive books, people could know the laws of a nation's peace and prosperity and its disturbance and decline (ref. 2). In the book he cited the speech of an emperor: a nation should pay more respect to knowledge, inspire the people, and search for origins of things. Cheng Ju considered the library as a basis for a country and as a prerequisite for governing a country. In his book, Cheng Ju referred to a chief director of an administrative office of the national library in the early Song Dynasty, who presented a paper "On the Palace Library" to the emperor as early as 989. In the paper Li Zhi briefly discussed the construction and development of San Guan Mi Ge. This paper scanned more than ten centuries, from Qi Lin Ge and Tian Lu Ge in the Han Dynasty,[5] through the Wei (220–265), Jin (265–420), Northern and Southern (420–581), Sui (581–618), Tang (618–907), and Five (907–960) dynasties, to the Song Dynasty (960–1279). Cheng Ju mentioned the historical figure Li Zhi to prove a truth: the national library was very important and absolutely necessary.

In addition, he discussed the functions of the library in this book.



(SD) Jin A Tale of Lin Tai Shen Sheng Zhuang *by Cheng Ju (to write the book* A Tale of Lin Tai, *Cheng Ju presents a report to an emperor).*
(From exact replica of the incomplete original copy of the Song Dynasty, reproduced during the Ming Dynasty)

First, Cheng Ju thought that one of the library functions was cultivation or inspiration. He said, "Since the beginning of the Song Dynasty, the library has been cultivating or inspiring numbers of qualified personnel who are candidates for the government, and so carried within itself the officials at all levels. In other words, the library nurtures all kinds of officials" (ref. 2). Besides the supreme rulers and the high-ranking officials, the users of the library were library staff and the scholars who were permitted to read in the library by examination, from whom the government of the Northern Song Dynasty selected the most eminent ones as officials. Citing the remarks of an emperor and other officials, he pointed out that this system of selection was to set up the national library to cultivate qualified personnel and to gather all of the gifted scholars to develop their wisdom and ability. The establishment of the national library was of great significance, directly concerned with survival or extinction of a nation. It was just as important as training an army and defending our motherland.

Second, he thought that the national library could help the government with reference and decisions. If the national library was resumed and developed, it could provide ready references and consultation when the government organized great cultural and social activities (ref. 2). He also commented that in the Northern Song Dynasty the central government paid much attention to examining the causes and historical origins of the emergence and development of political activities. The government demanded that the staff of the national library discuss and analyze the matters in advance. For example, Fan Zhong-yan (989–1052), an eminent writer and statesman, had a discussion on officials, and Su Shi (1036–1107), a great poet, writer, and book collector, on officials' recommending talented persons to the emperor. Important matters that concerned the government were settled through consultation between Tai Chang, the office of rite and ceremony, and Chong Wen Yuan, in which there were the collections of past dynasties and the opinions of gifted persons. If the library staff would examine and study the useful policies through the ages when the government organized the major activities of society, politics, and rite and ceremony, it could not go against the general laws of the country's administration. In addition, Cheng Ju cited the remarks of the emperor of the Song Dynasty: it was the national library that inspired wisdom and ability of persons who would supply the government with references and information. All the staff working in the national library should study and go further into the laws of times of peace and tranquillity and times of war and corruption. They should tell the emperor what were the lessons of failure and the experience of success without holding back the facts. At that time the national library was considered a consultative department of the government.

Third, he thought that collections in the library could be used to revise

and compile books and reference works. In fact, San Guan Mi Ge of the Northern Song Dynasty did a great deal of work on compilation and revision, which not only played an important role at that time, but also had a far-reaching and penetrating effect on later ages. He singled out that, during the period of the Northern Song Dynasty, the compilation of reference books and encyclopedias on a large scale, such as *Tai Ping Yu Lan*, resulted in hard work for the library staff. They first read books extensively and comprehensively, then selected their essential parts; finally, the selected materials were classified according to their contents. Collation and correction of the Northern Song Dynasty was aimed at checking against the authoritative text and ascertaining the reliable edition for carving plates and publishing. It was different from the past dynasties. Writing history was included in the function of the national library. As Cheng Ju pointed out, the ancients said the historiographer at the left side of the emperor recorded his speech, whereas the one at the right side recorded his deportment. The national library of the Northern Song Dynasty was concurrently in charge of the two posts. In modern times, however, the functions of compilation and revision of the Chinese national library diminished (ref. 28).

A Tale of the National Library gave a profound explanation of the fundamental work of library collections, such as acquisition, classification, cataloging, collation, arrangement, and utilization. Acquisition concerns were to collect books scattered among the people by order of the emperor; to send officials to all provinces to search for books; to patch the missing parts of the books; to make copies of excellent books borrowed from others; and to instruct the officials to gather the new books written by local governments or individual scholars. To strengthen his own argument on classification, cataloging, and collation of library collections, Cheng Ju quoted the speech of Emperor Zhao Heng (968–1022): "I was told recently that the collections in the national library were badly incomplete, a great number of books were lost, and collation was done carelessly and haphazardly. Thus, faulty books spread widely. This produced a bad impact. From now on, therefore, all the officials appointed to check, revise, and manage the collections must follow the rules and regulations strictly. Only in this way can the evil habits probably be eliminated" (ref. 2). He expressed great appreciation for the collections classified and stored according to Jing, Shi, Zi, and Ji (books on Confucian ideas, history, various schools, and all kinds of literature, respectively). He stated that collections in Chong Wen Yuan were stored by types of material and by extent of actual use. What Cheng Ju advocated was to lend books to the officials for their own use and to have more effective lending transactions. That meant that all officials were allowed to borrow books, had a right to copy them, and returned them to the library as soon as possible when they were finished reading and copying; if the officials would like to borrow books, they might make an applica-

tion to the chief director or deputy director of Mi Shu Sheng and have it approved.

As a deputy director of Mi Shu Sheng, Cheng Ju gave consideration to the administration of library staff in the national library, including election and appointment. In *A Tale of the National Library* there were three chapters devoted to staff management. He believed that the key point of resuming the national library was qualified library staff. This is an important aspect of Cheng's library thoughts.

Cheng Ju was in favor of resuming the government post system of the Northern Song Dynasty. He took a stand for a competent official with ability in running library affairs. Nevertheless, there must be an appropriate quantitative limit in the official positions. In a penetrating way he discussed and explained the post system of the Northern Song Dynasty, official ranks, and the sphere of their functions and powers.

Giving a brilliant exposition of selecting library staff, he proposed that they should be examined first and be appointed afterward. Though the imperial examination system prevailed at that time, the significance of selecting library staff by examination should not be underestimated. To support his argument, Cheng Ju quoted the words of emperors and officials: "We should choose men of learning and scholars whose reputation is justified as qualified library staff" (ref. 2). Men who behaved frivolously and had very meagre knowledge could not work in the national library. He maintained that the library staff should combine ability with moral integrity. The process ran as follows: to choose the candidates with both ability and integrity who were recommended by a number of officials; to give the candidates an examination; and to enroll the erudite scholars of noble character as library staff.

In the meantime, Cheng Ju gave a profound explanation of promotion, demotion, tenure of office, and the quantitative limits of library staff in the Northern Song Dynasty. Consequently he advocated resuming the management system of that dynasty.

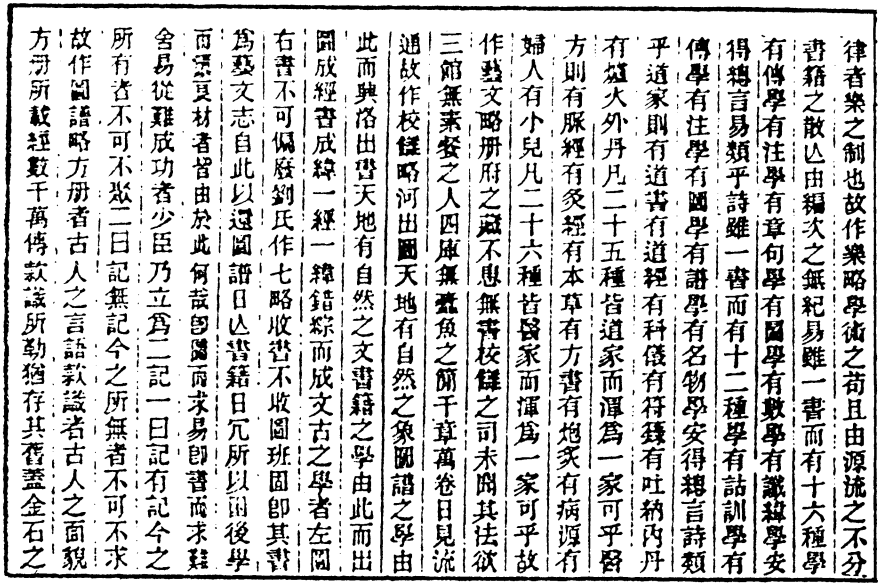
In *A Tale of the National Library*, a chapter titled "Sheng She" (buildings of the national library) was devoted to discussing the location, design, and construction of the national library in the Northern Song Dynasty. He thought that library buildings should try to be both convenient and practical. In this book, two chapters titled "En Rong" (political treatment) and "Lu Bing" (economic treatment) were devoted respectively to salaries and benefits of library staff given by the supreme rulers and their government. Cheng Ju emphasized the fact that the government provided library staff with excellent pay and conditions. In order to give the government advice on suitable decisions, he examined and recorded a great number of historical facts.

It was no separate scholastic phenomenon that Cheng Ju generalized and

systematized basic knowledge of the library. Forty years before the publication of *A Tale of the National Library*, Song Fei-gong's *Huang Song Guan Ge Lu* (Chronicles of the National Library in the Northern Song Dynasty) came out.[6] Forty years after the publication of this book, Chen Kui, a chief director of Mi Shu Sheng in the later Southern Song Dynasty, completed his *Nan Song Guan Ge Lu* (Chronicles of the National Library in the Southern Song Dynasty). Many centuries later, the compiler of *Si Ku Quan Shu* (A Series of Comprehensive Books) considered these three books as a coherent one. They all recorded the events of the changes of cultural institutions in a dynasty (ref. 23). As early as the Southern Song Dynasty Li Tao (1115–1184), a historian, held that Song Fei-gong's *Huang Song Guan Ge Lu* followed the system of *Ji Xian Ji Zhu* written by Wei Shu, a chief director of Mi Shu Sheng in the middle Tang Dynasty (618–907). Besides, he held that Cheng Ju did not know Song Fei-gong's book when he compiled his *A Tale of the National Library* (ref. 12). Li Guang-ting of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) maintained that, actually, Chen Kui's *Nan Song Guan Ge Lu* took over Cheng Ju's book, and that Zhou Bi-tai's *Yu Tang Za Ji* (The Evolution of the National Cultural Institutions and Systems) related a great number of facts on the favors and honors bestowed by the emperors, but it recorded few facts on administrative systems.[7] In other words Cheng Ju's book was far superior to that of Zhou Bi-tai (ref. 25). In the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368), Wang Shi-dian and Shang Qi-wong wrote *Mi Shi Jian Zhi* (Chronicles of the National Library in the Yuan Dynasty). The process of understanding library construction lasted more than six hundred years. This stage commenced with Wei Shu (TD) and ended with Wang Shi-dian and Shang Qi-wong (YD). Cheng Ju's thought was its climax. The intermediate links were Song Fei-gong, Chen Kui, and Zhou Bi-tai (SD). This is a small spiral that conformed with cognitive logic.

Zheng Qiao and His *Jiao Chou Luo* (The Theory of Library Science and Bibliography)

Zheng Qiao, a celebrated scholar and book collector, devoted himself to diligent study from childhood (ref. 2). At first he lived in the mountains and refused to talk with others, then he traveled, visiting famous mountains and great rivers and collecting books and facts. Whenever he met a man with many books, he was bound to stay there until he finished reading the books that he had not read before. Later, he went to the imperial palace to apply to borrow books from the national library (ref. 18). As Zheng Qiao said, "The books, I find, were collected year after year with much toil by the national library" (ref. 5). At that time there were apparently many books in China, but actually there were few books in the national library, because most of them were scattered among the people. He said he wished he could


通志　總序

律者樂之制也故作樂略學術之苟且由源流之不分書籍之散亡由編次之無紀易難一書而有十六種學有傳學有注學有章句學有圖學有數學有譜錄學安得獨言易類乎詩雖一書而有十二種學有詁訓學有傳學有注學有圖學有譜學有名物學安得獨言詩類乎道家則有道書有道經有科儀有符籙有吐納內丹有燄火外丹凡二十五種皆道家而渾爲一家可乎醫方則有脈經有灸經有本草有方書有炮炙有病源有婦人有小兒凡二十六種皆醫家而渾爲一家可乎故作藝文略册府之藏不患無書校讎之司未閑其法欲三館無素餐之人四庫無蠹魚之簡千章萬卷日見流通故作校讎略河出圖天地有自然之象圖譜之學由此而興洛出書天地有自然之文書籍之學由此而出圖成經書成緯一經一緯錯綜而成文古之學者左圖右書不可偏廢劉氏作七略收書不收圖班固即其書爲藝文志自此以還圖譜日亾書籍日冗所以留後學而濟貧材者皆由於此何哉即圖而求易即書而求難舍易從難成功者少臣乃立爲二記一曰記有記今之所有者不可不亟一曰記無記今之所無者不可不求故作圖譜略方册者古人之言語教誡者古人之面貌方冊所載經數千萬傳寫譌脫猶存其舊蓋金石之

(SD) Tong Zhi Zong Xu *by Zheng Qiao (Selected) (a preface to his own magnum opus* Tong Zhi*)*
(From the photolithographic copy published by Commercial Press, 1937)

copy all the books; in fact, however, what he could do was to abstract them briefly. He would spare no efforts to gather the scattered books from all quarters and to assemble a collection of illustrative plates, atlases, genealogy, and statistical forms from ancient times until that period. "Therefore, it is to pledge my loyalty to my motherland that I now have walked more than two thousand miles to march on toward the imperial palace, as if a tiny stream made a little contribution to the vast ocean, and a minute stone to the high mountain" (ref. 5).

According to his personal experience of engaging in scholarship and of classifying, checking, and revising the collections, Zheng Qiao advanced a new theory in his *Tong Zhi Zong Xu* (a preface to his own magnum opus *Tong Zhi*). He said knowledge of the library was one of the important sciences of the world (ref. 3). This is the first time that knowledge of the library was considered a science. That original idea is remarkable and outstanding in the history of library science.

In this preface Zheng Qiao described library science as follows: "I do not worry about the book sources for the library collections; I am really

distressed that there are no rules and regulations for collation. I have now written the book *Jiao Chou Luo* in order that there are no people who hold posts without qualification in the national library, that there are no books that are eaten by silverfish, and that there are thousands of books that are circulated through the national library'' (ref. 3). We all believe that the above paragraph is the key link of Zheng Qiao's library thought. Classifying, checking, and revising the collections for the sake of circulating them is its purpose.

Zheng Qiao was the first person to use the term ''circulation.'' Under the circumstances of that age, he had difficulties in explaining its connotations. His monograph *Jiao Chou Luo*, including twenty-one chapters and sixty-nine sections, centered on one objective—circulation.

In addition, Zheng Qiao took full account of gathering books. He said that the first work a library should do was to collect books. In view of the situation of the national library of the Northern Song Dynasty, he wrote, even a Taoist priest and a Buddhist monk could possess books of the Tang and the Song dynasties, let alone the national library. His anxiety was lest the library staff not gather books, so that the national library was not in a position of possessing comprehensive collections of the whole nation. He spoke of his own experience of collecting books. ''There are eight methods for collecting and purchasing books, that is, collecting by their classification and contents, by their subjects and scope, by authors, by dynasties, by going to a well-developed publishing place, by purchasing from various publishers, and by borrowing and copying them from the local authorities and from personal book collectors. Not all the methods are used at one time'' (ref. 4). Gladly and wholeheartedly people accepted Zheng Qiao's real knowledge and deep theory of complementing collections of the national library, which not only played an important and active role in construction of library collections at that time, but also had great influence on later library science. In the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) Hu Ying-lin (1551–1602), a writer and a book collector, made a high appraisal of Zheng Qiao's theory. ''Zheng's methods for collecting and purchasing books are complete and perfect.'' ''For this theory he cudgeled his brains.'' ''I dare to say that the theory sets forth penetratingly the laws and methods of collecting and purchasing books for the national library. Only the person addicted to collecting and making use of books can comprehend and grasp it'' (ref. 20). An official and scholar of library science in the Ming Dynasty, Qi Cheng-ye (1563–1628), said, ''Zheng's methods for collecting and purchasing books are the key theory of collection'' (ref. 21). From the above statements we can see that this is considered a critical library theory. In the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) a celebrated historical theorist and a bibliographer, Zhang Xue-cheng (1783–1801), had the greatest esteem for Zheng Qiao's theory. ''Zheng made a thorough and systematic exposition of ac-

quisition theory in an all-round way'' (ref. 24). I believe that Zheng Qiao's methods for collecting and purchasing books, in actual fact, are the theory of general laws of library acquisition work. They still have reference value in the work of the modern library today.

As we all know, collections are put into circulation only after they are classified, checked, and cataloged scientifically. Zheng Qiao called this process Jiao Chou and called the persons who were engaged in this work men of Jiao Chou (ref. 4).

Moreover, Zheng Qiao attached great importance to Jiao Chou. He considered that loss of books and confusion of items resulted in careless and crude work and in ineffective officials. As a consequence, he proposed that it was absolutely necessary to appoint officials concentrating on Jiao Chou. Furthermore, he added, if you want complete collections and a prosperous culture, why not give long-term posts to the Jiao Chou officials, who would take charge of classifying, checking, revising, and cataloging books (ref. 4).

The view that there should be both special and long-term Jiao Chou officials in the national library came from his personal experience. Thus Zhang Xue-cheng in the Qing Dynasty spoke highly of the view: ''Zheng Qiao had a real grasp of the quintessence of Jiao Chou work'' (ref. 24).

A long time ago classification and cataloging existed in the national library and in the personal library. Nevertheless, there was little experience and theory summed up by our predecessors. On the basis of his learning and the concrete practice of his collections, Zheng Qiao found that classification was an organization of knowledge in a library. Several hundred years later this kind of thought was just emerging in the West. Obviously, he made another major contribution to the library and its science.

''If the books are classified, then all schools of thought and all knowledge are well organized and clearly systematized without any confusion,'' Zheng Qiao said. Meanwhile, he pointed out, once the books were classified, scholars could understand fully the origin and development of learning because all knowledge would be in good order. No doubt, he considered book classification to be good organization of all schools of thought, clear arrangement of all knowledge, and full understanding of the origin and development of learning. He thought that this was indeed an organization of knowledge. He further explained that ''it was an undisciplined army that made soldiers scattered and lost. It was incorrect classification that made library books missed and lost. If you would like to use books, you should understand book classification and its subdivisions. Well! For a long time library books have had no good classification and no good arrangement'' (ref. 4).

More importantly, however, Zheng Qiao understood that book classification played an important role in retrieving materials. He pointed out that a person engaging in scholarship loved academic research, which relied

upon communication of the book record. And book classification and its subdivision indicated the scientific contents of the record (ref. 4). In other words, a scholar should search books by classification and do research by the book record.

In the light of his own theoretical principles, Zheng Qiao said, because there was no correct origin of schools of thought, scholarship was confused; because there were no strict rules for cataloging, books were lost. Classifying books, however, was just like leading an army. If there was a good organization, a large number of books could be managed well; if not, even a small number of books would be in wild disorder. People had no fear of numerous books; what they feared was that there were no methods for scientific classification and no rules for scientific cataloging (ref. 4). In addition, he raised concrete methods and requirements for book classification and cataloging. Books would be classified in accordance with their contents, he said; in ancient times, predecessors classified and cataloged books according to authors, not according to contents. In particular he criticized a few classification and cataloging staff who got the work done in a slapdash manner. When they classified and cataloged the books they merely glanced over the first part of the book, not reading the rest. He recommended that books of the same class should be accommodated in one place instead of being separated in several places. Jiang Yuan-qing, a contemporary librarian, set a high value on Zheng Qiao's theory of classification, which was comprehensive and profound and was a great advance (ref. 26).

Hence, for the sake of circulation, cataloging work must be thoroughly permeated with the theory of classifying, checking, and revising collections. Zheng Qiao commended the fact that when our predecessors cataloged books they always researched their origin and development, which made things easy for a scholar to study and for a reader to search (ref. 4). And this was the true essence of cataloging work. For this purpose, he proposed to catalog the books of all ages; both existing books and the lost ones should be cataloged, in particular the books written during that age. He favored an extension of cataloging, including a collection of illustrative plates, atlases, and inscriptions on ancient bronzes and stone tablets. For the convenience of scholars and other readers, Zheng Qiao made too high a demand on the library catalog.

As has been noted, Zheng Qiao created his library thought on the basis of the trinity of theoretical research, practical knowledge, and criticism and discussion. Consequently, a contemporary library expert, Professor Qian Ya-xin of NanJing Library, pointed out that Zheng Qiao really understood the fundamental contents of library science. We should admit that he was one of the most outstanding figures and a founder in the field of library science, he said (ref. 27). But as a personal book collector, he was limited within narrow confines; therefore, it was not unlikely that he did not discuss

all subjects of the area. Just as Zhang Xue-cheng said, Zheng Qiao did not expound the subject of book management. He did not research how to collate the Chinese characters before collecting books, and how to manage and use the books after they were collated (ref. 24). This comment, I think, is quite appropriate.

In ancient times, books were classified and cataloged according to authors, not according to contents. Zheng Qiao generalized the knowledge of library science from the angle of a personal book collector, as Cheng Ju did. It was not an accidental phenomenon in scholarship. In the Northern Song Dynasty, as personal collections developed, works on library knowledge based on experience of personal collections emerged in large numbers. Before Zheng Qiao, there were many famous scholars who wrote books in which they offered various views of collections. In his *Li Shi Shan Fang Cang Shu Ji* (My Personal Library), Su Shi (1036–1107), a great poet, writer, and book collector, suggested that books should be handed down to later generations for all their requirements. In this way everybody would be satisfied with the books (ref. 1). Another example was *Zhu Shu Ge Ji* (On My Own Book Collections), written by the author and book collector Ye Meng-de (1077–1143). In this book he proposed that books should be arranged in built-in bookshelves, so that both intellectuals and officials could use them (ref. 8). It is suitable to say, I think, that Zheng Qiao carried out and developed the thought "Collections are for use." After Zheng Qiao, there were a number of celebrated scholars who aired their own views of library collections: Lu You (1125–1210), a great poet and book collector, had his say in *Shu Chao Ji* (On My Own Book Collections); the official, historian, and book collector Hong Mai (1123–1202) offered his opinions in *Shu Ji Zhi E* (The Misfortunes of Books); *Cang Shu* (Knowledge of Book Collections) expressed the views of Zhou Mi (1232–1298), a poet and book collector. But these views were not as excellent as Zheng Qiao's. In the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234) Kong Tian-jian, a scholar and book collector, wrote a book titled *Cang Shu Ji* (The Establishment of the Public Library) in which he pointed out that rich people and officials built houses to store books; however, the first consideration should be the needs of the poor intellectuals in the countryside. They studied assiduously, and they had few books to read. Some of them borrowed and copied books diligently; still, it did not meet their needs and could not develop and inspire their wisdom. Furthermore, Kong Tian-jian suggested building a public library, which would be beneficial not only to rich people and officials, but also to the common people; it would be used not only by the people of that age, but also by later generations (ref. 14). Library science ideas of this kind are progressive. The personal collector's idea that "Collections are for use" was put forward by Su Shi and Ye Meng-de; Kong Tian-jian developed the idea; the height of this stage, which spanned more than six hundred years, from the

Tang Dynasty, through the Song and Jin dynasties, to the Yuan Dynasty, was Zheng Qiao's thought.

According to their own practice and knowledge, Cheng Ju and Zheng Qiao of the Southern Song Dynasty expounded library thoughts that were not achieved by their forefathers on the basis of library practice and the development of library science in the Northern Song Dynasty. Thenceforth, Chinese library science set foot in the era of empirical science.

Notes

Abbreviations:

Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220)	HD	Jin Dynasty (1115-1234)	JD
Tang Dynasty (618-907)	TD	Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368)	YD
Song Dynasty (960-1279)	SD	Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)	MD
Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127)	NSD	Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)	QD
Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279)	SSD		

1. Cheng Ju (1078-1144) was an official, a chief director of Mi Shu Sheng, and the author of *A Tale of the National Library*. Zheng Qiao (1103-1162) was an eminent historian, a scholar of library science, and a book collector. He dedicated himself to collecting and studying documents and books. In his magnum opus of historic significance, *Tong Zhi*, he discussed library science. He was the author of *Jiao Chou Luo*.

2. The Song Dynasty includes the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127) and the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). The capital of the NSD was in North China, Dongjing (now Kaifeng, Henan). Afterward, the capital was moved to South China, Linan (now Hangzhou, Zhejiang); therefore, it was called the SSD. Cheng Ju's and Zheng Qiao's works on library science were completed in the SSD.

3. In the Han and Tang dynasties there was a flourishing culture, a prosperous economy, and a developed library.

4. San Guan Mi Ge was a national library in the NSD, including three branch libraries—Zhao Wen Guan, Shi Guan, and Ji Xian Yuan (also called Chong Wen Yuan)—and a later-established palace library, Mi Ge. However, the three branch libraries and the palace library were considered as a whole. San Guan Mi Ge was under the leadership of Mi Shu Sheng. It was an administrative office of the national library. Its chief director was called Mi Shu Jian, and its deputy director was called Mi Shu Shao Jian.

5. Qi Lin Ge and Tian Lu Ge were names of the national library of the SD.

6. Song Fei-gong was a deputy director of Mi Shu Sheng, the author of *Huang Song Guan Ge Lu* (NSD).

7. Zhou Bi-tai (1126-1204) was an official and the author of *Yu Tang Za Ji*.

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4. SSD Zheng Qiao: *Jiao Chou Luo* (The Theory of Library Science and Bibliography).
5. SSD Zheng Qiao: *Xian Huang Di Shu* (A Letter to the Emperor of the SSD).
6. SSD Zheng Qiao: *Shang Zai Xiang Shu* (A Letter to the Premier of the SSD).
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9. SSD Lu You: *Shu Chao Ji* (On My Own Book Collections).
10. SSD Hong Mai: *Shu Ji Zhi E* (The Misfortunes of Books).
11. SSD Zhou Mi: *Cang Shu* (Knowledge of Book Collections).
12. SSD Li Tao: *Nan Song Guan Ge Lu Xu* (A Preface to *Nan Song Guan Ge Lu*).
13. SSD Chen Zhen-sun: *Zhi Zhai Shu Lu Jie Ti* (Synopses of My Own Book Collections).
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The Effects of Thirteenth-Century Cultural Changes on Libraries

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There are many factors that make up the significant difference between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe. From the social point of view, there was a movement from the countryside to the towns and the growth of guilds. The arrival of the new learning as a substantial force and, in the sphere of intellectual activity, the founding of universities had a powerful influence. The coming of the friars brought a new fervor to the field of religious development coupled with a strong incentive for study. Merchants were moving across Europe, carrying or arranging for the carriage of merchandise: wool from England, silks and embroidery from Tuscany, carpets and dried fruits from North Africa, timber and grain from Poland and Russia. Along the great trade routes passed the pilgrims and the scholars transporting books and ideas between various centers. The dissemination of works written in the second half of the twelfth century indicates the speed with which ideas were transmitted; for example, Abelard's writings were rapidly diffused throughout Europe, as his works were present in the Upper Danube and Upper Rhine between 1142 and 1178.[1]

In the twelfth century the libraries of the monastic orders were still being built up by scribes in the scriptorium, the normal source of acquisitions. The contents of these libraries reflect the intellectual interests of the period, although some of them had been growing several centuries from the productions of the scriptorium and from gifts, often important collections.

In England the library of Christ Church Canterbury by about 1170 may have had some 600 volumes. A partial catalogue of that date records about 200 volumes, but there is no theology, medicine, or law which could represent some two-thirds of the collection. This is not an excessive estimate

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—later at a much smaller house at Lanthony there were nearly 500 volumes, and there were 400 at Durham. We have some information about a number of other Benedictine foundations at Rochester, Bury St. Edmunds, Peterborough, Burton-upon-Trent, Reading, Whitby, and Coventry.[2] The Augustinians at Bridlington and Waltham and the Cistercians at Flaxley had similar collections by the end of the century, although their interests had been more restricted earlier.[3] A comparison of the holdings of their monasteries just before or just after 1200 gives a fairly common pattern.[4]

There were full texts of the Bible and copies of individual books in most libraries with the more recent glosses that were the result of Biblical studies at Laon. The four major Church Fathers—Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Ambrose—were available almost everywhere, with Augustine the most popular. Gregory, in part perhaps because of his early association with the Church in England, was well studied in the schools.

Other authors of the early Christian period were well represented: Basil, Origen, Leo the Great, Orosius, Gelasius, Ephraim, John Cassian, Cassiodore, Josephus, Hilary of Poitiers, and Peter of Ravenna. There were also works by John Chrysostom, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Gregory Nazianzus.

From a later period we have the Spanish writers Martin of Braga, Ildefonse of Toledo, and the ever-present Isidore. One of the most popular British authors was Bede; his theological, historical, and scientific works are found almost universally (e.g., thirteen at Reading, twelve each at Bury and Rochester, and eleven at Durham).

Of the authors of the eleventh and twelfth centuries recorded in catalogues of British libraries about the year 1200, it is significant that only a few were Englishmen, most of whom had spent time in France. Many of the authors held posts in the English Church and lived much of their lives in the country but owed their training to schools on the Continent, particularly in France (like the archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm, whose works, especially those of Anselm, were very popular).

From the French schools there is a good selection: Bernard of Clairvaux, Andrew of Laon and Anselm of Laon, Gilbert de la Porrée, Hugh of St. Victor and Richard of St. Victor, Peter of Poitiers, and Peter of Blois. Two of the most influential texts for the rest of the Middle Ages, the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, were found in most libraries, but so far no commentaries on the latter have been identified.

Collections of sermons, many anonymous, and lives of the saints were generally available. Historical works were very popular. In many of the great houses, there was considerable historical activity not only in the continuation of the annals embodied in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle but also in accounts of the houses themselves and of England in general. This

was perhaps the most important factor in the twelfth-century renaissance that developed in Britain.

Grammatical works were common, with Priscian and Donatus almost everywhere. Most of the Roman literary authors were available in monastic libraries, with Virgil and Horace being the most popular.

There were no rich collections on law in British libraries during this period; the *Decreta* of Gratian is the only text that was found in a number of houses.

Some of the important contributions to the development of scientific thought in the twelfth century were made by Englishmen both at home and in Spain. Although there were copies of arithmetical books and computistic texts in some libraries, scientific works were not prevalent.

The exciting developments that were taking place in Spain, Sicily, and wherever translators were making Greek and Arabic science and philosophy available to the West were only beginning to be appreciated by a few in England.[5] The number of such texts in British libraries before 1200 was very small, and the same was true of the new medical treatises. Only the older texts were to be found, with an occasional more recent author like Roger of Salerno or Bartholomaeus of Salerno.

The evidence from a small number of catalogues that have survived from the twelfth century is supplemented and confirmed by the manuscripts from the period that are extant. The pattern of the collections is surprisingly standard and gives a reasonably accurate picture of the monastic library of the time.

The use made of these books by the ordinary monk was not very significant. The books on grammar and the texts of Roman literature were likely to be schoolbooks for the novices and others—as well as some of the elementary books on music, geometry, and so forth. The rest of the books, at least in the earlier years, were issued annually. Benedict had indicated that "in this season of Lent all shall receive a book from the library which they shall read from beginning to end; these books are to be given out at the beginning of Lent."[6] These instructions were expanded by other compilers of rules for Benedictines, Cluniacs, and Augustinians. The constitutions promulgated by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, toward the end of the eleventh century were probably observed in most houses.[7] On the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent

> the librarian should have all the books, save those that were given out for reading the previous year, collected on a carpet in the chapter house; last year's books should be carried in by those who have had them and they are to be warned of this by the librarian in chapter the previous day. The passage from the Rule of St. Benedict concerning this observance of Lent shall be read, and when a sermon has been

made on this the librarian shall read out a list of the books which the brethren had the previous year. When each hears his name read out he shall return the book which was given him to read, and anyone who is conscious that he has not read in full the book he received shall confess his fault prostrate and ask for pardon. Then the aforesaid librarian shall give to each of the brethren another book to read and when the books have been distributed in order he shall at the same chapter write a list of books and those who have received them.[8]

The few lists that have survived are much later but show that most of the books issued were long treatises or commentaries. It seems likely that by the early fourteenth century only a specially selected collection of books was put out for the annual distribution.[9]

It is evident, however, that each monk had only one book to read during the year—and some did not even manage that. Their range was very restricted and was limited to a contemplative rather than an active study of the text. There was no opportunity for a comparison of works and thus no opportunity for academic exercises.

This, then, was the situation about 1200. We should now look for the factors that caused fundamental changes. In the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries monastic and cathedral schools were developing the basic study of the Bible from a scholastic attitude that can be traced back to St. Augustine. The application of the didactic method to Biblical commentary led to a systematization of theological thought. At Auxerre and Laon a group of collaborators, mainly now anonymous but surrounding the teaching of Andrew of Laon and of Ralph of Laon with Gilbert the Universal, settled the accepted gloss to the Bible, the *glossa ordinaria*.[10] This became established at Paris, especially by Peter Lombard, whose *Sentences*, a systematic treatment of Christian theology, became the standard textbook for several centuries, attracting hundreds of commentaries.[11] In this way the attention of scholars was concentrated on the study of accepted texts that were to be added to during the thirteenth century.

This attitude to Biblical study was matched by that for civil and canon law. The body of the Roman law as codified by Justinian in the sixth century, the *Corpus juris civilis*, was glossed by jurists at the school of Bologna. Some hundred thousand survive—mostly unpublished. The glossators were themselves the authorities to whom commentators referred. The glosses were later combined into an *apparatus* to give a continuous interpretation of the text of the *Corpus*. All the Justinian law books were provided with *apparatus* at Bologna by the end of the twelfth century or the early thirteenth century, culminating in the officially accepted version by Accursius, the *glossa ordinaria*.[12]

The corpus of canon law was similarly treated. The first law book to be

glossed was the *Concordia discordantium canonum*, generally called the *Decreta* of Gratian, compiled at Bologna in the middle of the twelfth century. Canon law could not be codified in the same way as civil law for the basic texts: collections of *Decreta* or *Decretales* were being added to constantly with new ecclesiastical provisions. Nevertheless, the glossed texts by outstanding jurists became the accepted works for academic study.[13]

The idea of officially recognized texts that were the basis of teaching in universities and later in the schools of the friars had a fundamental influence on the history of the book and on library provisions.

Another factor in changing the pattern of study and research by the end of the twelfth century was the advent of the "new learning." In the second half of the century translators in Toledo, Sicily, and Salerno were making available in Latin the Greek and Arabic texts of Aristotle and his Arabian commentators, scientific treatises, and medical works of Galen and Hippocrates and of other authors previously unknown to the West.[14]

The new Aristotle was introduced in the first decade of the twelfth century. Alexander of Nequam's familiarity with current scientific thought was, not surprisingly, matched by his belief in the supremacy of Aristotle's authority. He was one of the first Englishmen to be acquainted with both the Greek-Latin and Arabic-Latin translations, yet most of his works were written after his retirement from the schools, and there is no evidence that he ever taught this new learning at Oxford.[15] In fact it seems likely that St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Blund were the first to lecture on Aristotle in the Schools at Oxford—Edmund on the *Elenchi* and Blund on the *libri naturales*. The latter is a striking example of the penetration of Aristotle and Avicenna into Oxford and Paris schools. It would appear that Aristotelian learning came to Oxford about the same time that it reached Paris, between 1206 and 1209.[16] Its influence was wide and deep: by the middle of the thirteenth century it had covered in range the whole *Corpus Aristotelicum vetustius*.

The renaissance in the study of medicine began at Salerno in the eleventh century, when Constantine the African translated a number of Greek texts into Latin, especially Galen's *Art of Medicine* and his *Therapeutics*.[17] The first great Western surgeon was Roger of Salerno. The work begun at Salerno was continued at Montpellier and later at Bologna, Padua, and Paris, which succeeded Salerno. Teaching was based on works of Galen and Hippocrates; Arabic and Jewish works also became accepted texts, like the *Canon* of Avicenna, Isaac Israel on fevers, works of Rhazes, the Byzantine Theophilus on the pulse and on urine (both of which supplied the commonest form of diagnosis in the Middle Ages), and Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*.

Scientific analysis was largely influenced by the "new logic" (recently translated works of Aristotle), which, with the "old logic," was considered

by Grosseteste and others to offer the basic methodology for their research, although Roger Bacon preferred mathematics.

The schools of Salerno, Bologna, Paris, and Oxford that had flourished in the twelfth century became universities shortly before or shortly after 1200.[18] The curricula probably varied between universities, but we have sufficient evidence to indicate a clear understanding of their courses: it is certain that most of the texts mentioned above that had become acceptable for academic study were the basis for instruction. Their importance for the history of the book and of libraries lies in the emphasis on study rather than on contemplative reading. Books became tools rather than the decorative symbols of the monastic house. There needed to be easy access to the texts by student and teacher, and it became increasingly necessary for these texts to be correct, although they were produced cheaply. The control of scribes was one of the responsibilities undertaken by universities. The book trade had come into existence before the advent of the universities. Peter of Blois about 1170 tells a story about a bookseller in Paris who cheated him.[19] Professional scribes at about the same period were used to produce books at Abingdon, Rochester, Winchester, and possibly at St. Albans:[20] they probably were already established at Oxford and Paris. Universities, anxious to protect the standard of the purity of the teaching materials and the pockets of their members, organized the book trade in their cities. This is not the place to reiterate an account of the *pecia* system.[21] It is sufficient now to state that stationers (officials of the university) let out approved texts for hire by the gathering (i.e., *pecia*) for students and teachers to copy themselves. The correctness of the text was controlled by the university. Professional scribes could be employed by the stationer to copy complete works.

Whereas earlier the productions of monastic scriptoria had mainly been large books with few abbreviations and often splendidly illuminated, a scholar's book was small and portable, full of abbreviations and rubricated rather than illuminated: the rubrication was used as a visual aid to the reader. The book developed in the thirteenth century to a standardized form depending on its contents. All glossed books of the Bible or the *Decreta* with glosses would have the same layout. In fact there is a more utilitarian and even aggressive attitude toward the written page than in previous centuries. Signposts such as running headlines, marginal letters of the alphabet designating individual extracts, marginal notation of the authors cited, rubrics dividing the subjects, paragraph marks distinguishing the extracts from one another, and a table of chapters are all intended to make the task of the reader easier.[22]

Other enterprises were also concerned to improve the ability of a reader to obtain references and to understand them. The first in importance was the *Concordance* to the Bible compiled at St. Jaques, the Dominican house at

Paris, under the editorship of Hugh of St. Cher. It was probably in existence by 1239. This pioneer work devised the reference system: each appearance of a word was indicated by the book of the Bible, by the chapter divisions that had been devised (probably by Stephen Langton, a few years earlier), and by one of the letters A to G to indicate relative position within the chapter. The method had depended first on the acceptance of the use of full alphabetization that had been earlier opposed by the logical index, that is, one based on the natural progress from one idea to another (*angelus* could not precede *deus*). Also about the same time the Roman system was displaced by Arabic numeration, which simplified complicated numbers. Both these innovations had some influence on thirteenth-century library catalogues.[23]

Once a *Concordance* of the Bible had been circulated, it was not long before there were indexes to other works, especially those of the Fathers, the "authorities" for Christian doctrine. Robert Kilwardby, regent master of theology in Oxford (1256–1261), undertook a major project on three levels to provide access to the core of "authority." He produced chapter-by-chapter synopses of sixty-one works of Augustine, a work of John Chrysostom, Ambrose's *Hexameron*, Hugh of St. Victor's *Didascalicon*, and Peter Lombard's *Sentences*; then an alphabetical subject index to each of forty-six works of Augustine, four of Anselm, and the *Sentences*; and finally a composite alphabetical subject concordance to major works of Augustine, Ambrose, Boethius, Isidore, and Anselm, with occasional references as well to the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor and to the *Sentences*. With such aids the reader could feel he had a controlled access to most of the basic texts necessary for the composition of sermons or the preparation of lectures.[24]

The last factor in the process of change from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries was the coming of the friars: the Dominicans or Order of Preachers, the Franciscans or the Minorites, the Carmelites, and the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine or Austin friars. The two major Orders were founded at the beginning of the century, and the other two were established in the second half. The Carmelites and Austin Hermits adopted many of the objectives and practices of the older Orders, to which we must look for innovations in library economy.

St. Francis began by preaching the need for the simple approach to Christianity by example, and his message was based on his belief in the importance of poverty. His earliest followers, therefore, were concerned with continuing this fundamental tenet; later, those who attempted to maintain the purity of the founder's views, the Spirituals, contended through two centuries against those who wished to enrich the Order by building fine churches (like Santa Croce in Florence) and to establish considerable libraries. Although the idea of poverty was not fully adhered

to, a friar was nonetheless not allowed to own anything himself, and we find that in order to abide by this rule the administrative arrangements of the Order for the use of books were many and complex. This was also true of the other Orders.[25]

St. Dominic's original aim was to provide a corps of preachers to fight heresy in Languedoc; although this aspect of his initial intention was continued through the later unsavory Inquisition, the main trend of activity was toward preaching and hearing confessions. It was early realized that to accomplish this end the friars must be well educated. St. Dominic decided that convents should be set up in university centers and sent seven of his original members to Paris in 1217. Dominican houses were established at Bologna in 1218 and at Montpellier and Oxford in 1221. The basic structure for Dominican studies was formulated between 1216 and 1220 under the supervision of Dominic himself. The fundamental principle was that no convent should be founded without a doctor of theology. In order to produce the needed number of doctors, the Preachers set up a system of education on three levels: the conventual *studia* for elementary training, the *studia particularia* or provincial schools with an advanced curriculum of religious study, and the *studia generalia*, where the most promising students were educated to the doctorate level. Such a series of courses of study required the support of book provision so that each convent would have a library. The friars' life differed from the monastic regime, with its emphasis on prayer and work; friars were expected to devote as much of their time as possible to study.[26]

The Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was recognized as a mendicant Order by Gregory IX in 1229. The early members of the Order had settled in Palestine from the middle of the twelfth century, living as hermits. When they fled to Sicily, Italy, and England as a result of the renewed attacks of the Saracens on Palestine, they were soon joined by new disciples who were disposed to follow the example of the Dominicans and Franciscans. New constitutions were formulated on the Dominican model, and the Carmelites became one of the four influential mendicant Orders.

The last to be established on the lines of the two earlier Orders was the Ordo Fratrum Eremitarum Sancti Augustini constituted by Pope Alexander IV in 1256. The hermits had existed in Tuscany, Lombardy, and Romagna at the end of the twelfth century, living according to the so-called Rule of St. Augustine. The Hermits of Lombardy joined the Hermits of Romagna in 1253 and were united with those of Tuscany three years later. Their constitutions, ratified at Ratisbon (Regensburg) in 1290, were modeled on those of the Dominicans.

Not only the Dominicans but all the Orders of friars set up houses at universities in their pursuit of learning. The contents of their libraries were very different from those of the monasteries. No longer were they

content with the works of the Fathers, some copies of the classics, one or two books on the natural sciences, and a sprinkling of writings on systematic theology. Instead, the new texts, especially Aristotelian, were collected in the various *studia*. Each house was recommended by Humbert of Romans (the master general of the Dominicans, 1254–1263, who as we shall see had a major influence on library practice) to have the following types of books: the glossed Bible (whole or in part) and the Bible without gloss, the *Summa de casibus* of Raymond of Penafort, the *Summa* of Godfrey of Trano, William Peyraut's *De vitiis et virtutibus*, a *Summa de quaestionibus*, concordances and interpretations of Greek and Hebrew words, Gratian's *Decreta* and the *Decretales*, *Distinctiones morales* (i.e., lists of theological terms in alphabetical order), sermons, histories (presumably including Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*), Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, chronicles, lives of the saints, and a *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

The evidence for friars' libraries in the thirteenth century is unfortunately very sparse. Only one catalogue exists of the libraries of convents of any Order; we have most information for the Dominicans. The most interesting surviving document is a list of the books issued to members of the Barcelona convent from 1255 that tells us which texts were in demand.[27] Included were part of a glossed Bible and a volume of *Postillae* on Matthew, Mark, and John. The important aids to study were the *Sentences* and commentaries and the various *Summas*; Barcelona also had the *Sentences* with commentaries by Aquinas, Odo Rigaud, Albert the Great, and Alexander of Hales. Also listed was a copy of the *Historia Scholastica*. Other theological works included various *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus*, *Vitae Sanctorum*, and *Quaestiones de veritate* of Thomas Aquinas.

The result of the influence of Albert the Great and others in popularizing the works of Aristotle and of Arabic philosophers was evident by the middle of the thirteenth century. For instance, commentaries on the works of Aristotle were on loan to members of the convent: Albert on *De anima*, Grosseteste on *Liber priorum* and anonymously on *Libri priorum, posteriorum, topicorum,* and *elanchorum*. Grammatical works were Priscian and the more modern *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villedieu.

Canon law is provided for with the texts of the *Decreta* and *Decretales* and Raymond of Penafort's *Summa de casibus*. Godfrey of Trano's *Summa*, as well as *Summa de dispensationibus* and *Summa de censuris ecclesiasticis*. Two collections of sermons complete the list.

The only inventory of a conventual library is that for Lucca in 1278.[28] Of the ninety-six volumes listed, fourteen were glossed books of the Bible, to which were added (for Biblical studies) Aquinas on Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, *Postillae* on the Twelve Prophets, a new concordance, and three old concordances. There were four copies of the *Sentences* (with commentaries by Hannibaldus de Hannibaldis, Thomas Aquinas, and

Peter of Tarentaise) and the *Historia Scholastica*. The only nontheological work was the *Decretales antique*. It was a small collection containing the essentials for the study of the Bible.

Taking together the list of books left to St. Catherine's Convent at Pisa (ca. 1278) and the thirteenth-century volumes that survive, we get a similar pattern.[29] Thirteen volumes of Biblical commentaries, two commentaries on the *Sentences*, *Quodlibeta* and *Quaestiones*, and the *Correctorium* of John of Paris represent the material for Biblical studies. Grammatical works are Priscian and the dictionaries of Papias and Brito. The legal works are, as usual, the *Decreta* and *Decretales* and the *Summa* of Azo, Raymond of Penafort, and Godfrey of Trano. Three collections of sermons are the only preaching aids. A collection of Aristotelian and Arabic philosophical works distinguishes this from the other libraries.

To take extant thirteenth-century friars' books as an indication of the contents of their libraries in that century can be misleading, because they may have been acquired later. In default of other evidence, however, it is reasonably acceptable. The surviving Dominican manuscripts of the thirteenth century in England include Bibles and glossed books, the *Sentences* and the *Historia Scholastica*, works of Augustine, Gregory, Anselm, Bernard, Caesar of Arles, and Hugh of St. Victor. There are two copies of Cicero; Aristotle and the Arabic commentators are not represented, and there is no natural science or medicine.[30]

Evidence for the early history of Franciscan libraries is based on two lists of books and on surviving manuscripts. The first is a list of fourteen books given in 1266 by Roger of Thoriz, archdeacon of Exeter, to the Friars Minor at Exeter.[31] They consist mainly of glossed books of the Bible and *Postillae*, Alexander of Hales on book three and most of book four of the *Sentences*, and the great *Concordance*. There were some works of Augustine and the *Summa* of William of Auxerre.

The other list is of forty-two volumes brought into the Order at Ipswich by friars and by laymen before 1300.[32] One Bible is placed in the refectory, six service books in the choir, and a second Bible is taken by the provincial minister for the use of the province. There remain several other service books, three glossed books of the Bible, a *Concordance* in two volumes, a *Legendae sanctorum* and a life of St. Kentigern, commentaries on the *Sentences* by Bonaventura and Richard Middleton, and some volume of sermons. The nontheological works include the *Philosophia naturalis* of Aristotle, the *Perspectiva* probably by John Pecham, the *Decretales* and Bernard of Compostella's *Casus* for canon law, Papias and Huguccio for grammar, Cicero, Bartholomaeus's *De proprietatibus rerum*, and a work entitled *Barlaam*.

One of the great centers in England for a tradition of learning was the Franciscan house at Oxford, based on the teaching of Robert Grosseteste, one of the outstanding scholars of his day. He had been invited to lecture

in the convent from its earliest years and left his books at his death in 1253. Regrettably, we have only a scant knowledge of the scope of this bequest. Of his own works we know that he gave his *Epistolae*, *De cura pastorali*, the sermons *Natis et educatis* and *Contra luxuriam*, commentaries on Paul's *Epistles* and the *Psalms*, *Hexameron*, and notes on Aristotle's *Physics*. A *Quadratura circuli* is not by Grosseteste; there was also his *Psalter*. Other works in the convent were works of Augustine, Gregory and Jerome, Rabanus Maurus, Clement of Lantony's *Super Evangelia*, and a copy of the Latin version of Suidas.[33]

About 100 thirteenth-century manuscripts from English Franciscan houses survive, of which 25 are copies of the Bible and glosses.[34] Augustine and Gregory are found in five houses, but, apart from a volume of *Patristica* from Lincoln and the *Speculum* of Adalbert (excerpts from Gregory's *Moralia*) at Hereford, there are no other writings of the Fathers. Earlier writers include Isidore, Cassiodore, Josephus (2), and Bede (2). The twelfth-century Paris authors present were Peter Comestor (4), Bernard (3), Peter Lombard (2), Peter of Blois (2), Philip the Chancellor, William of Auvergne, and Richard of St. Victor.

There were the more recent works (mainly by friars) of Grosseteste (2), Roger Bacon (2), Henry of Ghent, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Hugh of St. Cher, Thomas Gallus, Robert Holcot, and an anonymous commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Science and medicine were poorly represented—the former by Euclid and a *Geometria*, the latter by Platearius and Philaretus. The only law books are a copy of the *Decretales* and Raymond of Penafort's *Summa de casibus*. As is usual in friars' collections at this date, the number of literary works is small—only the *Epistles* of Seneca; a copy of Claudian was probably received by the Perth house later than the thirteenth century.

There are no early lists of books belonging to the houses of the Austin Hermits or of the Carmelites in the thirteenth century. Surviving manuscripts from houses of both these Orders are sparse and do not give a useful picture of the contents of their libraries.

The most important changes that affected the history of librarianship occurred in the organization of libraries. No longer were books kept in chests to be handed out annually for use; a convent's collection was largely in the possession of individual friars or, as the number of available books increased, in cases for consultation.[35]

Books, according to a minister general of the Dominicans, Humbert of Romans, are "our armaments, the authorities which we take from holy books are like the arms with which we defend ourselves and fight against our enemies," while at the chapter held at Florence in 1257 books are called *arma nostre militie*.[36] It is not surprising, therefore, that the friars and, slightly later, the university scholars made many regulations to facilitate

easy access to books. The evidence is, as usual, difficult to obtain and to assess, and it is often necessary to infer earlier practice from later documentation. The fact that friars could not own anything complicated the rules for the allocation and preservation of the Order's books. A distinction was made between the books that belonged to the province and were issued to students by the provincial (and, in the case of the Franciscans, the custody) and those possessed by the convents, the responsibility of priors. Whether lent to him by the provincial or the prior, a student would have at least the basic textbooks often issued to him for life. He would, however, be especially dependent on the conventual library for other works. The administration of this library was a vital factor for the friar seeking information. The Dominicans had appointed a librarian certainly by 1246 and probably earlier. The duties proposed by Humbert of Romans have been quoted many times, so that a full transcription of his recommendations is not necessary here. I shall point out only the significant elements. First, the library "should have many shelves and divisions in which the books may be placed according to the various subjects with signs written on each." "Once or twice a year the books should be collected together in some convenient place and inspected to discover whether any are missing or are being destroyed by book-worms."[37] The librarian kept an account of the books lent out, as in the *Assignationes librorum* at Barcelona.

His most important proposal was that each convent should have a reference collection attached by chains to one or more desks. If, as seems probable, Humbert was writing about 1270, this would be the earliest record of a chained library and of a separate reference collection. The first division of this kind at the Sorbonne is dated 1289.[38] Certainly, under the influence of these two sources, by the end of the fourteenth century this arrangement was fairly common in friars' libraries and in colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

Records of the contents of a library were obviously necessary to check that all books were present or had been borrowed. Simple inventories had been kept for earlier libraries, but as the requirements of students became more demanding, inventories became much more detailed. Unfortunately, we have no specimens of this new feature for the thirteenth century from mendicant Orders, but a fragment survives of a catalogue of the Sorbonne about 1274.[39] Every item in each volume is listed, even to an analysis of two manuscripts of Augustine's letters. The opening words of the second or third and the penultimate or ultimate folios are given to provide positive identification. Finally the name of the donor (if known) is added as well as the value of the codex or the sum for which it could be pledged. In the next century this became the standard method of cataloguing, as in the York Austin Hermits' library in 1372.

Just as today scholars may not always find what they need in their in-

stitution's library and have to look for it in other catalogues or lists, so medieval students might have had recourse to other collections. In the latter decades of the thirteenth century the Sorbonne possessed a collection of catalogues of other Parisian houses. A fragment survives of the whole catalogue of the manuscripts of Ste. Geneviève and the first portion of the catalogue of St. Germain-des-Prés, part of a larger work.[40] It has been suggested that the sheet of parchment making up these catalogues was posted on a wall or door for the use of all to permit the locating of books not in the Sorbonne.

A full union catalogue was compiled by Franciscans, probably from the Oxford house, sometime after 1250. The *Registrum Anglie de libris actorum et doctorum* lists 1,412 works (many with their incipits) of some 98 authors, largely patristic. Nearly all of these works are accompanied by an indication of their location in from one to thirty libraries in England, Scotland, and Wales. This is done by means of arabic numerals that refer to a key numbered list of 189 libraries prefixed to the register; this list is arranged geographically according to the eight custodies of the English Franciscan province.[41] Regrettably, we do not know what use was made of the *Registrum* by Franciscans. Perhaps books could be borrowed on payment of a pledge, as was general practice in the monastic Orders and as was permissible for the mendicants.

I have attempted to show that between the end of the twelfth and the second half of the thirteenth centuries there was a fundamental difference in the attitude to books and libraries. There was an almost aggressive appetite for aids to simplify access to information required for study —particularly by the mendicant Orders in their quest for knowledge to support their preaching aims. In friaries and universities, students and their teachers were making use of conventual and college books containing the texts for university teaching and newly devised reference books on a scale that had been impossible earlier. This was indeed a cultural revolution.

Notes

1. J. de Ghellinck, "En marge des catalogues des bibliothèques médiévales," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, 6 vols. (Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1924), vol. 5, p. 333.

2. **Canterbury**: M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: University Press, 1903), p. 7. **Lanthony**: T. W. Williams, "Gloucestershire Mediaeval Libraries," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 31 (1908): 78. **Durham**: *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm.*, ed. J. Raine with intro. by B. B[otfield], Surtees Society, vol. 7 (London: Nichols, 1838), p. 1. **Rochester**: *Textus Roffensis*, part ii, fos. 224–230, ed. P. Sawyer, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, vol. 11 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger,

1962). **Bury St. Edmunds**: M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury: i. The Library, ii, The Church*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society Octavo Publications, no. 28 (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1895). **Peterborough**: M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library*, Bibliographical Society Transactions, Supplement no. 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926). **Burton-upon-Trent**: Twelfth-century catalogue ed. by H. Omont in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 9 (1892): 201, and by F. A. Hibbert in *The Dissolution of the Monasteries as Illustrated by the Suppression of the Religious Houses of Staffordshire* (London: Pitman, 1910), p. 281. **Reading**: Late-twelfth-century catalogue printed in *English Historical Review* 3 (1888): 117. **Whitby**: Late-twelfth-century catalogue printed in *Cartularium Abbathiae de Whiteby*, vol. 1 [ed. by J. C. Atkinson], Surtees Society, vol. 69 (Durham: Andrews, 1879), p. 341; also in G. H. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn: Cohen, 1885, repr. 1973), no. 109. **Coventry**: List of books written for the church by John de Bruges "monachus Coventr," in T. Hearne, *History and Antiquities of Glastonbury* (Oxford: at the Theater, 1722), p. 291.

3. **Bridlington**: Early-thirteenth-century list of books printed by H. Omont in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 9 (1892): 203. **Waltham**: Early-thirteenth-century catalogue printed by M. R. James in "Manuscripts from Essex Monastic Houses," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, new series 21 (1933): 38. **Flaxley**: D. W. Bell, "The Books of Flaxley Abbey," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 43 (1987): 92–110.

4. European libraries of the period have collections that, except for a few local variations, compare closely to the English model: in Germany the Benedictines at **Muri**, **Michelsberg**, **Wessobrun**, **Regensburg (Prüll)**, and **Prüfening** and the Augustinian Canons at **Passau** (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands* [Munich: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918–], I, 210, 365; III, 184; IV, 400; IV, 416; and IV, 53); the Benedictines in Austria at **St. Lambrecht**, **Salzburg**, and **Lambach** (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs* [Vienna: Holzhausen, 1915–], III, 80; IV, 66; and V, 53); the French houses of **Corbie**, **St-Amand**, and **Cluny** (L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits* [Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868–1881], II, 428; II, 449; II, 458) and **St-Bertin**, **Anchin**, **St-Vaast**, **Arras**, and **Bec** (Becker, *Catalogi* nos. 77, 121, 125, 127); in Italy the abbey of **Nonantola** (G. Gullotta, *Gli antichi cataloghi e i codici della Abbazia di Nonantola* [Vatican: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1955], p. 31, and J. Ruysschaert, *Les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Nonantola* [Vatican: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1955], p. 20 [Studi e Testi 182, 182 bis]); and in Spain the Carthusians of **St. Maria, Poblet** (*Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniae*, ed. W. von Hartel [Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1887], I, 464).

5. One of the first was Alexander Nequam; see R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217)*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), especially chapter 6.

6. *Regula S. Benedicti*, ch. 48 (Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. 66, col. 704).

7. *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, tr. by D. Knowles (London: Nelson, 1951).

8. A distribution of books is illustrated in the Vivian Bible 845/6, M. Baur-Heinhold, *Schöne alte Bibliotheken*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Callwey, 1974), pl. 25. The monks are shown bringing books to St. Jerome, who sits between two book-boxes and hands books to monks who make their way into a building.

9. D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), p. 524, states that "it would normally be a question of religious books for private reading; the service-books and Bibles would be excluded, together with all works of classical literature, history and sciences." The evidence from English lists would seem to confirm this view: **Christ Church and St. Augustine's Canterbury** (James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. 502ff.), **Ramsey** (printed by R.

Bressie, *Modern Language Notes* 54 [1939]: 249), **St. Albans** (R. W. Hunt, "The Library of the Abbey of St. Albans," in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson [London: Scolar Press, 1978], pp. 254ff.), and **Thorney** (K. W. Humphreys, *Bodleian Library Record* 2 [1941–1949]: 205–210). Continental loan lists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are often similar (e.g., **Mondsee**, eleventh century [*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, V, 71]), but nontheological works are mentioned for **Freising**: Terence in the twelfth century and Ovid, Sallust, and Hyginus in the thirteenth century. At **Tegernsee** in the twelfth century Ovid *de ponto* and *epistolae* are on loan; at **Passau** in 1255 Aesop and Seneca and in 1257 Palladius, Solinus, and the *De mirabilibus Romae* (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands*, IV, 627, 751, 32). All these lists are very fragmentary and are not certainly records of Lenten distributions. The only definite evidence is contained in a list from **Farfa** of the eleventh century, which begins "De brevi librorum quod fit in capite quadragesimae": sixty-two books are mentioned, including the *Historia* of Livy and presumably Bede's *Historia Anglorum* (T. Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* [Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890; repr. Graz: Akademischer Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1955], p. 189).

10. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

11. F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententiae P. Lombardi*, 2 vols. (Herbipoli/Würzburg: Schöningh, 1947).

12. H. Kantorowicz, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (Cambridge: University Press, 1938).

13. S. Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234)* (Vatican: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1937).

14. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (New York: Ungar, 1960, repr.)

15. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister*, pp. 67ff.

16. D. A. Callus, "The Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 29 (1943): 229–281.

17. B. Lawn, *The Salernitan Questions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

18. See H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., ed. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (London: Oxford University Press, 1936); and A. B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities, Their Development and Organisation* (London: Methuen, 1975).

19. Epist. 71, *Patrologia Latina* 207, 219, quoted in G. Paré, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay, *La renaissance du XIIe siècle* (Paris: Vrin, 1933), p. 92, note 1.

20. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 181, 520.

21. J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Vautrain, 1935).

22. R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies in the Manipulus Florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), pp. 26ff.

23. Ibid., p. 9

24. Ibid., p. 19.

25. J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

26. W. A. Hinnebusch, O. P., *The History of the Dominican Order*, 2 vols. (New York: Alba House, 1966–1973).

27. T. Kaeppeli, O. P., "Dominicana Barcinonensia: Assignationes librorum

professiones novitiorum (s. xiii-xv)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 37 (1977): 47-118.

28. Etienne Baluze, *Miscellanea*, 4 vols., [ed.] J. M. Mansi (Lucae: apud V. Junctinium, 1761-1764), IV, 602-604.

29. "Cronaca del Convento di S. Caterina, Pisa, O. P.," ed. I. Bonaini, *Archivio* Storico Italiano, ser. I, 6 (1845): 412-414; and F. Pelster, S. J., "Die Bibliothek von Santa Caterina zu Pisa," in *Xenia Thomistica* (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1925), III, 9.

30. For extant manuscripts of all four orders, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), and *Supplement*, ed. A. G. Watson (London: Royal Historical Society, 1987).

31. A. G. Little and R. Easterling, *The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter* (Exeter: Wheaton, 1927), p. 59.

32. Ipswich Central Library: MS. of Albertus de Saxonia, *Sophismata*, flyleaf. An inaccurate English translation with facsimile is given in *Ipswich Library Journal* 46 (1939): 14-17.

33. R. W. Hunt, "The Library of Robert Grosseteste," in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955, repr. 1969), pp. 121-145.

34. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain.*

35. For a fuller account of the library organization of the friars, see K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964).

36. Ibid., p. 18.

37. Ibid., p. 32.

38. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, 181.

39. Ibid., II, 180.

40. Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons*, p. 26.

41. Ibid., p. 24. The *Registrum* is being edited by the Rouses.



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Founder of the Vatican Library: Nicholas V or Sixtus IV?

David Mycue

The Vatican Library, historians agree, came into being during the last half of the fifteenth century. The date of that event and the name of the founder depend upon what historian one reads. Since most historians credit either Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) or Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484), this paper will delve into the motives both popes had to establish the Library and the actions that they took to bring it about.[1] Is it possible that the Library had two founders within a generation?

That the papacy possessed no library worthy of the name when the Renaissance began will surprise few, once they recall the destructive invasions of the early Middle Ages and the feuds of powerful Roman families thereafter.[2] Owing to losses during the 1300s, when the headquarters of the papacy had been located in southern France, Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) possessed only 340 books,[3] which Nicholas V inherited upon Eugenius IV's death. Nicholas enlarged the collection; for that reason, as well as his being acknowledged as the first Renaissance pope, most historians have termed him the founder of the Vatican Library.[4]

If he deserves that title, his motive for establishing the Library is clear: his love of books. Nicholas, as Tommaso Parentucelli Sarzana, was born into poverty and grew up while his parents were in exile. His father died when he was nine, but Tommaso's mother kept him in school, for he was something of a prodigy. He became a master of arts at eighteen; then did private tutoring in Florence

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until he had earned enough money to return to the university at Bologna, where he earned a doctor of theology degree while working part-time as a servant of the bishop of Bologna, Nicholao degli Albergati.

Recognizing the young man's ability, Bishop Albergati employed him to manage the Albergati household. Shortly thereafter, the bishop ordained Parentucelli as a priest; and when Albergati received a position in the foreign relations department of the Vatican, Father Parentucelli went along. For many years afterward, Albergati acted as a papal emissary throughout western Europe, although he was often so ill that Parentucelli had to perform many of his duties. When Albergati died, Pope Eugenius appointed Parentucelli to the bishopric of Bologna, but kept him at Rome, where his talents deeply impressed the pope. As a reward for high-quality work, Eugenius made Parentucelli a cardinal nine months after he had become a bishop. Less than a year after that promotion Eugenius died, and the college of cardinals voted Cardinal Parentucelli to succeed him.[5]

As Pope Nicholas V, he immediately began doing what he said he would do if he were wealthy—buying books and constructing lovely buildings. While working his way through college he had met the Florentine banker Cosimo de' Medici, who employed him to draw up a booklist for a library that Cosimo was building as part of the Dominican monastery of San Marco in Florence. The booklist achieved great respect among bibliophiles as the San Marco library gained recognition as the best in Italy. Consequently, the list became the basis for private collections of nobles in several Italian city-states, where the wealthy, to offset the stigma of usury and to display their riches, were promoting numerous cultural activities. Library building, as a result, was becoming a fad in fifteenth-century western Europe.[6]

Enthroned on St. Peter's chair, Nicholas expanded his youthful hobby of book collecting into a major Vatican enterprise. Under the direction of his longtime friend Fiorentino Vespasiano da Bisticci, a Florentine bookseller, book scouts from the Vatican scoured Europe for manuscripts while intellectuals throughout Italy were hired to copy manuscripts, to translate Greek works into Latin, to write new works, or to give public lectures on the liberal arts.[7] Rome swelled in an intellectual ferment during Nicholas V's papacy. As those activities proceeded, Nicholas added the accumulating manuscripts to the existing collection.

While he developed his library plans, he kept the rare books in his bedroom; the rest he placed in eight upright bookcases in a

nearby room. Although his love of expensive binding later led to charges that his motivation was that of an aesthete, a dilettante, or an antiquarian, his appointment of Giovanni Tortelli as his special librarian offers another view. Up to then, and ever since 1318, the title "librarian of the pope" had been held by the pope's personal confessor, always a priest of the San Augustin order, who merely cared for the pope's prayerbooks. Nicholas continued the tradition, but the official librarian kept doing the same job while Tortelli worked on the library collection.

Before Nicholas V's papacy, Tortelli had earned a high reputation among academics for having compiled a dictionary and for having translated lives of the saints from the Greek. He was busy inventorying the growing number of books in the Vatican Palace when Nicholas died in 1455, his library plans still on the drawing-board even though they had become his top priority project during those final years. It would have been "a wonderful work could he have accomplished it; but, forestalled by death, he left it unfinished," mourned Vespasiano.[8] Tortelli soon found himself relegated to the position of a minor Vatican functionary, which he remained until his death in 1466.[9]

If founders are those who originally conceive of an idea, whether or not they carry it out, then Pope Nicholas V was a founder, as were other popes before him. His colleague, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (1458-1464), thought that Nicholas had tried to accomplish too much, and thus left numerous projects undone.[10] Nevertheless, the forces motivating Nicholas to institute a Vatican Library require analysis. True, personal inclination and the prevailing culture of humanism played a share in Nicholas's motives, yet the papacy of Pius II casts doubts that they were the main factors. Pius never finished the library project, nor did he take an interest in the collection.

On the surface, his unconcern appears curious. Before becoming pope, he had been a more famous humanist than Nicholas; and after reaching that high office, Pius did not abandon humanism. He not only retained most of the humanists working for the Vatican, but hired more, among them Bartolomeo Sacci de Piadena Platina. Pius valued good books and collected them with as much relish as Nicholas. In doing so, Pius built a considerable private library, but he did not contribute his books to the papal collection as Nicholas had done. Instead, Pius willed them to his family, which—three hundred years later—sold many of them to the Holy See. Pius had been born to a family of great landowners in the village of Corsignano, which he renamed Pienza in his own honor

after using papal resources to build in its center several large buildings, including a private residence for himself, and to restore the declining fortunes of his family. Years later, his nephew, upon becoming Pius III (1503), converted the Pienza cathedral chapter-house into the Piccolomini Library to preserve his uncle's books.[11]

When Nicholas was dying, he told friends why he had devoted so much energy to promote learning as a major papal policy. It was, he explained, actually a public relations stunt. Through it, he hoped to restore the influence of the Catholic church after its decline in prestige. The power of the church had evaporated before he had taken office, and spiritual concerns were being ridiculed in Renaissance Europe. All that was left was for the pope to take the lead in the revival of learning to channel it into proper directions.[12]

Whatever the merits of such a policy, the three popes who followed him saw no need to continue it. During the next sixteen years, the collection received no new accessions, and many of its volumes disappeared. Following Nicholas as pontiff, Calixtus III (1455-1458), a Spaniard and the first Borgia pope, disliked Rome and its culture. Although well-read in his youth, he was very old when elected pope. Vespasiano considered him senile, a report that one may discount; but it is clear that Calixtus was ignorant of affairs beyond his expertise as a canon lawyer.

When, as pope, he first viewed Nicholas V's books, Calixtus exhibited amazement that many were encased in rich bindings. The only books that he had previously seen had been bound in canvas covers and written on linen that had been stitched together. Complaining that Nicholas had squandered the patrimony "of the Church of God" on books, Calixtus, according to Vespasiano, threw away the Greek ones while giving others to his friends and servants.[13] Nevertheless, humanists at Rome, some of whom were pleading with Calixtus to value the library, continued to prosper during his short reign and during the next one under Pius II, when humanism, if not library-building, was surely looked upon with a fond eye. Humanists, by this time, had become an integral part of the papal bureaucracy. They had evolved into a new class at Rome, divided from the nobles and clergy, yet mingling and influencing both.[14]

It was, therefore, a shock to Vatican humanists when Pope Eugenius's nephew, Pietro Barbo, succeeded Pius II as Pope Paul II (1464-1471). Although he was occupied as a Venetian businessman when his uncle was elected to the papacy, Barbo at once felt the call to the priesthood. His rise in the church hierarchy was,

predictably, rapid. As pope himself, he dismissed nearly all the Vatican humanists in an economy move. Paul II's hobby was collecting rare gems, not books. "He was," recalled Platina, "a great enemy and despiser of human learning, branding those for heretics that gave their minds to it. . . . "[15] Clearly, Platina disliked Paul, who had fired him from the position that Platina had obtained under Pius II. For acting as a leader of the dismissed humanists, Platina was jailed twice by Paul, whose troubles with the disgruntled group ceased when he died of a heart attack on 28 July 1471.[16]

The subsequent election of Francesco della Rovere as Pope Sixtus IV proved a great blessing for humanists. Della Rovere, like Pope Nicholas, came from a poor family; according to some accounts his father was a fisherman or a cloth trader, but the facts about his background are obscure. As a boy, Francesco entered the Franciscan order, obtaining a doctorate in 1444. Twenty years later, owing to his talents in oratory and writing, he rose to the generalcy of the order, much through the help of the scholarly Cardinal John Bessarion, who in the 1450s had chosen Father della Rovere as his personal confessor. The men became close friends, forming with like-minded scholars what might be termed an underground study group during Pope Paul II's anti-intellectual pontificate. Owing to Bessarion's recommendation, however, Paul named della Rovere a cardinal of the church in 1467.[17] Four years later, as pope, Sixtus ordered Vatican officials to reassemble Nicholas V's collection. He then issued a papal bull excommunicating anyone who did not return within forty days books belonging to the church.

Vespasiano hailed Sixtus IV's reign as opening a new epoch for humanity. On 17 December 1471, Sixtus commissioned architects to construct a Vatican Library. He planned that it would adjoin the Apostolic Palace, but his numerous projects to renew decaying Rome soon raised so many complications that he suspended the Library building plan. Whatever the reason, the suspension remained in effect until 1475, after the death of Bishop Giovanni Andrea del Bussi, who, as a priest of the San Augustin order, had held the honorary title of librarian of the pope. Bussi was a classical scholar, and his scholarly work (together with his efforts to promote the new art of printing) proved too intense to permit him the energy for pushing through the Library construction.

About three weeks after Bussi's death, Sixtus broke tradition by nominating to the vacant post Platina, a layman, who, together with Sixtus, had been a member of Bessarion's study group.[18]

Four months later, on 15 June 1475, Sixtus officially appointed "Bartholomeum Platinam scriptorem et familiarem nostrum" as papal librarian. The same day, Sixtus issued his bull *Ad Decorem Militantis Ecclesie*, the actual birth certificate of the Vatican Library. In that bull, he promised that the Vatican treasury would from then on permanently finance maintenance of the Library. He also directed Platina to supervise the project, work that began at once along with cataloging the collection by subject and alphabetically by author. The result was the first library catalog of the papal collection, since all previous booklists had been drawn up to document the monetary value of the books for the benefit of the papal treasury. Platina also received orders from Sixtus to oversee the restoration of ancient manuscripts and the transcription of new manuscripts. To accomplish all that, Sixtus put Platina in charge of the library custodians.

Sixtus's strong directives inspired humanists, but—as usual with grand enterprises—financial realities intervened, forcing him to cancel plans to construct a special building for the Library. He established it, instead, in a series of rooms located in a basement wing of the Vatican Palace. Nicholas V had erected the wing for another purpose (the storing of grain and wine) and, perhaps, had one of the rooms decorated for reasons yet unknown. Thus in a way Nicholas was unknowingly the builder of the Vatican Library.[19]

The physical work of turning the basement into a library began in September 1475 and was completed during 1481, but the Library had been open to the public for some time before. As opposed to the few dozen humanists who had been privileged to consult Nicholas V's books, under Platina's administration the register of the Vatican Library is replete with names, many of whom would achieve scholarly renown during the sixteenth century. Platina's lending regulations were lenient; even tourists in Rome could borrow books.[20]

Why did Sixtus do it? There is little doubt that he hoped to establish the best library in Italy. He had been deeply influenced by humanistic circles in Italian universities, where he had taught theology before joining the general staff of the Franciscans. Humanists applauded his efforts as the library project went on.[21] Though some historians do not rank him as a humanist, he achieved a "vast reputation" among humanists. He was well aware of the worth of libraries.[22]

That point can be graphically illustrated. Close inspection of the Vatican Library interior reveals that it is similar to a library built

by Domenico Malatesta Novello at Cesena, in Romagna, during 1452. Malatesta ordered it constructed as part of a Franciscan monastery, which General della Rovere probably visited later during his inspection trips. The influence of the Cesena library, called the Malatestiana, grows even clearer through other sources. Upon ascending the papal throne, Sixtus appointed as his physician Giovanni di Marco, who in 1473 gave his books to the Malatestiana. Previously, Marco had been the official town doctor of Cesena and personal physician to Domenico Malatesta.

Marco's passion for books may have been a spark that initiated Sixtus's library plans, just as Marco's ideas certainly were critical in motivating Malatesta to establish the library not only for the monastery but also as a town public library, permanently endowed by Malatesta in 1464, a precedent, perhaps, for Sixtus IV's similar action for the Vatican Library a decade later. As a close friend of Cosimo de' Medici, Malatesta had modeled the Malatestiana on the library of San Marco after Nicholas approved building the Cesena library in a May 1450 bull. The connection between the libraries of San Marco, Cesena, and the Vatican is close for both popes, Nicholas and Sixtus.[23]

The Franciscan influence on Sixtus to found the Vatican Library does not end with the Malatestiana. Ironically, the religious order founded under rules that its members could not own, or even read, books was soon transformed by Francis of Assisi's successor, Bonaventure, into an order of book lovers. The necessity to compete with the Dominicans and to preach effectively led, in the 1300s, to the library at Assisi becoming the grandest in Italy. Popes in that period often deposited in it valuable books from the Vatican; the Assisi library thus served as an unofficial papal book depository. Elsewhere, Franciscan libraries grew so large that other prelates, such as the bishop of Durham, England, Richard Aungerville de Bury, complained that the Franciscans were monopolizing books. Nicholas V had spurred the growth by threatening, in a 1451 edict, to excommunicate a citizen of Assisi if he did not turn over to the order certain books that had been donated. Sixtus IV, in 1472, granted two hundred years' indulgences to all who contributed books or helped repair the Assisi library. And it was Sixtus, significantly, who canonized Bonaventure.[24]

The fact that Nicholas intended to establish a Vatican Library is no reason to credit him for having done so. His dream for it never came close to partial achievement. Thinking and willing do not constitute the act of founding. Sixtus not only revived the dream but carried it out. Sixtus commanded that the manuscripts be set

in order under professional guidelines, and he set aside a place for the preservation of written material. Only Sixtus guaranteed the collection a steady flow of funds. Platina, by all accounts, acted as a true library administrator. He was the first to receive the title "librarian of the Holy See" after he had worked some time under the more humble designation "librarian of the pope." Following his death on 21 September 1481 and up to the mid-1500s, people referred to the institution as the Sistine Library. Conversely, Tortelli was not a librarian; he was a scholar employed to inventory manuscripts on a short-term basis.[25] Even after Platina's death, Sixtus continued to support the Library; for example, he appointed another librarian within a month of Platina's death in the bull *Romanus Pontifex*, which renewed all the guarantees, and he greatly increased the custodians' income.[26] Nicholas created no institution; he merely willed his books, about 1,200, to the Vatican collection, which—under Sixtus—rose to 3,650 volumes.[27]

Could the motivations of either Nicholas or Sixtus be discovered from sociological analysis? Both popes were from the lower class; and, not having grown up in a family mansion, they looked upon the Vatican as home. Other popes during the Renaissance were raised in palaces, probably much better than the run-down Vatican. Both Nicholas and Sixtus tried to beautify it, to impress upon it their own personalities, as one does with one's home. Nicholas left his books to the Vatican rather than to his family. Sixtus did likewise.

Sixtus's background is so vague that historians have speculated that he was ashamed of it. As a young man, he had befriended a family who, though unrelated and living in another town, used the same surname as he. While climbing the ranks of the church hierarchy along with the well-to-do, who made up the largest segment of clerical leaders, Sixtus and the Rovere family began considering themselves related. He looked upon them as his adopted loved ones. When he needed a coat of arms to keep up with his colleagues, the Rovere family was glad to grant the favor to their strong, intelligent adopted uncle. Later, he made several of their members cardinals. One of them may have caused the suspension of the Library project in 1472 by convincing Sixtus that his library ought to be a private one located within a family mansion that the cardinal was constructing, but that work ended when the cardinal died suddenly in 1474. The Vatican, as time went on, became Sixtus's true home.

Though historians consider his motives political—to overawe his subjects by carrying out stupendous projects—certainly choices

other than library-building would have been simpler and perhaps more effective. The one class that would have been impressed were the humanists, hardly an influential group, as Paul II's open disdain of them demonstrated. If Sixtus's motive were ostentation, he would have discontinued the entire project when it became evident that funds were insufficient for erecting a grand building for the Library and that a basement would have to do for the collection. That Sixtus's heart, as opposed to cold calculation, was in the Library project is indicated by his granting indulgences for the benefit of the Assisi library and by his founding of another library in Rome within the chapterhouse of St. Peter's basilica, an effort that would have done little to increase his prestige or to intimidate the masses. The Vatican Library was not Sixtus's "showpiece." It was, rather, his home piece.[28]

Both Nicholas and Sixtus overcame their backgrounds; few popes during the Renaissance, or later, arose from such circumstances. Most, like Pius II, took pride in their deep family roots. Until Nicholas became pope, it was traditional for papal collections to be considered the personal property of the incumbent. Nearly always, they were willed by pontiffs to their heirs. Despite the example set by Nicholas and Sixtus, they were unable to break that tradition. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Vatican collection grew very slowly; many Vatican officials appropriated for themselves the church documents and manuscripts they handled. Private libraries throughout Italy still house materials that once belonged to the Vatican.[29]

Nicholas and Sixtus knew that their blood relatives would have appreciated neither the contents nor the intellectual value of books. After the reigns of those popes, however, the wealthy regained the papal throne, and their families valued the written word. The Vatican Library is an accident of birth, the birth of two men into the ranks of the poor and their rebirth in the Vatican Palace, which cried out for the comforts and the atmosphere intelligent people prefer to be surrounded with: knowledge in its physical form, a library to share, the living thoughts of the great minds of the past. The Vatican Library is the product of the most wonderful gift of the Renaissance to the modern world—human love, with which both Nicholas and Sixtus were filled.

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How Learned were the Mughals: Reflections on Muslim Libraries in India

KALPANA DASGUPTA

The culture of any historical period is contained in its institutions of learning. The Mughal rulers of India made great contributions to Indian learning and culture; they were also noted for making achievements in the different fields of education, art, literature and music. Book making and libraries made a very remarkable progress during this period of Indian history.

Hindustan (India) first tasted Muslim invasion as early as the eighth century A.D.[1] but the invaders were unsuccessful due to the strong opposition posed by the Hindu kings in both western and southern India. The next threat came from the northwest side of India which has always been the vulnerable point in the history of invasions in later years. In 991 A.D.[2] Mahmud of Gazni invaded northern India and annexed Punjab in 1018 A.D.[3] His expeditions were mainly for plunder, but he too faced strong opposition from the Hindu kings. After him in the late twelfth century[4] Mohammed Ghori invaded from the northwestern corner of the country. Gradually dynasty after dynasty conquered and ruled over the northern, eastern and then the southern parts of Hindustan. The history of the Sultanate till Babur's conquest of Delhi in 1526 was one of empire building as well as of continuous wars of succession, murders and bloodshed. In the meantime, in 1398 Timur had crossed the Indus and occupied Delhi without much ado and had plundered the area to his heart's content. Thus, according to historians like Alexander Dow,[5] the history of Muslim domination in India can be divided into two great empires: the Afghan empire till the close of the fourteenth century and then the Mughal empire in all its glory from the fifteenth century. The degeneration of the Afghan kings made it a fairly easy game for Babur, the descendent of Timur when he invaded India in the fifteenth century.

Beginning of Mughal Dynasty in India

The Mughal dynasty was formally started in Hindustan in the fifteenth century by Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, who was as sturdy as his ancestor but was endowed with far more refinement and accomplishment.[6] He was a scholar of Arabic, Persian and Turki, and is said to have been a critic of literature. He was a poet and many of his poems were quoted in his *Memoirs*. He invented a style called "Mubaiyan" and was the author of a versified treatise of the Muhammadan Law. He also composed a book on prosody entitled *Mufassal*. But his greatest achievement was his *Memoirs* written in the Turkish language.[7] Babur encouraged calligraphy and in 1504 A.D. initiated a kind of handwriting called "Khat-i-Baburi" or "Babari hand". He indited a copy of the Quran [Koran] in that script and sent it to Mecca.[8] Babur was fond of books and developed an imperial library with keen interest.[9] In 1525 A.D. he was victorious over Ghazi Khan, the Afghan noble of the Punjab, and quickly took possession of his library. He wrote in his *Memoirs* "after spending two nights on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghazi Khan's book room, some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humayun, some I sent to Kamran[10] [in Quandahar]. There were many books of learned contents, but not so many valuable ones as had at first appeared."[11] The critical attitude of a fastidious bibliophile is very clear in the last line.

Babur's aptitude as a penmen, artist or craftsman was greatly nourished by the family tradition and example, because Timurlane in spite of his gruesome cruelties, was a man of literary tastes. When the Muslim civilization of the Middle East was destroyed in 1258 by the Tatars and the Mongols, Timurlane, the victorious King of the Mongols, collected a larger portion of the books from these lands to build his own library at the capital city of Samarkand.[12]

Literary and learned men received great encouragement from Babur. Among them was Khwandamir, a historian who was in charge of the library of the Minister of Sultan Husain of Hirat. When Khwandamir arrived in Hindustan and was introduced to Babur at Agra, Babur immediately took him in his confidence and Khwandamir accompanied Babur on his expedition to Bengal. After Babur's death he attached himself to Humayun, in whose name he wrote the *Kanun-i-Humayuni*.[13] Babur can be credited with the beginning of the art of book illustration in Muslim India. His *Memoirs* were embelished with colored representations of the animals de-

scribed therein, which certainly proved to be an added attraction. This art was later developed by emperors of his dynasty. During his reign the Public Works Department was entrusted to build Maktabs (schools) and Madrasas (colleges). Each Madrasa during the Mughal period had a library attached to it.[14]

Humayun succeeded Babur in 1530 A.D. and was a worthy successor of his scholarly father. He had received an education befitting a Turki prince and had cultivated a taste for literature, art, and science. He had developed a taste for mathematics, geography, and astronomy[15] and wrote on the nature of elements. Learned discussions were the order of the day at his court and he took great interest in them. He even went so far as to divide the people of his empire into three classes and the religious minded, literati, and scientists were placed at the top.[16] He was a voracious reader and was very fond of books. In his childhood when on one occasion some books he had lost were found, he said "Thank God, the treasure which cannot be got again is safe; other things are easy to obtain."[17] Even during his expeditions he would carry a library of selected books and a librarian with him. Khwandamir, the ex-librarian of Hirat, accompanied him during his expedition to Gujarat.

In addition to his personal talents and contributions to the different fields of art and learning, it is worth noting that he had learned the art of composition and had improved his epistolary style under the able guidance of his father. His encouraging attitude towards science is revealed by the fact that the treatise *Jawahir-al-Utum* in Arabic by Maulana Mohammad Fazil was dedicated to him. This treatise, compiled in 1538, dealt with history, astronomy, mathematics, logic, philosophy, ethics and jurisprudence.[18] His poetic talents were also of no mean order. He wrote ghazals, masnawis and rub'ais which are referred to by many historians. At his court poets from different countries such as Persia, Turkistan, Samarquand, etc., would frequently visit to take part in discussions. It is said that the Emperor was so fond of poems that a good ghazal sometimes would be sufficient to win Imperial favour.[19]

The magnificent "Khana-i-Tilism" was built by Humayun at Agra. Its main portion, the central one of the three buildings which was known as "Khana-i-Sadat," had the library. There were books, gilded pen cases, portfolios, picture books and beautiful works of calligraphy in the library.[20] The emperor's literary mind was manifested more when he converted the pleasure house at the Purana Quila (Old Fort), Delhi, which was built by Sher Shah[21] in 1541,

into a library. It was here that Humayan met his death, brought on by a fall down the stairs of this library. He built a college in Delhi and schools in Agra. Within the short span of his life and kingship his contribution to learning was remarkable. Part of his tomb was also used as a place of instruction for quite a long period.

The Period of "The Great Mughal"

Akbar, the "Great Mughal" as he is called, ascended the throne after the death of his father, Humayun in 1556. He has been described as illiterate by many writers, including his own son Jahangir who wrote:

> "My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion especially with Pandits and the learned of India, and although he was illiterate, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversations with them, that no one knew him to be illiterate, and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions that his deficiency was not thought of."[22]

Akbar had books read aloud to him every day. Abul Fazl[23] wrote in this context:

> Experienced people would bring them [books] daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from the beginning to the end. At whatever page the readers daily stop, His Majesty makes with his own pen a sign; according to the number of the pages, and rewards the readers with presents of cash either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. Among books of renown, there are few that are not read in his Majesty's assembly hall; and there are no historical facts of the past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy with which his Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted. He does not get tired of hearing a book over again, but listens to the reading of it with more interest.[24]

His contribution to the development and progress of the art of writing, illustration, and translation was remarkable. Abul Fazl lists in his *Ain-i-Akbari* styles of writing that were used in the Muslim countries. In India "Nastalik" was the type of writing which Akbar liked best and the renowned master of the art Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, was honoured by the title "Golden Pen" (Zarrin-Kalam).[25]

Akbar's inability to read did not hinder his appreciation for the beauty of writing and the delicate illustrations which enriched the manuscripts. His active interest in ancient Sanskrit literature was manifested through his orders for the preparation of Persian translations and adaptations of the Hindu epics and other masterpieces. *Atharvaveda* and the epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* were translated by very learned Persian scholers. The *Atharvaveda* was translated into Persian by Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi[26] and *Ramayana* was translated by Badaoni or Abdu-l-Qadir at Akbar's orders.[27] *Mahabharata* was named *Razmnama* [Book of War]. Akbar himself translated some passages of the *Mahabharata.*[28] The *Razmnama* was illuminated and repeatedly copied and Abu-l-Fazl wrote an introduction to it. The Hindi love story of Nal and Daman was translated by Shaykh Fayzi-l-Fayyazi and it was among those books that were read in the court. *Lilavati,* the treatise on mathematics was also translated during his reign. Khan-i-Khanan[29] translated the *Memoirs of Babur* from Turki to Persian.

The Imperial library was administered very well during his reign. "Akbar's ancestors, notwithstanding their stormy lives, had loved and collected books."[30] Akbar introduced and implemented reforms into the management, classification and storage of books.[31] He added to this library enormously, both qualitatively and quantitatively making the royal library one "to which probably no parallel then existed or even has existed in the world."[32] The library was divided into compartments on the basis of the estimation in which the different sciences were held. They were further divided according to the different languages in which they were written, e.g., Persian, Greek, Arabic, Hindi, etc. Each section was again subdivided into prose and poetry and the books were arranged accordingly.[33]

The library was managed by experienced supervisors. The officer-in-charge had the title "Nizam" and his assistant was "Muhatin" or "Darogha." There were several assistants to enter the books in the register and to keep separate registers for each subject and number the books. The Nizam was also responsible for the selection and purchase of books for the library. There were people employed for the upkeep and correction of books. The scribes, painters, copyists, gilders and binders were all masters in their art. The translators had permanent posts and they were usually well versed in Arabic and Persian.

The emperor was very fond of beautifully written and profusely illustrated manuscripts for his Imperial library. Books in both prose

and verse were richly illuminated by eminent artists. The famous manuscripts of *Razm-Namah* was said to have cost Akbar £40,000.[34] Two volumes of this manuscripts are now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.[35] Volumes of his library like *Chingiz-Namah, Ramayana, Nala Damana, Kaliya Damana,* etc., were all illuminated and illustrated.[36]

Akbar loved calligraphy, and did not very much care for printing, though he was not hostile to it. The first Jesuit mission presented him with the Bible in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek and Latin, the *Royal Polyglot* of Montanus printed at Antwerp in 1569-1572.[37] The Jesuit fathers also presented Akbar with the Persian translations of the *Life of Christ* and the Christian religious books. A copy of the *Lives of the Apostles,* translated from Latin to Persian by Fr. Jerome Xavier of the Society of Jesus, was dedicated to the Emperor.[38] Thus the royal library chanced to acquire quite a number of European books during his reign. When he died in 1605 an inventory of the Imperial library revealed that it contained 24,000 volumes beautifully illustrated and bound which could be evaluated at more than half a million pounds sterling.[39]

Private libraries were also common at that time. Almost all learned scholars and rich patrons possessed libraries of their own. The nobles competed with each other in adding rare books to their libraries. Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan possessed a large personal library where he had a permanent staff of ninety-five for its upkeep and management. It included a librarian, Khushnavis, a painter, a book binder, and scribes, among others.[40] Shaikh Faizi[41] also had a good collection in his library which contained 4,600 manuscripts either in the handwriting of the author or written in the author's time.[42] This library was merged into the Imperial library in 1595 after Shaikh Faizi's death.

Akbar's reign marks an epoch for the new system of education. He brought about a very useful blending of Muslim and Hindu learning. He founded colleges in Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and Delhi, where very learned scholars were appointed as professors.

The Post Akbar Period

The tradition of scholarship was continued, though not in equal strides, by the descendants of the "Great Mughal". Jahangir had an excellent education and was proficient in both Persian and Turkish. His knowledge enabled him to read the *Memoirs of Babur* in the

original. He followed his ancestors in recording the events of his reign and wrote the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* [Memoirs of Jahangir] and ordered copies of it to be distributed among his chief government officers. In this context Henry Beveridge wrote:

> The royal authors of the East had more blood in them than those kings whose works have been catalogued by Horace Walpole. To find a parallel to them we must go back to Julius Caeser, and even then the advantage is not upon the side of Europe. After all, the commentaries of the famous Roman are a little disappointing, and certainly the Memoirs of Babur and Jahangir are far more human and fuller of matter than the story of the Gallic wars.[43]

Jahangir's name can be associated with a regulation which he promulgated in all his dominion, and by which the property of rich men who died heirless was to be used for building and repairing Madrasas, monasteries and libraries. He not only enriched the collections of the Imperial library during his regime but also established a picture gallery. Maktub Khan was the superintendent of both.[44] In addition to the Imperial library, Jahangir had his own library and, as his ancestors had done, he, took his library with him when he travelled. In Gujrat he presented books to the Ulemas from his personal library. Jahangir himself describes the ceremony. "On the 16th Tuesday the elite of Gujrat came to me for the second time. I again gave them Khil'ha, travelling expenses and land and then allowed them to go. I gave everyone of them from my personal library a book like *Tafsiri, Kashshaf, Tafsiri Husaini, Ranza-tul-Ahbab* and on the back of each book wrote the date of the arrival in Gujrat, and the bestowing of books."[45] It was a fine example of imperial largesse. He sometimes purchased manuscripts and other books for very high sums, as he bought a copy of the *Yusuf-Zulaika,* a book with paintings and illustrations, for 1000 gold mohurs, slightly more than £3000. Two copies of this are still available in India, one at the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna and the other at Shantiniketan, the University founded by the poet Tagore.[46] Like his father he loved calligraphy and presented the famous calligrapher Shaikh Farid Bakhari with a robe of honor, a jewelled sword, a pen and inkstand, and conferred the title "Mir Bakshi" on him.[47]

Shan Jahan, the builder of the wonderous Taj Mahal, pursued the scholarly tradition of his father. He founded the Imperial College at Delhi and during his time due to private efforts, Lahore, Ahmeda-

bad Jaunpur and Kashmir had all become seats of learning. The Indo-Persian literature developed greatly during this period. Besides translations and original works in various fields of knowledge four voluminous dictionaries on special subject areas were compiled for and dedicated to Shan Jahan.[48] Reading was part of his daily routine when he retired to his harem. The lives of Timurlane and Babur were among his favourite books. The chief librarian of the Imperial library was called Darogha Kitab-Khana. During Shah Jahan's reign good libraries had been started by Jesuit Fathers in Agra and Delhi. These libraries contained manuscripts in eastern languages written by Jesuits, as well as oriental religious documents.[49]

In 1656 Aurangzeb came to power. He was a brilliant man and a staunch muslim. He was fond of reading Islamic law, so he had the best legal minds of his kingdom compile the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* for which he spent a considerable amount. His love for theology led him to collect books such as commentaries of the Quran [Koran] and the *Hadis,* which augmented the collection of the Imperial library. Muhammad Shah was the librarian or Nizam of the Imperial library during this period. Aurangzeb was a good letter writer.[50] From his last will one finds that he used to transcribe copies of the Quran [Koran] and sell them for his personal expense.[51] Being a fanatic muslim, Aurangzeb encouraged only Islamic learning and destroyed Hindu schools and temples.[52]

The sun set on the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. Nadir Shah of Persia invaded Hindustan in 1733 and plundered the Imperial library of many beautifully illustrated Persian manuscripts.[53] Though the later Mughals were mostly very cultured and literary men, their contributions can hardly be mentioned because the days of Mughal eminence in Hindustan were gone forever.

The last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, was a renowned poet and he wrote under the pen name "Zafar". His poems and lyrics are still appreciated by Indians with a great feeling of nostalgia for the days before British colonization.

The Role of Women in Education

Women's education was not ignored in the Mughal days. Opportunities of course were mainly confined to princesses and the women of the upper class. Mughal emperors employed educated lady tutors to teach their daughters. The curriculum often included

study of Persian, Arabic, Theology and History. Most of the girls learned and recited the Quran. During Akbar's reign he made definite arrangements for imparting regular education to the ladies of the harem. Certain chambers were set apart in his palace at Fatehpur Sikri for schooling purposes.[54] Many private individuals took an interest in the promotion of learning during Akbar's rule. His chief nurse Maha Anaga founded a college in Delhi in 1561.[55]

In the Mughal harem the first lady who engaged herself actively in literary pursuits was Gulbadan Begum, the daughter of Babur. She was gifted with poetic ability and was well versed in Persian and Turki. She was requested by Akbar to write the *Humayun Nama* in which she gave a valuable account of the social and political activities of that period. Her interests in literary activities were intense and she was a lover and collector of books. She is said to have had a personal library.[56]

Salima Sultana, a niece of Humayun composed verses under the nomde plume of Makhfi ("concealed"). She also maintained a library of her own.[57]

The historic Nur Jahan (Jahangir's wife) and Mumtaz Mahal (Shan Jahan's wife), were also remarkably talented and educated. Nur Jahan composed verses and loved books. She maintained a library with a very rich collection. The manuscript of *Diwan-i-Kamran* for which she had personally spent three gold coins called "mohurs" is still in the Khuda Baksh library of Patna.[58] Mumtaz Mahal was a great patron of men of letters. The renowned Sanskrit poet Vanisadhara Misra, was a favourite of the Queen.[59]

Jahanara, the eldest daughter of Shah Jahan was a highly educated and intelligent lady. She had in her a streak of mysticism and she often wrote 'Rishalas" (pamphlets) on this subject. She also composed verses in Persian and wrote her own epitaph, which gives a clue to her simplicity and humble attitude: "Let not any person cover my tomb with anything other than earth and grass, for they are best fitted for the grave of the poor."[60]

All three of these ladies of the Mughal harem were powerful figures in politics. Nur Jahan took an active interest in the administrative work and also had her personal seal, which she used while sending "Farmans" (memoranda) to different states.[61] Emperor Shah Jahan consulted Mumtaz Mahal about both private and state affairs and after her early death Jahanara, the eldest daughter, became the premier lady of the harem. Her ascendency in the court was unlimited.

Her support had to be won before one could wish to obtain the favour of the Emperor.[62]

One of the most remarkable literary figures of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was Zebunnisa Begum, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb. She attained proficiency in mathematics and astronomy and was well versed in Persian and Arabic. She was also skilled in the art of calligraphy and could write Shikast, Nastaliq, and Naksh perfectly.[63] She built up a good library and established a translation department where a number of classical books were translated. *Zibul-Mnushaat* is a collection of her letters[64] and another work attributed to her is *Diwan-i-Makhfi.*

Conclusion

The patronage that learning and culture received during the Mughal period went a long way in fostering the growth of collections of books and manuscripts in institutions like Maktabs and mosques and by renowned individuals as well. This had been the general trend of ancient and medieval India in both Hindu and Muslim culture. But both institutional and personal libraries were for the use of the limited few only. The libraries that then existed were neither meant for the public nor were the ordinary people then in need of libraries.

There were innumerable political upheavals after the downfall of the Mughals. In the aftermath of wars, manuscripts and rare works of art were carried away as part of the loot by the conquerors. Interestingly enough the political disturbances from time to time did not very much affect the main web of Indian life. In spite of damages to, and even complete destruction of, cultural institutions, the main flow of existing cultural trends in the different parts of the country continued slowly as usual.

Western influence on library growth and educational development began during the days of the later Mughals, through Christian missionaries. However, the Jesuit Fathers took many Indian books back to France for the library of Louis XV.[65] Still later, many rare and valuable manuscripts in eastern languages were taken away to England to build the East India Company's library, later known as the India Office Library. In this connection it is interesting to note that Henry Beveridge has written:

> There are more Persian manuscripts in Europe than in India—and there is certainly no library in the latter which can be compared with the vast collections of the British Museum, the India Office library, the Bodleian and of the Berlin Library.[66]

Opinions still differ as to the wisdom of building up the Oriental Collections in European capitals, far from the cultural heritage these collections represent.

In India today, some libraries, namely the Khuda Baksh Library of Patna, the Salar Jang Museum Library of Hyderabad, the Rampur State Library, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Calcutta and the Buhar Collection at the National Library in Calcutta, the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras, and the Bombay University Library still possess a considerable rare manuscripts of the Mughal period. Some of these are:

Babur-namah or *Tuzuk-e-Baburi,* the autobiographical memoirs of Emperor Babur. The greater part of Babur's life was spent in fighting wars. He won over Kabul in 1504, Quandahar in 1506 and, after invading Hindustan several times, finally defeated Ibrahim Lodi in 1526. He was a worthy sovereign and had made various social and political improvements during his short reign, dying in 1530. The manuscripts are still in the Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.[67] A copy is also in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

Akbar-namah, written by Abul Fazl Allami. This contains the detailed history of the fifty years of the Emperor's reign. It is divided in three volumes: the first is the history of the House of Timur to the death of Humayun; the second records the reign of Akbar from 1556-1604; and the third the *Ain-i-Akbari,* the famous administrative report of Akbar's empire.[68] It has Nastaliq character and very steady, elegant hand. The first two folios are beautifully decorated in various hues, with water color painting at the top of the first page. Chapter headings and the margins are decorated by different colors. The manuscripts of this famous work are still available in various collections such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, the Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, the Governmental Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and the Buhar Collection of the National Library, Calcutta.

Tarjumah-e-Mahabharat or *Razmnamah* a Persian translation of the great Indian epic done in 1582 by order of Akbar by four translators and the preface was written by Abul Fazl. The manu-

scripts are in Asiatic Society of Bengal Library and the Buhar Collection of the National Library, Calcutta.[69]

Jahangir-namah or *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* is also an autobiographical memoir of the Emperor Jahangir from his birth to the nineteenth year of his reign. According to historians, his diary is the prime source of information about his reign and his personality. The manuscripts are divided into three categories: the earliest version, the authentic version, and the garbled version.[70] It is in Nastaliq character and in neat bold hand; the headings are in red ink. The earliest and the garbled versions are in the collection of the Khuda Baksh Library, Patna, and the authentic version is in Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Diwan-e-Kamran consists of Persian and Turkish poems written by Humayun's brother Mirza Kamran. The Khuda Baksh Library has a copy which bears the autographs of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and seals and signatures of various nobles of the Mughal court. This copy was once owned by Nur Jahan. Other manuscripts are at the Rampur State Library and the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[71]

Diwan-e-Makhfi is a collection of poems by Aurangzeb's eldest daughter, Zebunnisa who used the pseudonym "Makhfi". The manuscripts are available in Asiatic Society of Bengal Library and at the Shantiniketan Library.

To give a sketchy idea of the libraries which still carry the main bulk of the manuscripts of the Mughal period one can mention the following libraries: Khuda Baksh Library, Patna has approximately 11,500 manuscripts of the Mughal period in good condition. The library has its own bindery and the manuscripts are kept in closed almirahs. Traditional naptheline bricks, sprays, etc., are used for preservation from insects. The manuscripts mainly cover the Islamic sciences.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal Library, Calcutta, was established in 1784 by Sir William Jones. It carries approximately 1,013 Arabic and 1,418 Persian manuscripts. The codex of the *Padshanamah* bearing the autograph of Emperor Shahjahan is among the collection.[72] The Raza Library, Rampur also has a good collection of approximately 4,467 Arabic and 4,253 Persian manuscripts, which is more than the Asiatic society of Bengal.[73]

The Salar Jung Museum library, Bombay, the University Library and the Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras are well known for their manuscripts collection. There are still many more libraries which can be named but unfortunately there are remote corners and

unknown feudal families where very valuable manuscripts are lying undiscovered and unidentified. Hopefully most of these will be discovered and preserved for future generation.

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8. Ibid., p. 123.
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11. Babur, Emperor of Hindustan 1483-1530, *Babur Nama* (Memoirs of Babur) trans. A. S. Beveridge (London: Luzae & Co., 1921), p. 460.
12. S. K. Padover, "Muslim Libraries" in J. M. Thompson *The Medieval Library* (New York: Hafner Publishing Co., 1957), p. 355.
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14. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship,* p. 61.
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18. Ibid.
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25. Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mughul 1542-1605,* 2nd ed. (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 1958), p. 309.
26. Law, *Promotion and Learning,* p. 148.
27. Abu-l-Fazl, *Ain-l-Akbari,* 1: 110-111.
28. Ibid., p. 111.
29. Khan-i-Khanan was a renowned scholar as well as a great warrior.
30. Smith, *Akbar,* p. 307.

31. Pran Nath Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society and Culture During Mughal Age, 1526-1707* (Agra: Shivalal Agarwala & Co., 1963), p. 168.
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33. Abu-l-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* p. 110.
34. Law, *Promotion and Learning,* p. 153.
35. D. N. Marshall, *Mughals in India: A Bibliographical Survey* (Bombay Asia Publishing House, 1967) vol. 1, *Manuscripts,* p. 18.
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38. Rev. H. Hosten S. J. "Fr. Jerome Xavier's Persian Lives of the Apostles," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 10 (1914): 66.
39. Smith, *Akbar,* p. 308.
40. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society,* p. 170.
41. Shaikh Faizi was a renowned poet.
42. Chopra, *Some Aspects of Society,* p. 170.
43. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 7 (Preface).
44. Ibid., p. 12.
45. Datta, *Libraries and Librarianship,* pp. 70-71.
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51. Ibid., p. 192.
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59. Misra, *Women in Mughal India,* p. 89.
60. Ibid., p. 90.
61. Ibid., p. 149, "Appendix 'A' "
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Bibliothecae Arcanae:

The Private Libraries of Some European Sorcerers

Along with charms, crystal balls, and images of wax, some ancient sorcerers also used books. Those who assembled private libraries of occult literature generally catered to urban clientele and university audiences. The books ranged from conjuring manuals to astrological literature to pharmacological texts. The contents of the libraries reveal the professional interests and pretended competency of Renaissance and Reformation magicians.

By W. R. Jones

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The image of the sorcerer, crouched among books of magic in his laboratory-study, has circulated widely through European literature and art in the myth of Dr. Faustus.[1] Although the Faust legend was mainly the product of imagination, modern historians appreciate the fact that magicians and sorcerers actually existed in medieval and early modern Europe and that their neighbors credited them with possessing extraordinary powers for good or evil. At the historical center of the idea of sorcery was the village wizard, called a "cunning man" in England, who served the peasants and townspeople of pre-modern Europe by making and selling love-spells and charms, foretelling the future, curing sickness, preventing misfortune, and divining the location of lost or stolen property, missing persons, and treasure-trove.[2] Among the instruments of his craft were charms, ligatures, crystal balls, images of wax and lead, and, less frequently, books of magic.

During the eras of the Renaissance and Reformation there occasionally appeared more exalted practitioners of magic, who, like the mythical Faustus, combined occult interests with various scientific and pseudoscientific investigations. Social, economic, and intellectual differences separated the humble village wizards, who did not need books, writing, or even literacy, from the handful of scholarly magicians, who catered to urban clienteles and university audiences, and who assembled private libraries of occult literature. The contents of these can occasionally be reconstructed from surviving catalogs and the citations of titles in the judicial records of the time. These sources, augmented with examples of books of magic preserved in libraries and archives and the lists of proscribed books compiled by the enemies of magic, reveal the professional interests and pretended competency of European magicians of the Renaissance and Reformation.

The literature of European magic is very old. Horace mentioned the *libros carminum* of the magicians of his time.[3] The Roman historians, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, reported the whole-sale destruction of books of magic by the Roman government on orders of the Emperor Augustus, who probably feared their subversive use.[4] Although much of this literature disappeared from Europe during the cultural decline of the early middle ages, from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries forward individual magical texts were imported into the Christian West from the Byzantine, Muslim, and Jewish communities of the Mediterranean world. These sources stimulated the growth of European traditions of literary occultism, which reached a peak of development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The source *par excellence* of European demonology was the book of "conjurations" or "experiments," many versions of which were attributed to the authorship of King Solomon or to other mythical magicians like Enoch, Apollonius of Tyana, Virgil, Cyprian, or Simon Magus. Subsequently, Albertus Magnus, Roger Bacon, Peter of Abano, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, John Trithemius, and a host of "necromantic" popes were added to the roster of alleged authors of books of magic. These books were manuals for practicing magicians, offering instruction in what contemporaries called the "notory art" (*Ars notoria*).[5] Some of the more famous of them, like the *Key of Solomon (Clavicula Salomonis)*, which was an elaborate compendium of magical incantations, rites, and diagrams, dated back to the ancient period and continued to appear in many manuscript versions as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[6]

The judicial records of the later middle ages report the circulation and use of conjuring manuals, although frequently their titles were not given and it is difficult to identify particular works. In 1371, for instance, a sorcerer was arrested in Southampton, England, and a severed human head and a book of magic in his possession were seized and destroyed.[7] In 1419 an English sorcerer, Richard Walker, was accused of possessing magical paraphernalia consisting of a beryl stone (useful for conjuring demons and divining), two small yellow wax images, and two books of magic filled with conjurations and drawings.[8] In 1466 a diviner of treasure-trove (known as a "hill-digger") was given the penance of marching around the market places of Ely and Cambridge bearing "a book, and a roll of black art containing characters, circles, exorcisms and conjurations; a hexagonal sheet with strange figures; six metal plates with diverse figures engraved; a chart with hexagonal and pentagonal figures and characters; and a gilded wand," which the accused, Robert Barker, had allegedly used to search for buried wealth.[9] Another professional sorcerer, William Wycherley, was accused in 1539 of using "Solomon's circle" to detect the whereabouts of lost or stolen property and buried treasure;[10] and in 1590 the secret meeting place of a gang of Elizabethan sorcerers was discovered by the authorities, who found several magical circles inscribed on the ground, a crystal, a red cock, some mysterious pots, a stool, scepter, wax seals, and "certen lattyn bookes."[11]

Occasionally the titles or contents of specific books were identified. In 1527, for instance, the former English Benedictine, William Stapleton, acquired from another cleric two books for use in divining the location of buried treasure. These were a *Thesaurus spirituum*, probably a conjuring manual, and a copy of the *Secreta secretorum*, which was a very old and immensely popular medieval work of astrological theory, alchemical lore, numerology, and herbalism, attributed to the Greek philosopher, Aristotle.[12] The seventeenth-century English astrologer, William Lilly, who once became involved in an outlandish scheme to get rich quick by divining the location of treasure buried in Westminster Abbey, confessed in his autobiography to having owned a copy of the *Ars notoria*, pawned with him for forty shillings, and to being acquainted with another work of incantatory magic, the pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*.[13]

The invocation of spirits was often combined with astrological prediction. Various works attributed to real or mythical authors such as Hermes Trismegistus, Tot Graecus or Toz Grecus (the Egyptian divinity Thoth), Ptolemy, and the mysterious Picatrix taught the use of astrological "images" or "seals" to conjure demons.[14] An ecclesiastical commission in Paris in 1290 condemned in general terms "all books of divination and magic—treatises of necromancy, geomancy, pyromancy, hydromancy, and chiromancy," and by title several astrological tracts.[15] In his *Speculum astronomiae* Albertus Magnus denounced a number of books of magic and astrological demonology, including five attributed to Solomon's authorship;[16] and at the beginning of the sixteenth century John Trithemius, Benedictine abbot of Sponheim in German, identified seventy-two magical and astrological works, which he characterized as "vain," "ignorant," and "superstitious."[17]

The records of the Spanish inquisition show that such books were actually used for superstitious and illegal purposes. The personal library of one accused sorcerer, Jerónimo de Liebana, contained several books of conjuring and astrology: a copy of a work called *Libro sacro*, which may have been an edition of the "Sworn Book" ascribed to the mythical Spanish magician, Honorius, and later to Pope Honorius III;[18] the book of Toz Grecus, condemned by Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century and Trithemius in the sixteenth; and a



263. III. FAUST IN HIS STUDY, WATCHING A MAGIC DISK. (1652)

Dr. Faustus, etching by Rembrandt

Spanish version of the popular work of astrological demonology called *Picatrix*, which taught how astrological images could be manipulated and spirits invoked "to drive away mice, free captives, throw an army into a town, either render buildings safe and stable or impede the erection of them, the acquisition of wealth, making the king angry with someone, curing a scorpion's sting, walking on water, assuming animal form, causing rain in dry weather and preventing it in rainy weather, [and] making the stars fall or sun and moon appear divided into many parts."[19] The combination of astrology with sorcery was also represented in the books of another Spanish wizard, the ex-Carmelite Jerónimo de San Juan. His occult library included a copy of the *Images of Apollonius;* a treatise called *Semphoras* or *Eschemanphoras* and the *Book of the Angel Raziel to Adam*, two works condemned by Trithemius; the *Key of Solomon;* Trithemius' own work on cryptography; and Agrippa's book on occult philosophy.[20]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the reading of explicitly demonological works like those criticized by Albertus Magnus and John Trithemius was combined with the study of books of astrology, which portrayed the field as a "pure science," not requiring the invocation of spirits. The expansion of astrological research during the

early modern period created an extensive body of pseudoscientific scholarship represented, on its lower levels, in innumerable editions of astrological almanacs and calendars, and, on its higher levels, in the learned treatises of an army of professional astrologers. This relatively innocuous astrological literature, sometimes mixed with pharmacological, alchemical, and medical treatises, often figured in the libraries of the more literate magicians.

In Tudor and Stuart England diviner-astrologers, especially among the lower clergy, acquired small collections of cheap, evanescent editions of popular astrological calendars and tables, some of which were modern renditions of very old originals. This was the point that Gabriel Harvey, the poet friend of Spenser, was trying to make when he sarcastically described some of these books: "These be their great masters and in this manner their whole library, with some old parchement rolls, tables and instruments... *Erra Pater*, their hornbook; the *Shepherd's Kalendar*, their primer; the *Compost of Ptolemeus*, their Bible; *Arcandam*, their New Testament."[21] All of the books listed by Harvey were non-demonological works of popular astrology. But even these were beyond the means of many practicing diviners and fortune-tellers. William Lilly, the English "Christian astrologer," reported his disappointment that the London astrologer-diviner, Arise Evans, from whom he had learned the art of using astrology to divine the location of lost or stolen goods, owned only two books.[22] These were a version of the medieval Arabic astrological treatise by Haly (Haly Heben Rodan), titled *De iudiciis*, and an astrological calendar of the genre known as "Ephemerides" by David Origanus, the German mathematician and astronomer who compiled such a calendar for the period 1595 to 1630.[23] Both were standard reference works in the field of "judicial" astrology, which predicted the future of individuals and nations according to the positions of the stars.

Such low-level astrological literature provided a bibliographical and conceptual basis for the performance of a variety of supernatural feats. In 1564 the Northern Court of High Commission ordered the confiscation of the books of a certain John Betson, an English sorcerer, who had allegedly used them to recover lost property.[24] They were identified as copies of *Plato's Sphere* and *Pythagoras' Sphere*—versions of a very old kind of astrological literature which purported to predict the future of individuals and answer questions about them by calculating the numerical equivalent of their names.[25] This kind of popular astrology derived authority from its alleged association with Greek philosophers or early Christian saints, had been used by the Romans to predict the results of gladiatorial combats, and was perpetuated in early modern Europe in a large number of printed editions. A more extensive astrological library was seized in 1591 from Stephen Trefulacke, an accused sorcerer, who surrendered the following: (1) two Ephemerides; (2) a work of judicial astrology entitled *Arcandam*, which had been translated from the French by the sixteenth-century Cambridge professor, William Warde, and was reprinted several times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; (3) an English translation of *The Judgment of Nativities* by Ogier Ferrier (Augerius Ferrerius), a physician and astrologer of Toulouse, who published the original French edition of his book at Lyons in 1550; and (4) various magical formulae such as:

> figures to know how long one shall live and whether they shall obtain the treasures hoped for; figures to know things lost; a book of conjuration for diverse things,... sundry conjurations of raising spirits and binding them and loosing them;... figures to know whether a man be dead or alive or whether he has another wife; to obtain the love of any woman and other like matters.[26]

The combination of conjuring and divination with more reputable scientific research was also revealed by the reading habits of the Oxford scholar, John Bowckeley, who in 1570 was accused before Justice John Southcot and Thomas Standley, Treasurer of the Mint, of practicing sorcery. The Commissary of Oxford had seized Bowckeley's books of "estromancy, gematry, and alcamistrye," and a witness deposed to having seen the accused at Oxford "lowkyng upon a booke made by John Baptista Porta Neappolitanus who wretyth of naturall magyge wherin there were soundry experymentes as well of metalles as of other thinges."[27] The latter was a copy of Giovanni Battista Porta's *Magia naturalis*, which was a sixteenth-century scientific treatise sometimes condemned for promoting demonic magic under the guise of natural magic.[28]

In contrast to the majority of wizards, diviners, and "cunning" people who did not own books or who satisfied the bibliographical needs of their

profession with a few tattered copies of spells, charms, and conjurations or one or two astrological tables, were the few illustrious scholar-magicians who collected sizable research libraries. One of the earliest of these was the fifteenth-century French *magus* and astrologer, Simon de Phares, whose unusual interests eventually got him into trouble with the church. Simon was denounced as a diviner by the archbishop of Lyons, who confiscated his library of astrological literature. Simon appealed to the Parlement de Paris, which ordered the faculty of the University of Paris to examine his books. Out of two hundred separate volumes, the faculty identified seven as objectionable and urged their destruction. These were: books of divinatory astrology, consisting of several works by the Arab astrologer, Albumasar; Abraham Judaeus on nativities; John of Spain's *Isagoge;* a treatise by William of England on the diagnosis of disease from the inspection of urine; Peter of Abano's translation of a work by the pseudo-Hippocrates on lunar prognostication; and Firminus de Bellavalle's book of weather forecasting.[29] According to the report of the Parlement de Paris, Simon had confessed at Lyons to having divined thefts, buried treasure, and men's thoughts. On March 26, 1494, Simon was condemned as a relapsed heretic and his *entire* library was cited as contrary to the faith. Simon's close ties with the court and the aristocracy, for whom he had served as astrologer, probably saved him from punishment and may even have obtained the restitution to him of his books.

Tudor and Stuart England provided more examples of the erudite wizard. "Doctor" John Dee was a noted Elizabethan mathematician, astrologer, spiritualist, and bibliophile, whose serious scientific interests attracted the attention of a wide audience at home and abroad.[30] His reputation as a magician derived from his astrological and alchemical studies and his protracted friendship with Edward Kelley, who served as Dee's "scryer" or medium for a series of spiritualist seances. An account of these sessions has been preserved in manuscripts purporting to be transcripts of conversations between the two investigators and "certain good angels," including their spirit "mascot," Uriel. Dee was an arden bibliophile, who once addressed a plea to Mary Tudor asking her endorsement of his plan to create a royal library and manuscript collection from materials to be acquired from disbanded English monasteries and by purchase on the continent.[31] Although nothing came of this ingenious scheme, Dee himself collected a large private library.

The surviving catalogs of his manuscript and book collections show his acquaintance with most of the fashionable literary sources of Renaissance magic—cabalistic, Neoplatonic, and Hermetic; and from other evidence we know that Dee used his library in various occult experiments.[32] According to reports of contemporaries like the scholar and theologian, Méric Casaubon, who recorded the experiments of Dee and Kelley, and Elias Ashmole, who acquired many of Dee's books and papers, Dee employed certain books in his spiritualist investigations. Ashmole said that Dee possessed a "booke of Spirits" and an inlaid table for conjuring them; a *Liber Enoch;* and a work titled *Liber scientiae terrestris auxilii & victoriae,* filled with diagrams and names of spirits.[33] A transcript by Kelley of the *Book of Enoch* and Dee's holograph copy of the *Liber scientiae* are preserved in the British Museum's Sloane collection.[34] A document composed by Dee and preserved by Casaubon provides additional details concerning Dee's collection of occult literature. According to this report, which has been published in full, Dee burned twenty-eight books of magic in the spring of 1586, while he and Kelley were resident in Bohemia.[35] Three of these books were, however, mysteriously re-materialized a short while later. They were a copy of the *Book of Enoch;* a volume titled *48 Claves angelicae,* reputedly written in the "Angelick language," with an interlinear English translation; and a "Book of my gathering of the thirty Aires, and entitled *Liber scientiae.*" One of the modern editors of Dee's catalog of manuscripts has found references in Casaubon to other books—a *De heptarchia mystica collectaneorum* and a *Booke of Supplications and Invocations.*[36] The *Book of Enoch* was an immensely popular textbook of magic attributed to the Old Testament hero, Enoch, which throughout the middle ages had been consulted as a major source of information on the powers of angels and spirits and their abilities to teach the secrets of nature, magic, astrology, divination, and occult pharmacology.[37] The *De heptarchia mystica, Liber scientiae, 48 Claves angelicae,* and the otherwise unidentified "Booke of Supplications and Invocations" were transcripts of his conversations with the spirit world and manuals of instruction for conducting seances.

The records of the Spanish inquisition are very

helpful in acquiring information concerning the libraries of scholar-magicians.[38] One of these was Master Amador de Velasco, who was arrested as a sorcerer in Vallodolid on July 17, 1576.[39] Amador had enjoyed a lucrative practice among the better families of Madrid, for whom he prepared amatory spells, told fortunes, and administered magical cures. In the summer of 1576 Amador was denounced to the authorities by a young colleague, Juan Alonso de Contreras, who served as a sort of "sorcerer's apprentice." Amador was tried, found guilty, and exiled by decree of the church on April 18, 1578. Prior to his disappearance he petitioned the judges for the restitution to him of his library, which had been confiscated in Vallodolid. The contents of Amador's library can be reconstructed from a sixteen-page handwritten list of books compiled for his defense and from other citations in the court record.[40] This catalog constitutes the most detailed record which has survived of a professional sorcerer's library and it shows the reading habits of a man who seems actually to have been guilty of the crimes alleged against him.

Amador owned over forty books, in addition to an indeterminate number of manuscript notebooks and papers, some of which had been taken as evidence against him by young Contreras. Among his printed books judicial astrology was strongly represented by: (1) the sixteenth-century work of the French astrologer and Calvinist Claude Dariot, *Ad astrorum iudicia facilis introductio;*[41] (2) Francesco Giuntini's (Junctinus') book *On Judging the Revolutions of Nativities;*[42] (3) the defense of judicial astrology composed by the German mathematician, Valentine Nabod, and the Milanese physician, Gabriel Pirovano, against the criticism of Pico della Mirandola;[43] (4) the famous astrological treatise of the thirteenth-century Italian, Guido Bonatti, whom Dante had put in the eighth circle of Hell;[44] (5) Jean Ganivet's *Amicus medicorum,* which was a work owned by at least one other Spanish magician;[45] and (6) several tracts on astrological images by Hermes Trismegistus.[46] The related arts of chiromancy (palmistry) and physiognomy were represented in Amador's library by the works of Andreas Corvus, Bartholomaeus Cocles, and John ab Indagine—popular reference works which had already been put on the Index of prohibited reading—and by the treatises of Jean Taisner and Michael Scot.[47] Amador possessed three works of eastern ancestry: (1) a book entitled "Abraham-Aben-Harris," which may have been Peter of Abano's Latin translation of the astrological treatise of the twelfth-century Jew, Abraham aben Ezra;[48] (2) a book of "fortunes" (*Suertes*) attributed to the Arab astrologer, Haly Heben Raghel or Rodan;[49] and (3) a work called "Almanzor," which probably dealt with judicial astrology.[50] He also owned the medical secrets by the sixteenth-century French astrologer, Antoine Mizauld (Mizaldus);[51] works on poisons (a subject closely related to sorcery) by a certain "Ferdinand Parcitas" and the early fifteenth-century author, Sante Ardoino;[52] a version of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum;* Raymond Lull's *De secretis naturae;*[53] Roger Bacon's *Epistola de secretis operibus;* and a copy of the *Key of Solomon.* Ancient sources were represented by editions of the works of Cato, Varro, Columella, Pliny, Boethius, Josephus, and St. John of Damascus. Several obscure books were cited: *Compendia de salud humana; De interrogationibus;* a Spanish medical and herbal work called *El Porqué;* a *Tesoro de pobres;* and a book entitled *Bibliotheca sacra,* dealing with the "image of Christ's birth" and the "eight grades of the Virgin." In addition, Amador owned a copy of *Pythagoras' Sphere;* and he confessed to carrying about with him a paper containing the names and attributes of God, a prayer to the Virgin, and another paper inscribed with "Chaldean" words *de mucho significado.*[54] Amador was obviously an exceptionally learned and successful wizard; his library shows how pseudoscientific literature could be used to dignify and rationalize the most outrageous superstitions.

Several of the works in Amador's library figured among books owned by another sorcerer, a Frenchman, who had joined with a compatriot and the Spanish mathematician-astrologer, Cristóbal Rodriguez, to divine the location of buried treasure and to practice other occult arts.[55] Following their arrest in 1636 a search of the apartment of one of the conspirators disclosed a cache of unlawful books consisting of pseudo-Lullian work called *Codicillus;* Francesco Giuntini's treatise, *On Judging the Revolutions of Nativities;* Erasmus Reinhold's *Prutenic Tables,* which was a summary of the astrological calculations of Copernicus;[56] Philip Lamberg's *Tabulae motuum caelestium;* a work (vaguely identified) by the famous Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe; an almanac by a certain "Rutilius Bencase;" a book entitled *Astrolabium planum ac nativitatis tractatus,* which may have

been Johann Engel's printed astrological predictions;[57] a book called *Summa astrologica y arte* "to teach how to make predictions;" an *Epitome* of a medical diagnostic nature; Jean Ganivet's *Amicus medicorum*, which Amador de Velasco had also owned; Albertus Magnus' *Speculum astronomiae;* and the published work of the Spanish cleric, mathematician, and astronomer, Jerome Munoz, entitled *Arithmetical Institutes requisite for Learning Astrology.*[58]

Some Spanish sorcerers relied entirely on manuscript books of magic. Because of the premium placed on the possession of authentic texts of the major conjuring manuals, some manuscripts passed from hand to hand over several generations; and one English book descended to the fourth generation of readers.[59] Jaime Manobel, a Spanish sorcerer who was arrested in 1590, was found to own a notebook filled with "Judaeo-cabalistic" invocations and bits of astrological, medical, and magical lore useful for a variety of occult purposes.[60] Similarly, Antonio de la Fuente y Sandoval, the royal offical and silk merchant who was seized by the inquisition in 1600, was accused of having paid a certain Roman cleric to consecrate a book for him and of possessing a Solomonic work on images and a manual for fortune-telling called *Las suertes apostolicas.*[61] The notorious magician-alchemist, Diego Alfonso de Medrano, who was said to disavow belief in astrology because of the contradictory arguments of its advocates, was arrested and his manuscript library confiscated. This comprised an alchemical work on the philospher's stone; a sixteen-page tract on geomancy and judicial astrology; a treatise on the occult properties of gems and the magical power of names; and an illustrated book of seals and diagrams.[62] During the course of his prosecution, Medrano's fate was probably sealed by the discovery that he also possessed a manuscript copy of the *Key of Solomon.* The latter was apparently very popular among Spanish magicians, since one group of diviners was said to have owned two copies of it.[63]

Both the practice of magic and an enthusiasm for reading books of magic endured into the modern period.[64] In the winter of 1715 two German amateur diviners asphyxiated themselves over a charcoal fire in an attempt to conjure demons according to rites contained in the pseudo-Faust's *Harrowing of Hell*, the pseudo-Agrippa's *Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy*, and the *Key of Solomon.*[65] Giacomo Casanova, the famous memoirist and charlatan, confessed to owning a small library of occult literature, comprising the *Key of Solomon;* the *Zekor-ben* or *Zekerboni*, a conjuring manual attributed to the obscure seventeenth-century Milanese alchemist, Peter Mora; the *Picatrix;* a work called *Instructions concerning Planetary Hours*, which may have been Peter of Abano's *Heptameron;* and a book of conjuring , identified as the *Lemegeton* or *Lesser Key of Solomon.*[66] Finally, among the effects of a deceased Victorian "cunning man," James Murrell, who had supported himself as a healer, fortune teller, and exorcist in his home town of Hadleigh, Essex, was found a trunk filled with manuscript and printed materials.[67] It contained, among other things, a nineteenth-century treatise of astrology, physiognomy, and phrenology by J. T. Hacket; an edition of the *New Tables of the Motions of the Planets* published in 1728; books of herbal recipes; several issues of Raphael's astrological almanac for the period 1806 to 1850; and a manuscript "Book of Magic and Conjurations," which appears to have been a conjuring manual.

Although books were never necessary for the performance of most magical tasks and although the majority of medieval and early modern sorcerers and "cunning" people never possessed them, nevertheless, a considerable body of magical literature did exist and was employed for various occult purposes. The principal source of European magic was the conjuring manual. From the thirteenth century forward there also circulated a large body of astrological literature, often of Greek or Muslim ancestry, which associated astrological prediction with the invocation of spirits. The invention of printing, the growth of literacy, and the multiplication of books circulating on all levels of European society encouraged diviners, fortune-tellers, and hucksters of potions and spells to acquire a variety of bibliographical materials. Usually these were inexpensive editions of popular astrological calendars and tables, which were used in crude ways to predict private fortunes or locate lost goods. A handful of great scholar-magicians, like John Dee in England and Amador de Velasco in Spain, were sufficiently erudite and prosperous to assemble impressive collections of occult literature, comprising, together with conjuring manuals like the *Key of Solomon* and ancient fortune-tellers' handbooks like *Plato's Sphere*, some relatively

sophisticated astrological, alchemical, medical, and pharmacological texts. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries professional wizards employed various lawful and unlawful sources, of different levels of scientific value, in the practice of their trade. The significance of this development was not that the average village wonder-worker was able to use the abstruse learning of philosophers and scientists (which was seldom the case), but, rather, that the superstitions of the peasantry were drawn into the speculative systems of the European intelligentsia.[68]

FOOTNOTES

[1]See E. M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge and New York, 1948).

[2]For the varieties of popular magic and magician's tools, see G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929). The best discussion of the cunning man is in Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), pp. 212-52; also A. D. J. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York and Evanston, 1970), pp. 115-30.

[3]Horace, Epodes, xvii, 4, cited by Julio Caro Baroja, *The World of the Witches*, trans. by O. N. V. Glendinning (Chicago, 1964), p. 27.

[4]A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. by Arnaldo Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), p. 102, n. 4.

[5]See Lynn Thorndike's discussion of "Solomon and the Ars Notoria," *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (8 vols.; New York, 1923-58), II, 278-89. For some English examples, see K. M. Briggs, *Pale Hecate's Team* (London, 1962), pp. 256-63; and her article, "Some Seventeenth-Century Books of Magic," *Folklore*, 64 (1953), 445-62.

[6]A discussion of the Solomonic corpus (but with a confused chronology) is provided by E. M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (New York, 1959), pp. 47-99. See also D. Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, *Los processos de hechicerias en la inquisición de Castilla la Nueva [Tribunales de Toledo y Cuenca]* (Madrid, 1942), p. 13, n. 8.

[7]Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 230.

[8]Kittredge, *Witchcraft*, p. 80.

[9]*Ibid.*, p. 207.

[10]*Ibid.*, p. 211.

[11]W. H. Hart, "Observations on some Documents relating to Magic in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," *Archaeologia*, 40 (1866), 397. According to Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 103, 125, Gilles de Rais' personal sorcerer, Prelati, and Benvenuto Cellini both used versions of the *Key of Solomon* to conjure demons.

[12]Kittredge, *Witchraft*, pp. 110, 210; Hart, "Observations on some Documents," pp. 57-64. British Museum Sloane MS. 3853, a collection of magical "experiments," ascribed a *Thesaurus spirituum* to Robert the Turk and Roger Bacon, Thorndike, *History of Magic*, II, 808, n. 4. For the *Secreta secretorum*, see *ibid.*, II, 267-78.

[13]*Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (22 vols.; Oxford, 1921-22), XI, 1137-41; *William Lilly's History of His Life and Times from the Year 1602 to 1681 written by Himself...to Elias Ashmole, Esq.* (London, 1822), pp. 76, 83.

[14] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, II, 214-28.

[15]Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (3 vols.; New York, 1888), III, 438. Lea errs in saying that the books condemned by the Paris commission did not include astrology.

[16]B. Alberti Magni Ratisbonensis Episcopi, Ordinis Praedicatorum, *Opera omnia*, ed. by August Borgnet (39 vols.; Paris, 1890-99), X, 640-42.

[17]Will-Erich Peuckert, *Pansophie: ein Versuch zur Geschichte der weissen und schwarzen Magie* (Stuttgart, 1936), pp. 55-65.

[18]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerias*, p. 33; Thorndike, *History of Magic*, II, 283-89; Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 89-99.

[19]*History of Magic*, II, 821. The Spanish version claims to be a thirteenth-century work. A German translation of the Arabic original has been made by Hellmut Ritter and Martin Plessner, *"Picatrix"; das Ziel des Weisen, von Pseudo-Magriti*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 24 (London, 1962).

[20]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerias*, pp. 34-35.

[21]Quoted by Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 296.

[22]*William Lilly's History of His Life and Times*, pp. 54-55.

[23]For Origanus, see Thorndike, *History of Magic*, VI, 60-61.

[24]Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 276.

[25]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, I, 682-84.

[26]Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 302. For *Arcandam*, see *ibid.*, p. 238; for Ferrier, see Thorndike, *History of Magic*, VI, 478-80.

[27]Hart, "Observations on some Documents," p. 391.

[28]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, VI, 418-21.

[29]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, IV, 549; and, for his biography, pp. 544-61. Francesco Barozzi was a sixteenth-century Italian bibliophile and fancier of the occult, for whom see *ibid.*, VI, 154.

[30]*Dictionary of National Biography*, V, 721-29. See the recent biography by Peter J. French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London, 1972), esp. pp. 40-61.

[31]Thomas Hearne, *Johannis, confratris & monachi Glastoniensis, Chronica sive historia de rebus Glastoniensibus* (2 vols.; Oxford, 1726), II, 490-95.

[32]The catalog of Dee's manuscript collection has been published twice: *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee, and the Catalogue of His Library of Manuscripts*, ed. by James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps (London, 1842), pp. 65 ff.; M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee* (Oxford, 1921). Peter French has promised a new edition.

[33]*Elias Ashmole (1617-1692)*, ed. with biographical introduction by C. H. Josten (5 vols.; Oxford, 1966) III, 1272-73; IV, 1298.

[34]Brit. Mus. Sloane MS. 3189; Sloane MS. 3191, fols. 14-31v.

[35]C. H. Josten, "An Unknown Chapter in the Life of John Dee," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 28 (1965), 249-57; see also Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 268-69.

[36]*Private Diary*, ed. by Halliwell-Phillipps, p. 89.

[37]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, I, 340-47. The *48 Claves angelicae*, dated 1584 at Cracow, is preserved in Sloane MS. 3191, fols. 1-13 and in Ashmole's copy, Sloane MS. 3678, fols. 1-13.

[38]See Julio Caro Baroja, *Vidas magicas e inquisición* (2 vols.; Madrid, 1967), I, 135-51; and Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerías*, pp. 11-38.

[39]Baroja, *Vidas magicas e inquisición*, I, 267-308.

[40]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerías*, pp. 16-21.

[41]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, VI, 105-6.

[42]*Ibid.*, VI, 129-33.

[43]*Ibid.*, VI, 119-20, V, 159.

[44]*Ibid.*, II, 825-40.

[45]*Ibid.*, V, 159; Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerias*, p. 28.

[46]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, II, 214-28.

[47]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerías*, pp. 12-13; and Thorndike, *History of Magic*, V, 55-56; VI, 147; V, 50-65; V, 65-66; V, 580-88; II, 331; VI, 164.

[48]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, II, 877-78.

[49]*Ibid.*, III, 308, 589.

[50]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerías*, p. 17, n. 17.

[51]Thorndike, *History of Magic, VI, 216.*

[52]*Ibid.*, V, 472-73; but Thorndike does not list Parcitas.

[53]Listed by Amador as *De sigillis*. See Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerías*, p. 19, n. 38.

[54]*Ibid.*, p. 21.

[55]*Ibid.*, p. 28.

[56]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, VI, 3-6. For the close association of science and superstition, see Marie Boas, *The Scientific Renaissance: 1450-1630* (New York, 1962), pp. 166 ff.

[57]Thorndike, *History of Magic*, V, 344-47. Thorndike does not list works by Lamberg or Bencase.

[58]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerías*, p. 28, n. 67.

[59]Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 230, n. 1.

[60]Estopanán, *Processos de hechicerias*, p. 23.

[61]*Ibid.*, p. 24.

[62]*Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

[63]*Ibid.*, p. 27; for the combination of lawful and proscribed literature in the library of an accused sorcerer, see the books of Miguel Pérez de Huesca, *ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

[64]Constantin Bila, *La Croyance a la magie au XVIII^e siècle en France* (Paris, 1925); Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 154 ff. For examples of books of magic owned by private persons, see the catalog of Amplonius Ratinck's library, W. Schum, *Beschreibendes verzeichniss der Amplonianischen handschriften-sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), pp. 800 (No. 14), 806 (No. 54); the occult library of the Marquis of Villena, see Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, III, 489-90; the books of magic owned by Lord John Somers, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCC-MDCCCCV* (London, 1907), pp. 183-86; and, on a lower level, the copies of the *Key of Solomon* and the *Constitution of Honorius*, "in the infernal library of an illiterate Swabian peasant," Butler, *Ritual Magic*, p. 154.

[65]Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 218-25.

[66]*Ibid.*, p. 135. For Casanova's account, see Giacomo de Casanova, Chevalier de Seingault, *History of My Life*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (4 vols. in 8; New York, 1966-69), IV, 200-1.

[67]Eric Maple, "Cunning Murrell: A Study of a Nineteenth-Century Cunning Man in Hadleigh, Essex," *Folklore*, 71 (1960), 37-43; Arthur Morrison, "A Wizard of Yesterday," *Strand Magazine*, 20 (1900), 438.

[68]Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 229.


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ROGER CHARTIER

Libraries Without Walls

> These examples made it possible for a librarian of genius to discover the fundamental law of the Library. This thinker observed that all the books, no matter how diverse they might be, are made up of the same elements: the space, the period, the comma, the twenty-two letters of the alphabet. He also alleged a fact which travelers have confirmed: *In the vast Library there are no two identical books.* From these two incontrovertible premises he deduced that the Library is total and that its shelves register all the possible combinations of the twenty-odd orthographical symbols (a number which, although vast, is not infinite): in other words, all that it is given to express, in all languages. Everything: the minutely detailed history of the future, the archangels' autobiographies, the faithful catalogue of the Library, thousands and thousands of false catalogues, the demonstration of the fallacy of those catalogues, the demonstration of the fallacy of the true catalogue, the Gnostic gospel of Basilides, the commentary on that gospel, the commentary on the commentary on that gospel, the true story of your death, the translation of all books in all languages, the interpolations of every book in all books. When it was proclaimed that the Library contained all books, the first impression was one of extravagant happiness.
>
> —Jorge Luis Borges[1]

WHEN IT WAS PROCLAIMED that the Library contained all books, the first impression was extravagant happiness." The dream of a library (in a variety of configurations) that would bring together all accumulated knowledge and all the books ever written can be found throughout the history of Western civilization. It underlay the constitution of great princely, ecclesiastical, and private "libraries"; it justified a tenacious search for rare books, lost editions, and texts that had disappeared; it commanded architectural projects to construct edifices capable of welcoming the world's memory.

Bringing together the entire written patrimony of humanity in one place proves an impossible task, though. When print produced a proliferation of titles and editions, it ruined all hope for an exhaustive collection. Even for those who hold that a library must be encyclopedic, selection is an absolute necessity. This was true for Gabriel Naudé in his *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, written in 1627 and addressed to Henri de Mesmes, *président* at the Parlement de Paris and a great book collector.[2] Against the model of the *cabinet curieux* or the *cabinet choisi* reserved for the delectation of their proprietor and gathering together a small number of books distinguished for their rarity or their luxury, Naudé pleads for a well-furnished library: "It is much more useful and necessary to have, for

example, a great quantity of books well bound in the ordinary fashion than to fill only some small, pale, gilded, and decorous room or cabinet enriched with all manner of little oddities [*mignardise*], luxuries, and superfluities."[3] A library is not built to satisfy egotistical enjoyments but because there is "no more honest and assured means for acquiring a great renown among the peoples than to erect handsome and magnificent Libraries in order then to dedicate and consecrate them to the use of the public."[4]

Ideally made up of an "infinity of good, singular, and remarkable" works, the library must nonetheless limit its ambitions and make choices:

> Still, in order not to leave this quantity infinite by not defining it, and also in order not to throw the curious out of all hope of being able to accomplish and come to the end of this handsome enterprise, it seems to me that it is appropriate to do as the Physicians do, who order the quantity of drugs according to their quality, and to say that one cannot lack gathering all those [books] that have the qualities and conditions required for being put in a Library.[5]

Naudé's *Advis* thus functions to guide the collector as he makes necessary selections and takes the appropriate "precautions," since Naudé indicates the authors and the works absolutely indispensable for his library.

The division between the books that one absolutely must possess and those that might (or must) be left aside is only one of the ways to mitigate the problem of the impossibility of a universal library. There were other ways, which the language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicated with the very term defining the place in which the books were kept: *bibliothèque*. In the entry for that word in Furetière's *Dictionnaire* (1690) the first definition is the most traditional meaning: "*Bibliothèque*: Apartment or place destined for putting books; gallery, building full of books. Also said in general of the books that are placed in this vessel." Next comes a second meaning designating a book rather than a place: "*Bibliothèque* is also a Collection, a Compilation of several works of the same nature or of Authors who have compiled all that can be [compiled] on the same subject."

The Latin terms for a collection vary considerably in these titles: *thesaurus*, *corpus*, *catalogus*, *flores*, and so forth. In French the genre was usually qualified as a *bibliothèque*. Four years after the publication of Furetière's *Dictionnaire*, the *Dictionnaire* of the Académie Française bore witness to this preference: "One also calls *Bibliothèques* Collections and Compilations of works of like nature." Three examples follow the definition: "*La Bibliothèque des Pères*, *La Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Pères*, *La Bibliothèque du Droit François*."

Eighteenth-century bookseller-publishers published great numbers of these multiple-volume collections gathering together published works in a given genre such as novels, tales, or travel accounts. Many collections, however, made use of both the formula and the term inaugurated by the Amsterdam periodicals of Jean Le Clerc, the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (1686–93), the *Bibliothèque choisie*

(1703–13), and the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne: Pour servir de suite aux Bibliothèques universelle et choisie* (1714–27). In all, there were thirty-one periodical publications in the French language, some of which lasted longer than others, that were offered under the title of *bibliothèque* between 1686 and 1789.[6] The term was used throughout the century, with seventeen titles published before 1750 and fourteen after. Several of these publications were not periodicals, properly speaking, but imposing collections of texts related by their genre or their targeted audience. One such was the *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (1775–89, comprising 224 volumes in duodecimo format), which was presented as a "periodical work in which is given the reasoned analysis of Novels ancient and modern, French or translated into our language," which published extracts and summaries, historical and critical notes, unabridged texts of novels, and tales both traditional and original.[7] Another was the *Bibliothèque universelle des dames* (1785–97, comprising 156 octodecimo-sized volumes), which had encyclopedic ambitions, given that it contained travel narratives, novels, works of history, morality, mathematics and astronomy, physics and natural history, and all the liberal arts.

These imposing "libraries," along with the encyclopedias and the dictionaries, constituted a major part of the great publishing ventures of the eighteenth century. As Louis-Sébastien Mercier noted, they guaranteed the diffusion of knowledge—or at least of literary pleasure—and they provided a living for a multitude of the people who were scornfully called *demi-littérateurs* or *écrivailleurs*.[8] The "libraries," which aimed at being exhaustive and universal in any given genre or domain, had a counterpoint in the eighteenth century in a vast number of equally popular small, concise, and easily handled volumes named *extraits*, *esprits*, *abrégés*, *analyses*, and so forth.[9]

The smaller, portable anthologies were another form of "library" produced by the book trade. Even if both genres offered extracts, their intention was not the same. The smaller works aimed at eliminating, selecting, and reducing rather than accumulating a multitude of separate and dispersed works in one collection, periodical or not. If the collections in a *bibliothèque* were constructed with the aim of accomplishing the impossible task of assembling for every reader all the books concerning a particular subject, an appeal to *analyse* and *esprit* implied that such a task was useless or harmful, and that the necessary knowledge—available in a small number of works—needed to be concentrated or distilled like a chemical substance. In that belief the compilers of portable anthologies agreed with the utopian writers of the century who rejected encyclopedic libraries as overencumbered and superfluous and permitted only a very few books in their ideal library.

In his utopia (more accurately, his "uchronia") of 1771, *L'An 2440*, Louis-Sébastien Mercier pays a visit to the library of the king and finds it to be somewhat singular: "In place of those four galleries of immense length, which contained many thousands of volumes, I could only find one small cabinet, in which were

several books that seemed to me far from voluminous." Intrigued, Mercier asks the librarian what has happened, and the librarian answers that before burning all the books judged to be "either frivolous or useless or dangerous," the enlightened men of the twenty-fifth century saved the essential, which took up little room: "As we are neither unjust nor like the Saracens, who heated their baths with masterworks, we made a choice: wise men extracted the substance from a thousand in-folio volumes, all of which they transferred into a small duodecimo-sized volume, somewhat in the same way that the skilful chemists who extract the virtue from plants concentrate it in a flask and throw out the vulgar liquors."[10] The tension between the exhaustive and the essential thus ordered the complex and contradictory relations linking the library, in its usual spatial and architectural sense, to print genres (only some of which were called *bibliothèques*)—relations that assigned to the "library" as a book, be it one volume or one of a series, the functions of accumulation or selection attributed to the library as a place.[11]

But a library was not only a place or a collection. Furetière's *Dictionnaire* proposes a third definition of the term (not found in the more concise entry of the *Dictionnaire* of the Académie): "One also calls *Bibliothèque* the books that contain the Catalogs of the books in the *Bibliothèques*. Gesner, Possevin, Photius, have made *Bibliothèques*. . . . Father Labbé, a Jesuit, has made the *Bibliothèque des bibliothèques* in an octavo-sized book that contains only the catalogue of the names of those who have written *Bibliothèques*."[12] For anyone who might wish to design an open and universal library, the possession of such catalogs was a necessity. The sum of their titles defined an ideal library freed from the constraints imposed by any one actual collection and overflowing the limits inherent in anthologies and compilations by the immaterial construction of a sort of library of all libraries in which nothing, or almost nothing, was lacking. Thanks to the circulation of the catalogs, the closed world of individual libraries could be transformed into an infinite universe of books noted, reviewed, visited, consulted, and, eventually, borrowed.

Furetière's definition slips from catalogs of particular holdings toward another sort of work. A "library" is not only the inventory of the books assembled in a specific place; it can be an inventory of all the books ever written on a given subject or by all the authors of a given nation. Thus Furetière notes: "In France, there is not yet a general *Bibliothèque* of all the Authors. There are particular ones by the Sieur La Croix du Maine Manceau and Anthoine Du Verdier. Spain has one by Nicolas Anthonio. There is also a *Bibliothèque d'Espagne* of Peregrinus, and the [*Bibliothèque*] *Des Escrivains Espagnols* by André Schot in 1608."[13] Thus the genre that the *Dictionnaire* evokes and designates with the term *bibliothèque* is defined according to two criteria: it lists authors, and it respects the national (French or Spanish) framework.

At the end of the seventeenth century such "libraries" already had a long history.[14] Three such works had appeared before 1550, the *Cathalogus illustrium*

virorum Germaniae suis ingeniis et lucubrationibus omnifariam exornantium of Johann Tritheim (Mainz, 1495), the *Bibliotheca Universalis, sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, Latina, Graeca, et Hebraica* of Conrad Gesner (Zurich, 1545), and the *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum* of John Bale (Ipswich, 1548). These three works have several traits in common: they are written in Latin, they list for the most part ancient authors, and they privilege works written in the classical languages. Gesner innovated by launching a new usage of *bibliotheca* that detaches the word from its material definition and invests the library without walls proposed in his book with universality. Finally, the three works differ in their organization: Tritheim and Bale chose a chronological structure (the latter specifying "in quasdam centurias divisum cum diversitate doctrinarum atque; annorum recta supputatione per omnes aetates a Iapheto sanctissimi Noah filio, ad annum domini M.D. XLVIII"), providing an alphabetical index to make the work easier to consult. Once again Gesner stands alone, opting for alphabetical order but in the medieval style (unlike Tritheim and Bale) and classifying his authors by their baptismal names—that is, their first names. The declared universality of his *Bibliotheca* presupposes an exhaustive survey that retains ancients and contemporaries, printed texts and manuscript texts, learned authors and less learned authors.[15]

When Anton Francesco Doni published his *Libraria . . . Nella quale sono scritti tutti gl'Autori vulgari con cento discorsi sopra quelli: Tutte le tradutioni fatte dell'altre lingue, nella nostra e una tavola generalmente come si costuma fra Librari* (Venice, 1550), he inaugurated a new mode of presentation in this genre.[16] He innovated in three ways: first, in language, since the *Libraria* reviewed only authors or translators in the vernacular and is itself written in the vulgar tongue. Furthermore, the intention of the book was new: it contains no inventory of all authors, no collection of judgments. Rather, it is primarily designed to provide information on titles available in the vernacular: "I have made this library only to give knowledge of all the books printed in the vulgar language so that people who like to read in our language may know how many works have been published and what [they are], not to judge which are good and which bad." The third novelty consisted in the work's format. Doni abandoned large formats (the quarto of Tritheim and Bale, the infolio of Gesner) to publish his *Libraria* in a more manageable duodecimo format that the reader who haunted bookshops in search of the titles suggested by this ideal library (again, without walls) could easily carry with him.

The small volume of the *Libraria* published in 1550 had 144 pages and listed 159 authors, arranged in alphabetical order by their first names (from Acarisio da Cento to Vincenzo Rinchiera). Doni plays learned games with the fourteen letters of the alphabet around which his nomenclature is organized. The initial of the given name of the authors listed in a section was also the initial of the given name of the dedicatee mentioned in a preamble heading the section, as well as the initial of the first word in that brief text (for example, the *A* section was

headed, "Abate Abati. Assai son l'opere . . ."). After this list of all the authors who had published in the vulgar tongue, Doni provides three other lists: a typology of vernacular genres, an inventory of texts translated from Latin into Italian, and a "Tavola Generale di tutti libri volgari" in the form of a bookseller's catalog but without bibliographic information on specific editions.

A year after this first book Doni published *La Seconda Libraria* listing texts that had not yet been printed. The principle in this work, an alphabetical inventory, was the same as in the first. As Amedeo Quondam has noted, the *Libraria* of manuscript works—"of Books that the Author has seen in manuscript and which are not yet printed"—is largely fictional, enumerating invented authors and imaginary titles. It provides something like a "paradoxical and ironic double" to the *Libraria* that surveys published works.[17] Doni's two *librarie* form a complex book. Their bibliographic definition ("they were not only the first Italian national bibliographies; they were also the first bibliographies in a vulgar tongue")[18] fails to do justice to their multiple significance. They proclaim the excellence and the dignity achieved by the vulgar language; they constitute a repertory of contemporary authors; they dismantle, in a parodic key, the recipes for literary invention.

Doni's work was known in France, where it gave direct inspiration to two "libraries," the one published in 1584 by François de La Croix du Maine and the other published in 1585 by Antoine du Verdier.[19] These two works share an interest in demonstrating the superiority of the French language over the Italian by citing the number of authors who wrote in the vernacular, by the fact that French had been used as a literary language longer than Italian, and by the scope of the learning of French expression. This intention is explicit in the *Premier volume de la Bibliothèque du Sieur de La Croix du Maine: Qui est un catalogue général de toutes sortes d'Autheurs, qui ont escrit en François depuis cinq cents ans et plus, jusques à ce jourd'huy* (Paris, 1584). La Croix du Maine compares, to the advantage of France, the "three thousand authors" (in fact 2,031) inventoried in his "catalog" and the three hundred (in fact 159) who figured in Doni's *Libraria*.

In *La Bibliothèque d'Antoine Du Verdier, Seigneur de Vauprivas: Contenant le Catalogue de tous ceux qui ont escrit, ou traduict in François, et autres Dialectes de ce Royaume* (Lyons, 1585) recognition of the superiority of France does not refer explicitly to Italy. The model from which Du Verdier took inspiration was not Doni but Gesner: "In our times Conrad Gesner has gathered together all Authors whatsoever in three languages, Hebraic, Greek, and Latin, to his great honor and the common benefit." It was in reference to that ancient knowledge and that great example that Du Verdier constructed the catalog by which he intended to prove the excellence of the moderns. Du Verdier simply surveys modern authors "from sixty or seventy years past," whom he finds sufficiently numerous and excellent to obviate any need to name older writers, since before that time "our [authors] were somewhat heavy in their writings."

There are obvious similarities between Doni's *Libraria* and La Croix du Maine's *Bibliothèque*. Both inventory books (printed and in manuscript) written or translated into the vulgar tongue; both offer brief biographies of some of the authors whose works they list; both classify authors in strict alphabetical order by author's given name.

There are nonetheless fundamental differences arising from their quite different ways of conceiving the library without walls. First, there is a physical and formal difference between the two works: far from being a manageable small-format book in the manner of the *Libraria*, La Croix du Maine's *Bibliothèque* was a majestic folio volume, a *libro da banco*, to use Armando Petrucci's terminology, not a *libro da bisaccia* (saddlebag book) or a *libretto da mano* (little handbook).[20] Anton Francesco Doni's *Libraria* was founded on the practice of literary novelties; La Croix du Maine's *Bibliothèque* was based on the scholastic tradition of commonplace books. A literate man without originality, but not without prolixity, La Croix du Maine scrupulously calculated his compilation activities. He states that he wrote three hours per day, figuring that if in one hour he filled one sheet of paper of over one hundred lines, his yearly production was some one thousand sheets. It is certain that his work was organized intellectually according to the principle of the notebook or the commonplace book and that it gathered under one heading extracts from various authors' works. Hence the central importance that La Croix du Maine gave to the instruments for putting order into this proliferating material.

La Croix du Maine's work also differed from Doni's in that the *Premier Volume* of his *Bibliothèque* was "dedicated and presented to the King," whose engraved portrait figured on the page facing the dedication addressed to him. In both the *Desseins, ou Projects* of 1583 and the *Premier Volume de la Bibliothèque* published the following year, La Croix du Maine pursued the same aim of obtaining the sovereign's protection, which had cash value in terms of gratifications and posts. The originality of this "notice to erect a library," which preceded Naudé's project by a half century, lay in La Croix du Maine's desire to embody the immaterial and universal library of *loci communes* in a real library, one of whose bookcases (one of the *cent Buffets*) is depicted in the work.

Thus it was on the basis of the practice of the commonplace book that the totally original system of classification proposed by La Croix du Maine should be understood.[21] The work was divided into seven "orders": "sacred things," "arts and sciences," "descriptions of the Universe both in general and in particular," "the human race," "famous men in War," "the works of God," and "miscellanies of various Memoirs," subdivided into a total of 108 "classes." Unlike the twenty-one categories in Gesner's *Pandectarum sive Partitionum universalium . . . libri XXI* (Zurich, 1548), this organization was not intended to construct a tree of knowledge that proceeded by successive divisions. In Gesner's work, the *artes et scientia*

that make up *philosophia* were divided into *substantiales* (subdivided into *physica* or *naturali philosophia*, *metaphysica et theologia gentilium*, *ethica* or *morali philosophia*, *oeconomica*, *politica*, *jurisprudentia*, *medicina*, *theologia christiana*) and *praeparantes*. The latter category was subdivided into *ornantes* (*historia*, *geographia*, *divinatio et magia*, and *artes illiteratae et mechanicae*) and *necessariae*. These latter are further divided into *mathematicae* (*arithmetica*, *geometria*, *musica*, *astronomia*, and *astrologia*), and *sermocinales*, which were *grammatica et philologia*, *dialectica*, *rhetorica*, and *poetica*. A "Tabula de singulis pandectarum libris" arranged the various bibliographical classes according to a systematic order—the order of the divisions of *philosophia*, understood as a trajectory of knowledge leading from the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* to Christian theology. Unlike Gesner's taxonomy, the one proposed by La Croix du Maine has no overall governing system, but simply juxtaposes convenient headings in view of gathering together extracts and commonplaces. The fourth "order," for example, includes the bookcases devoted to "Man and what is dependent on him," "Diseases of Men and their remedies," "Illustrious and other Women," "Worldly Wisdom, or Instruction for men," "Divers exercises of Nobles and Gentlemen," "Miscellaneous exercises for the mind or the body," "Divers traffics and commerce of men on sea and on land," "Divers customs and fashions of living everywhere in the universe," "Men of honest exercise," and "Officers of long robe, or of the Judiciary."

Because it was to be an example worthy of being imitated, the "perfect and accomplished" library set up by the king was to be "the means for rendering the less learned or the totally ignorant well informed and knowledgeable, and also to make the vice-ridden exercise virtue if they conform to their Prince." Similarly, only the approval of the king could give authority to the *Premier Volume de la Bibliothèque* published in 1584 and to all the other books that were supposed to follow it. At the end of his dedicatory epistle, signed "FRANÇOIS DE LA CROIX DV MAINE, the anagram for which is RACE DV MANS, SI FIDEL' A SON ROY," La Croix du Maine suggests a more concrete version of the connection with the sovereign: "If your Majesty should desire to know what are the other [volumes] that I have written and composed for the ornamentation and illustration of your so famous and flourishing Kingdom, I am ready to provide a reading (when it may please you to so command me) of the Discourse that I had printed five years ago touching the general catalog of my works." Doni's *Libraria* had multiple dedicatees (one for each letter of the alphabet) and was aimed at a broader audience. La Croix du Maine's *Bibliothèque* supposes an exclusive relationship, established in proximity by reading aloud, between an author in search of protection and the monarch whose patronage he seeks.

A final difference between Doni's work and that of La Croix du Maine is that the Florentine's work was solidly connected with publishing activities; it was "constructed in direct contact with (and probably backed by) two of the publishers of

greatest cultural importance in the mid-sixteenth century," the Venetians Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari, the publisher of the first edition and of the complete edition of the work, and Francesco Marcolini, the publisher of the *Seconda Libraria*.[22] La Croix du Maine's work originated in the construction of his private library, begun in his university years. That was the collection of printed books and manuscript memoirs that La Croix du Maine had transported to Paris in 1582.

The library that La Croix du Maine gathered together and, in part, produced provided support for all his undertakings. The library published in 1584 was in fact little more than an *epitomé* of a more ambitious undertaking, the projected *Grande Bibliothèque Françoise* (and its twin, a *Bibliothèque Latine*).

Imitating Gesner, La Croix du Maine added to his *Bibliothèques* volumes of *Pandectes Latines et Françoises* ("to wit, a very ample Catalogue of all the Authors who have written in each art, science, or profession of studies, which I have divided according to the seven arts that we call liberal") and several volumes of what he called a *mentionnaire*, "which is like a book of commonplaces, or an Aggregation of authors who have made mention of particular things."

Three different principles of classification exist concurrently in La Croix du Maine's works. The first organizing criterion is the category of the author. The author function, as Foucault defines it, is already sketched out here.[23] In his only published volume, as in his *Grande Bibliothèque*, La Croix du Maine makes this the basic criterion for assigning discourses, which are organized alphabetically by their authors' given names. In announcing that he will provide authors' "lives" (written, according to La Croix du Maine, in imitation of Suetonius, Plutarch, and Paolo Giovio), he equates men of letters with military leaders, famous for their exploits, and with princes and grandees, masters of their deeds.

Nonetheless, this first scheme for assigning works did not neglect the power of patronage. La Croix du Maine demonstrates this when he promises to indicate, for all the works mentioned in his unpublished *Grande Bibliothèque*, "*above all* [emphasis mine] the name of those men and women to whom they were dedicated, without omitting their full and entire qualities." A work thus belongs as much to the person to whom it has been dedicated as it does to the person who has written it and, in the ideal library as on the title page, the two names of the author and the patron stood as proof of this.

A third criterion for classifying works eliminates assignment to an individual in favor of placing each work within an order or class of knowledge. It is the tension between a proper name and a commonplace category that underlies Gesner's dual enterprise, the *Bibliotheca universalis* of 1545 and the *Pandectarum . . . libri XXI* three years later—a work that was presented as "Secondus hic Bibliothecae nostrae Tomus est, totius philosophiae et omnium bonarum artium atque studiorum Locos communes et Ordines universales simul et particulares com-

plectens." That same tension is reflected in La Croix du Maine's bibliographic zeal, even though his grandiose projects were never realized.

The almost simultaneous publication of the two *Bibliothèque*s (May 1584 for La Croix du Maine; 1585, with an end printing date of 15 December 1584, for Du Verdier) raises a problem. La Croix du Maine took the initiative and preempted any possible accusation that he had plagiarized a work as yet unpublished, but whose publication he knew was imminent, as shown by the entry under "Antoine du Verdier" in the *Premier Volume de la Bibliothèque*. Declaring that he had never known of the existence of Du Verdier's work, La Croix du Maine claimed anteriority for his own venture, begun more than fifteen years before. He stressed the great distance ("more than a hundred leagues") that separated their places of residence, Paris and Lyons, where Du Verdier had settled in 1580 and held the post of *contrôleur général des finances*. For good measure, La Croix du Maine stated his scorn of plagiarism, and he founded the authority of his own book on the resources of his library and on his own knowledge: "As for the authors I have mentioned in my work, I have seen or read them, and have them still before me for the most part without having borrowed them." As in the travel narrations of the age, *auto-psie*—the action of seeing with one's own eyes ("I have seen them") became the exclusive guarantee of truth. That certification of authenticity through direct experience is not without paradox in an author who compiled extracts and commonplaces in innumerable notebooks that he then presented as learning itself.

Du Verdier, who was first a financial officer in the election of Forez, then *contrôleur général des finances*,[24] weighed heavier in the social scales than La Croix du Maine, a simple provincial gentleman who had moved to Paris. Du Verdier's response was two-pronged: first, he mocked the erudite rodomontades of his rival and expressed doubts about the existence of the many works La Croix du Maine promised. Furthermore, after Du Verdier examined the work in question (which he lists as being currently printed in Paris in his entry "François de La Croix du Maine" in his own *Bibliothèque*), he questioned the accuracy of the information given by La Croix du Maine because the latter surveyed fictitious or unproductive authors, including in his work "several [authors] that never were in nature, or if they were, have written nothing, as he himself confesses."

In its format (a heavy folio volume) and in its form (organized alphabetically by name), Antoine Du Verdier's *Bibliothèque* is akin to La Croix du Maine's work, but it is constructed on a different principle. Du Verdier's immaterial library is not directly dependent on the constitution of the author's own collection but is rather a conceptual entity detached from any particular material presence. Du Verdier's catalog is indeed a "library," but it is an all-inclusive library. In this exhaustive inventory every reader must be able to find what he or she needs and use that information to construct a library made up of real books.

It was in order to facilitate that task that Antoine Du Verdier gave the bibliographic information that was lacking in the *epitomé* published by La Croix du Maine. There was thus no contradiction between the design of a "universal library of French books," which necessarily had no physical reality, and the making of a bibliographic instrument useful to all who might want to create a collection.

The various meanings given to the term *bibliothèque* thus clearly show one of the major tensions that inhabited literate persons of the early modern age and caused them anxiety. A universal library (or at least universal in one order of knowledge) cannot be other than immaterial, reduced to the dimensions of a catalog, a nomenclature, or a survey. Conversely, any library that is actually installed in a specific place and that is made up of real works available for consultation and reading, no matter how rich it might be, gives only a truncated image of all accumulable knowledge. The irreducible gap between ideally exhaustive inventories and necessarily incomplete collections was experienced with intense frustration. It led to extravagant ventures assembling—in spirit, if not in reality—all possible books, all discoverable titles, all works ever written. "When it was proclaimed that the Library contained all books, the first impression was one of extravagant happiness."

As the twentieth century wanes, our dream is to be able to surmount the contradiction that has long haunted Western Europeans' relationship with the book. The library of the future seems indeed to be in a sense a library without walls, as were the libraries that Gesner, Doni, and La Croix du Maine erected on paper. Unlike their catalogs, which furnished authors' names, the titles of works, and at times summaries of or extracts from the works, the library of the future is inscribed where all texts can be summoned, assembled, and read—on a screen. In the world of remote relays made possible by digital and electronic communications, texts are no longer prisoners of their original physical, material existence. Separated from objects, texts can be transmitted; there is no longer a necessary connection between the place in which they are conserved and the place in which they are read. The opposition, long held to be insurmountable, between the closed world of any finite collection and the infinite universe of all the texts ever written is thus theoretically annihilated: now the catalog of all catalogs, ideally listing the totality of written production, corresponds to electronic access to texts universally available for consultation.

This projection of the future, written here in the present tense, retains something of the basically contradictory utopias proposed by Louis-Sébastien Mercier and Etienne Boullée. Still, it is perhaps not too soon to reflect on the effects of the change that the projection promises and announces. If texts are emancipated from the form that has conveyed them since the first centuries of the Christian

era—the *codex*, the book composed of signatures from which all printed objects with which we are familiar derive—by the same token all intellectual technologies and all operations working to produce meaning become similarly modified. "Forms effect meanings," D. F. McKenzie reminds us,[25] and his lesson, which should be taken to heart, warns us to be on guard against the illusion that wrongly reduces texts to their semantic content. When it passes from the *codex* to the monitor screen the "same" text is no longer truly the same because the new formal mechanisms that deliver it to the reader modify the conditions of its reception and its comprehension.

When the text is transmitted by a new technique and embodied in a new physical form, it can be subjected to manipulation by a reader who is no longer limited, as with the printed book, to adding hand-written notes in the spaces left blank in typographic composition.[26] At the same time, the end of the *codex* will signify the loss of acts and representations indissolubly linked to the book as we now know it. In the form it has acquired in Western Europe since the beginning of the Christian era, the book has been one of the most powerful metaphors used for conceiving of the cosmos, nature, and the human body.[27] If the object that has furnished the matrix of this repertory of images (poetic, philosophical, scientific) should disappear, the references and the procedures that organize the "readability" of the physical world, equated with a book in *codex* form, would be profoundly upset as well.

To realize the dream of the Renaissance bibliographers of making the particular place in which the reader finds himself coincide perfectly with universal knowledge, thus putting that knowledge within his grasp, inevitably presupposes a new definition of the concept of the text, wrenched away from its immediate association (so evident to us) with the specific form of the book—the *codex*—that some seventeen or eighteen centuries ago replaced another form, the *volumen* or scroll.[28] The historian's musings presented here lead to a question essential for the present—not the overworked question of the supposed disappearance of writing, which is more resistant than has been thought, but the question of a possible revolution in the forms of its dissemination and appropriation.

—Translated by Lydia Cochrane

Notes

1. Jorge Luis Borges, "The Library of Babel," in *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, ed. Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (New York, 1964), 54–55.
2. Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, reproduction of the 1644 edition, with preface by Claude Jolly, "L'*Advis*, manifeste de la bibliothèque érudite" (Paris,

1990). On Naudé's text, see Jean Viardot, "Livres rares et practiques bibliophiliques," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier, 4 vols. (Paris, 1982–86), vol. 2, *Le livre triomphant: 1660–1830*, 446–67, esp. 448–50; Viardot, "Naissance de la bibliophilie: Les Cabinets de livres rares," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1988–91), vol. 2, *Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789*, ed. Claude Jolly, 269–89, esp. 270–71.

3. Naudé, *Advis*, 104. 4. Ibid., 12. 5. Ibid., 37.
6. Jean Sgard, ed., *Dictionnaire des journaux, 1600–1789* (Paris, 1991), nos. 144–74.
7. Roger Poirier, *La Bibliothèque universelle des romans: Rédacteurs, textes, publics* (Geneva, 1977).
8. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris: Nouvelle Édition revue et augmentée*, 12 vols. (Amsterdam, 1782–83), vol. 6, *Dictionnaires*, 294–95.
9. For example, → Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, "L'Histoire des Deux Indes' et ses 'extraits': Un Mode de dispersion textuelle au XVIIIe siècle," *Littérature* 69 (1988): 28–41 (special issue on "Intertextualité et Révolution").
10. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An 2440: Rêve s'il en fut jamais*, ed. Raymond Trousson (Bordeaux, 1971), chap. 28, "La Bibliothèque du roi," 247–71. For quotations, see 247–78 and 250–51.
11. Jean-Marie Goulemot, "En guise de conclusion: Les Bibliothèques imaginaires (fictions romanesques et utopies)," in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, 2:500–511.
12. Furetière was alluding not only to the *Bibliotheca universalis* of Gesner but also to Antonio Possevino, S.J., *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum* (Rome, 1593; Venice, 1603; Cologne, 1607); Photius, *Myriobiblion sive Bibliotheca librorum quos legit et censuit Photius . . . Graece edidit David Hoeschelius . . . et notis illustravit, latine vero reddidit et scholiis auxit Andreas Schottus* (Rouen, 1653, after the Greek and Latin eds. published in Augsburg in 1601 and 1606); Philippe Labbé, S.J., *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum curis secundis auctior* (Paris, 1664; Rouen, 1672).
13. The two Spanish "libraries" that Furetière mentions are Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana, sive Hispanorum qui . . . scripto aliquid consignaverunt notitia* (Rome, 1672; 1696); and Andreas Schott [or Andreas Schott Peregrinus], S.J., *Hispaniae bibliotheca, seu de academiciis ac bibliothecis; item elogia et nomenclator clarorum Hispaniae scriptorum* (Frankfurt, 1608).
14. Theodore Besterman, *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography* (Oxford, London, 1935); Luigi Balsamo, *La bibliografia: Storia di una tradizione* (Florence, 1984), available in English as *Bibliography: History of a Tradition*, trans. William A. Pettas (Berkeley, 1990). Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta: Das Problem der Ordnung das gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 1992), was published after this essay was written.
15. There is an abundant bibliography on Gesner as a bibliographer: see Jens Christian Bay, "Conrad Gesner (1516–1565), The Father of Bibliography: An Appreciation," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 10 (1916): 53–88, published separately as *Conrad Gesner, The Father of Bibliography: An Appreciation* (Chicago, 1916); Paul-Emile Schazmann, "Conrad Gesner et les débuts de la bibliographie universelle," *Libri*, 1952–53, 37–49; Josef Mayerhöfer, "Conrad Gesner als Bibliograph und Enzyklopädist," *Gesnerus* 3/4 (1965): 176–94; Hans Widman, "Nachwort," in Konrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Appendix* (Osnabrück, Germ., 1966), i–x → Hans Fischer, "Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) as Bibliographer and Encyclopedist," *Library*, 5th ser., 21 (1966): 269–81; Hans H. Wellisch, "Conrad Gesner: A Bio-Bibliography," *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* (1975): 151–247, 2nd ed., rev. and

published under the same title (Zug, Switz., 1984); Luigi Balsamo, "Il canone bibliografico di Konrad Gesner e il concetto di biblioteca pubblica nel Cinquecento," in *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi* (Rome, 1976), 77–96; Joseph Hejmic and Václav Bok, *Gesner europaïsche Bibliographie und ihre Beziehung zum Späthumanissmus in Böhmen und Mähren* (Prague, 1988); Alfredo Serrai, *Conrad Gesner*, ed. Maria Cochetti, with a bibliography of Gesner's works by Marco Menato (Rome, 1990).

16. For a reprint of this text, see Anton Francesco Doni, *La libraria*, ed. Vanni Bramanti (Milan, 1972). See also Cecilia Ricottini Marsili-Libelli, *Anton Francesco Doni, scrittore e stampatore* (Florence, 1960); Amedeo Quondam, "La letterature in tipografia," in *Letteratura italiana*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa, 8 vols. (Turin, 1983), vol. 2, *Produzione e consumo*, 555–686, esp. 620–36.
17. Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," 628–29.
18. Besterman, *Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography*, 23.
19. I shall quote from Du Verdier's and La Croix du Maine's works from the copies in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris. On these two *Bibliothèque*s, see Claude Longeon, "Antoine Du Verdier et François de La Croix du Maine," *Actes du Colloque Renaissance-Classicisme du Maine* (Le Mans, 1971; Paris, 1975), 213–33.
20. Armando Petrucci, "Alle origini del libro moderno: Libri da banco, libro da bisaccia, libretti da mano," in *Libri, scrittura e pubblico nel Rinascimento: Guida storica e critica*, ed. Armando Petrucci (Laterza, 1979), 213–33.
21. On the history of classification, see the very dogmatic E. I. Samurin, *Geschichte der bibliothekarisch-bibliographischen Klassifikation*, 2 vols., originally published in Russian (Moscow, 1955; Leipzig, 1964); on La Croix du Maine, vol. 1, 106–9. Samurin's *Geschichte* is also available as a single volume (Munich, 1977). See also Henri-Jean Martin, "Classements et conjonctures," in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. Martin and Chartier, vol. 1, *Le Livre conquérant: Du Moyen Age au milieu du XVIIe siècle*, 429–41.
22. Quondam, "La letteratura in tipografia," 623.
23. Michel Foucault, "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?", *Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie* 44 (1969): 73–104, reprinted in *Littoral* 9 (1983): 3–32. Also available in English as "What Is an Author?" in *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structural Criticism*, ed. Josué V. Harari (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979), 141–60.
24. Claude Longeon, "Antoine Du Verdier (11 novembre 1544–25 septembre 1600)," in *Les Écrivains foréziens du XVIe siècle: Répertoire bio-bibliographique* (Saint-Etienne, France, 1970), 288–316.
25. D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London, 1986), 4.
26. Roger E. Stoddard, *Marks in Books Illustrated and Explained* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985). As examples of studies that take handwritten entries presented in printed works as a fundamental source of a history of reading and interpretation, see Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (Oxford, 1986), 75–79; Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 30–78.
27. The fundamental work on the various definitions of the metaphor of the book in the Western philosophical tradition is Hans Blumenberg, *Die Lesbarkeit der Welt* (Frankfurt, 1981; 2nd ed., 1983).
28. On the difficult and controversial question of the shift from the *volumen* to the *codex*, see Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London, 1983; reprint ed., 1987); Alain Blanchard, ed., *Les Débuts du codex*, Actes de la Journée d'études organisée à Paris par l'Institut de Papyrologie de la Sorbonne et l'Institut de Recherche et

d'Histoire des Textes, 3–4 July 1985 (Turnhout, Belg., 1989); and the revision proposed in Guglielmo Cavallo, "Testo, Libro, Lettura," in *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Paolo Fedeli, and Andrea Giardina, 5 vols. (Rome, 1989), vol. 2, *La circolazione del testo*, 307–41; Cavallo, "Libro e cultura scritta," in *Storia di Roma*, Arnaldo Momigliano and Aldo Schiavone, eds., 4 vols. (Turin, 1988–), vol. 4, *Caratteri e morfologie*, 693–734.